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June 1863
PATAVINI

HISTORIARUM

AB URBE CONDITA

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Mr. Shtafaren
St John
July 1869—

PREFACE.

THE text of this Edition of Livy's First Five Books is principally taken from that of a very accurate one, published in 1822, by Dr Dymock of Glasgow, who has followed the celebrated edition of Ruddiman. The changes made by other editors have been sparingly introduced; but whenever they were too striking to be denied observation, they have been attended to in the notes. The editions and annotations consulted by the Editor have been those of Sigonius, Gronovius, Drakenborch, Crevier, Ruperti, Doering and Stroth, Raschig, Ruddiman and Dr Hunter.

One change, however, of great importance has been introduced, to which it is necessary shortly to advert. The principles which affect the indirect or oblique form of narration, so admirably evolved by Dr Carson, in his masterly work on the *Qui, quæ, quod*, and exemplified in his edition of Tacitus, have, in this edition, for the first time, been strictly attended to. Former editors have been extremely capricious in distinguishing the facts for which Livy vouches as a historian, and the sentiments which he expresses as his own, from those which he merely indicates to be the assertions or sentiments of others, when these are not expressed as the *ipsissima verba* of the persons holding such sentiments, or making such assertions. Indeed they hardly ever take any notice of the principle in imputed sentiments, although instances abound in every page, and often neglect it even in imputed addresses. *In all cases*

where it is evident that Livy states in his own words, a fact vouched for by another, or sentiments entertained by another, (in which cases the infinitive and subjunctive moods alone are used,) the words expressive of the imputed sentiments or assertions are, in this edition, introduced in inverted commas. An illustration may show the nature and object of the change. In the ninth chapter of the first book, after describing the seizure of the Sabine women, Livy narrates the indignation of the parents, *incusantes violati hospitii foedus, Deumque invocantes, 'cujus ad solenne ludosque, per fas, ac fidem decepti, venissent.'* The last clause evidently and graphically gives the sentiments which the Sabines themselves expressed, and is not a historical assertion on the part of Livy, otherwise *venerant* should have been used. In all other editions of Livy, however, which the Editor has seen, the clause is not distinguished in any manner from the narration.

To aid the reader in carrying on a consecutive knowledge of the chronology connected with the events, *the date of each remarkable era, as generally received, during the kings, and subsequently of each year, as arranged in the chronology of Glarean, has been affixed to the margin.*

An account of the **LIFE** and **WRITINGS** of the Author under perusal is always a natural object of desire, and one is accordingly prefixed to this Edition. The **HISTORICAL** and **GEOGRAPHICAL INDEX**, at the end of the work, has been so prepared as to enable the reader to trace the allusions to each person, office, or place contained in the volume. This has been done by a reference to the passages where each name occurs throughout this portion of history.

The **NOTES** at first are designedly short and simple; but as the work advances, greater attention is paid to critical discussion, and subjects, which the youthful reader, at his entrance on the study of Livy, could hardly be expected to understand. In

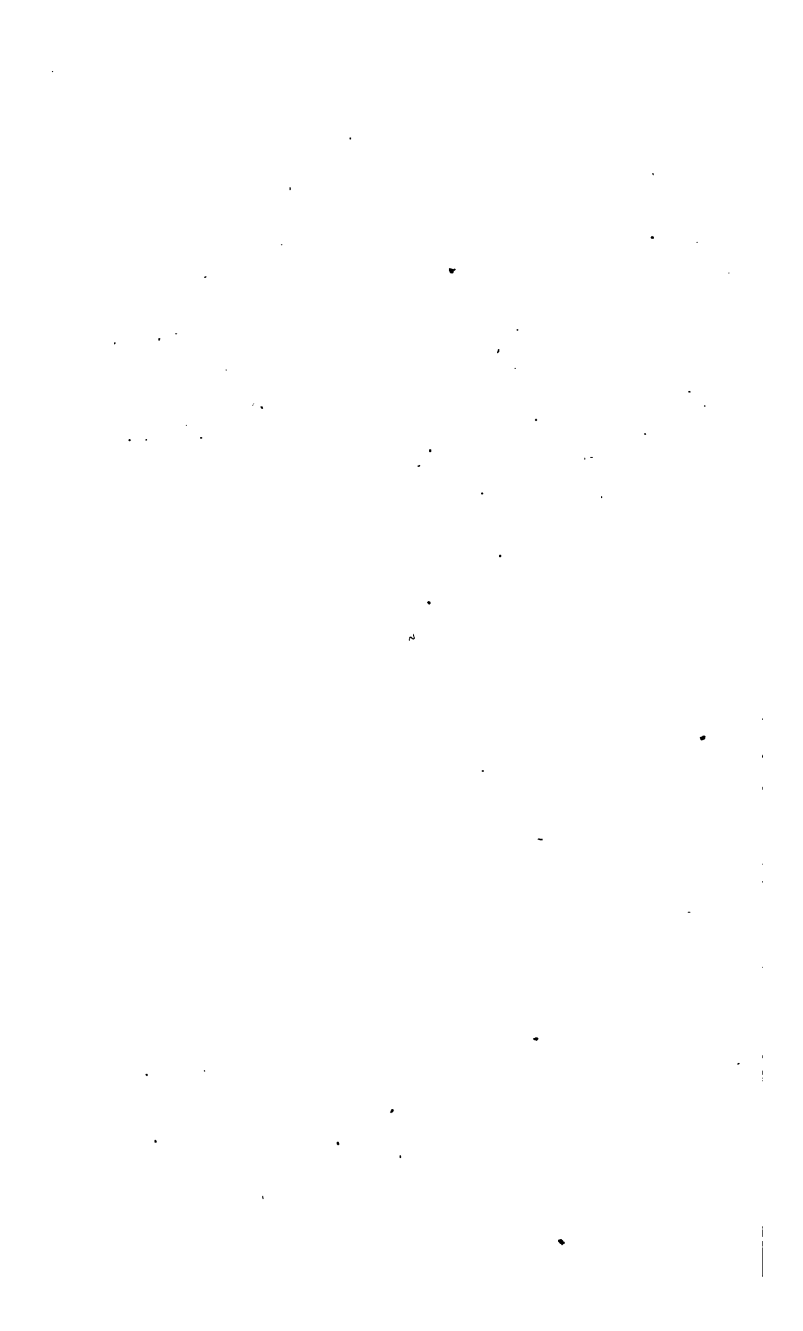
PREFACE.

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preparing them, the Editor has, in addition to his own remarks, availed himself, without scruple, of the labours of the commentators already enumerated. Their English shape rendered it impossible to assign to each critic, who wrote in Latin, his own share. But to others, particularly Dr Adam and Dr Hunter, whose philological labours cannot be too highly estimated, he has uniformly assigned the assistance which their English lucubrations afforded him.

W. M. G.

EDINBURGH SOUTHERN ACADEMY,
24th September 1833.



LIFE AND WRITINGS

OF

* TITUS LIVIUS.

‘ HAVE you never read,’ says Pliny the Younger, in one of his letters, ‘ that an inhabitant of Cadiz was so much excited by the distinction and glory which Livy had acquired, that he came from the remotest quarter of the globe to visit him, and, immediately on his having seen him, departed?’ The distinguished historian, TITUS LIVIUS, to whose genius so extraordinary a tribute was paid, was born at Patavium, (now Padua, a town of Venetia, in the north of Italy,) in the 695th year of Rome. In his case, as in that of most others, distinguished merely for their literary fame, we are unfortunately ignorant of nearly every thing connected with his history calculated to throw light upon the early pursuits which formed him to excellence. Of his education, of the time when he removed to Rome, and the manner in which he first attracted notice, we are utterly ignorant. But we may form at least a plausible conjecture as to the circumstances which drew upon him the regards of the Emperor Augustus. It is not improbable that a dissertation of his, wherein he treats of philosophy, applied to history, produced this result. No history of Rome, deserving the name, existed before his time; and we know that the disjointed, scanty and unsatisfactory annals which contained the records of the Roman state, called forth from Cicero loud reprehension and regret. It is not surprising, therefore, that a prince like Augustus, who courted the praise of patronising learned men in general, should, (whatever circumstance introduced Livy to this notice,) have hailed, with the utmost satisfaction, the appearance of one, who, from his industry, his love of country, his powers of narration, and the philosophic eye with which he surveyed the progress of events, seemed destined to supply so obvious a deficiency in Roman literature. We accordingly find, that he lived on terms of intimacy with that prince, and that he was even offered by Livia the office of tutor to Claudius, the Emperor’s grandson. This intimacy must have been productive of great advantage to him, in opening up both public and private sources of information, whilst it has never led to him to boast of a friendship

so flattering, or to pervert the truth, even in events where the emperor's family was most deeply interested.

Whilst engaged in the composition of the work, he seems to have resided partly at Rome and partly at Naples. From a passage in the 1st Book, (19th chapter,) where he states that the temple of Janus had only been twice closed posterior to the time of Numa, once after the termination of the first Punic war, and again after the battle of Actium, we obtain a probable conjecture, as to the date of the commencement of the work. The temple of Janus was shut in consequence of the battle of Actium, A. U. C. 725; Livy must therefore have begun his history posterior to this date. But it was again shut, 730, and some date betwixt these years must therefore be fixed as the time when he entered on his work, whilst his mention of the death of Drusus proves that he had not finished it till after that event, which took place in 744; his labours being thus continued for at least twenty years.

His domestic history is almost entirely conjectural, and is confined to the belief that he was married twice, and had two sons and four daughters, the youngest of whom was married to a rhetorician, L. Magius. He is said to have retired to Padua on the death of Augustus, and to have died in the fourth year after that event, in the 76th year of his age, A. U. C. 770, and A. D. 17, the same year which witnessed the death of Ovid.

Livy's stupendous History of Rome extended from the foundation of the city, (containing besides a rapid detail of the circumstances leading to that event,) to the death of Drusus, a period of 744 years. It was divided into 140, or (as others with more probability maintain) 142 books. Following the former number, the whole was arbitrarily arranged at a later period, in decades or divisions, containing each ten books. Of the whole there remain only thirty-one books entire, and four nearly so. It will be easily seen in what state the work has come down to us from the following table.

1st Decade,—Books 1-10 inclusive, comprehending 460 years, entire.

2d Decade,—Books 11-20 inclusive, comprehending 76 years, lost.

3d Decade,—Books 21-30 inclusive, comprehending 16 years, entire.

4th Decade, { Book 42, } comprehend- { entire.
 { Books 41, 43, 44, 45, } ing 34 years, { nearly entire.

Of the other books we have only fragments.

The books, which have too probably been irretrievably lost, are said to have met this fate from the hostility of the Emperor Caligula, and of Pope Gregory, to the writings of Livy, as well as the reluctance with which the monks shrunk from copying a work so ponderous. By aid, however, of the fragments, and of the *epitomæ* of nearly the whole work, (only two being lost,) composed either by Livy himself, or more probably by some skilful annotator, as well as other sources,

Freinshemius has, with great success, endeavoured to fill up the blank thus left in Roman History.

As a writer of history, Livy has ever held a most distinguished rank. It is true, that he evinces a striking, sometimes a reprehensible partiality for the people, to whose fame he had consecrated his genius. It is true, that he often errs in misunderstanding his authorities, in mistaking the object of institutions, and in writing at variance with himself. It is true, likewise, that he does pay too much attention to the recording of prodigies, and gives the dignity of history to the ravings of childish superstition. But some of these errors, (and they are by no means numerous in proportion to the magnitude of the undertaking,) may be pardoned, on account of the extent of the work, others on that of human nature's weakness, and many as arising from the genius of the age in which he wrote. Apart, however, from such considerations, these charges never remain on the mind when engaged in the perusal of Livy. They are all swept away by the uniform and majestic flow of his narration,—the graphic imaginativeness of his details,—his sympathy with all which adds to the grandeur of his theme, and the lofty scorn which he breathes on aught which tends to derogate from Roman greatness.

The first five books of this great work are particularly interesting, as they contain, what was believed by the Romans themselves, to be the origin of their early institutions. As all the early records of Rome perished in the sack of that city by the Gauls, tradition supplied the place of more authenticated materials. There is, therefore, much room for doubt as to some events, and for total disbelief as to others. We accordingly find many writers questioning much of the historic, and, latterly, almost all of the political detail, which was formerly assented to, without dispute, as the history of infant Rome. At the head of these stands Niebuhr; but even he admits the great interest connected with the current notions of the Romans themselves as to their early history,—above all, the surpassing merits of Livy, in his mode of managing the traditional history,—justly pronouncing the termination of the first book to be his masterpiece as a historian.

The 1st book, after detailing the events which led to the foundation of Rome, embraces a period of 244 years, including the reigns of the seven kings, Romulus, Numa Pompilius, Tullus Hostilius, Ancus Martius, Tarquinius Priscus, Servius Tullus, and Tarquinius Superbus,—the rise of various political institutions and their changes, and the overthrow of the monarchy.

The 2d book embraces a period of 43 years to A. U. C. 287, including the establishment of consular power,—the unsuccessful attempts of the banished royalists to effect a restoration,—the consequent tyranny of the nobility,—the origin of plebeian influence, after many fierce struggles, in the creation of tribunes of the commons, and the wars in which the republic was continually engaged.

The 3d book extends from A. U. C. 287 to 310, a period of 22 years, interesting from its details of the mode by which Rome gradually ac-

quired conquest after conquest, but, above all, from its account of the origin, progress, and fall of the decemviral power.

The 4th book begins *A. V. C.* 310, and comprehends a period of 51 years, remarkable for the gradual success of the plebeians in obtaining a share of the honours of the state, the device of appointing military tribunes, the rapid progress of the Roman arms, and the advance to permanent military discipline, by bestowing pay on the soldiers.

The 5th book, which (along with the 6th) might with great propriety be called a life of Camillus, the most interesting of all the characters that Rome presents for our reverence, begins *V. C.* 351, in the third year of the memorable siege of Veii, captured by that general,—comprehends his after-exploits,—his banishment,—the progress of the Gauls in Italy,—the sack of Rome in 365, by that fierce people,—their expulsion by Camillus,—and the success with which he combated a general wish of his countrymen to emigrate to Veii, and leave the ruins of the fallen city.

The five books now presented to the reader thus embrace a period of 365 years.

T. LIVII PATAVINI
HISTORIARUM

AB URBE CONDITA

LIBER PRIMUS.

EPITOME.

I, II. *Adventus Aeneae in Italiam, et res ab eo gestae referuntur.* III. *Ascanii regnum Albae, et deinceps Silviorum.* IV. *Numitoris filiâ, a Marte compressâ, nati Romulus et Remus.* V. *Amulius obtruncatus.* VI. *Urbs a Romulo condita.* VIII. *Senatus lectus.* X. *Opima Spolia Jovi Feretrio lata.* XI. *Cum Sabinis bellatum.* XIII. *In curias populus divisus.* XIV, XV. *Fidenates et Vejentes victi.* XVI. *Romulus consecratus.* XVIII, &c. *Numa Pompilius ritus sacrorum tradidit: Jano templum constituit; ejusque portam, pacatis omnibus circâ populis, primus clausit. Cum dea Egeria sibi congressus nocturnos esse simulans, feroces populi animos ad religionem perpulit.* XXII, &c. *Tullus Hostilius Albanos bello petiit.* XXV. *Posthaec trigeminorum pugna.* XXVI. *Horatius absolutus.* XXVIII. *Metti Fuffetii supplicium.* XXIX. *Alba diruta.* XXX. *Albani in civitatem recepti.* Sabinis bellum indictum. XXXI. *Ad postremum fulmine Tullus absumptus.* XXXII. *Ancus Marcius ceremonias, a Numa institutas, renovavit: XXXIII. Latinis victis, et ad civitatem adscitis, montem Aventinum assignavit: Politorium, urbem Latinorum, bello repetitam, quam prisci Latini occupaverant, diruit. Pontem sublicium in Tiberim fecit. Janiculum collem urbi addidit. Fines imperii protulit. Ostiam condidit. Regnavit annos viginti quatuor.* XXXIV. *Eo regnante, Lucumo Damarati Corinthii filius, a Tarquiniis, Etruriae civitate, Romam venit; et, in amicitiam Anci receptus, Tarquinii nomen ferre coepit; et post mortem Anci regnum excepit.* XXXV. *Centum additis, patrum numerum auxit. Latinos subegit, Circum designavit, ludos edidit.* XXXVI. *Sabinorum bello petitus, equitum centurias ampliavit. Tentandae*

scientiae causâ Atii Navii auguris consuluisse fertur, an id, de quo cogitaret, effici posset : quod quum ille fieri posse respondisset ; jussisse eum novaculâ cotem praecidere ; idque protinus ab Atto factum. XXXVII. Sabinos praeterea acie vicit. XXXVIII. Urbem muro circumdedit, cloacas fecit. XL. Occisus est ab Anci filiis, quum regnâset annos triginta octo. XLI. Successit ei Ser. Tullius, natus ex captiva nobili Corniculana ; cui puero, adhuc in cunis posito, caput arsisse traditum est. XLII, XLIII. Veientes atque Etruscos praelio fudit. Censum primus egit. Lustrum condidit, quo civium capita censa octoginta millia esse dicuntur. Classes, centuriasque descripsit. XLIV. Pomoerium protulit : colles urbi, Quirinalem, Viminalem, Esquilinûmque adjecit. XLV. Templum Dianae cum Latinis in Aventino fecit. XLVII, XLVIII. Interfectus est a L. Tarquinio, Prisci filio, consilio filiae suae Tulliae, quum regnâset annos quadraginta quatuor. XLIX. Post hunc L. Tarquinius Superbus, neque patrum, neque populi jussu, regnum invasit : quo die scelerata Tullia per patris jacentis corpus carpentum egit. Armatos circa se ad custodiam corporis sui habuit. L, LI. Turnum Herdonium fraude interemit. LIII. Bellum cum Volscis gessit : LIV. Et ex eorum praeda templum Jovi in Capitolio fecit. Terminus et Juventas non addixere : quorum arae moveri non potuerunt. LV. Filii Sexti Tarquinii dolo, Gabios in potestatem suam redigit. LVI. Hujus filiis Delphos profectis, et consulentibus, quis eorum regnaturus esset Romae, dictum est, eum regnaturum, qui primus matrem osculatus esset. Quod responsum quum ipsi aliter interpretarentur, Junius Brutus, qui cum iis profectus erat, prolapsus se simulavit, et terram osculatus est. Idque factum ejus eventus rei comprobavit. Num quum, impotenter se gerendo, Tarquinius Superbus omnes in odium sui adduxisset ; ad ultimum, propter expugnatam nocturnâ vi a Sexto filio ejus Lucretiae pudicitiam, (quae, vocato patre ad se Tricipitino, et viro Collatino, obtestata, ne inulta mors ejus esset, cultro se interemit.) LIX. Bruti operâ maximè expulsus est, quum regnâset annos viginti quinque. LX. Tunc consules primùm creati sunt L. Junius Brutus et L. Tarquinius Collatinus.

PRAEFATIO.

FACTURUSNE operae pretium sim, si a primordio urbis res populi Romani perscripserim, nec satis scio; nec, si sciam, dicere ausim; quippe qui, quum veterem, tum vulgatam esse rem, videam, dum novi semper scriptores, aut in rebus certius aliquid allaturos se, aut scribendi arte rudem vetustatem superaturos, credunt. Utcunque erit, juvabit tamen, rerum gestarum memoriae principis terrarum populi pro virili parte et ipsum consuluisse; et, si in tantâ scriptorum turbâ mea fama in obscuro sit, nobilitate ac magnitudine eorum, meo qui nomini officient, me consoler. Res est praeterea, et immensi operis, ut quae supra septingentesimum annum repetatur, et quae, ab exiguis profecta initiis, eò creverit, ut jam magnitudine laboret suâ: et legentium plerisque, haud dubito, quin primae origines proximaque originibus minus praebitura voluptatis sint, festinantibus ad haec nova, quibus jam pridem praevalentis populi vires se ipsae conficiunt. Ego contrâ hoc quòque laboris praemium petam, ut me a conspectu malorum, quae nostra tot per annos vidit aetas, tantisper, certè dum prisca illa totâ mente repeto, avertam, omnis expertus curae, quae scribentis animum, etsi non flectere a vero, sollicitum tamen efficere possit. Quae ante conditam condendamve urbem, poëticiis magis decora fabulis, quàm incorruptis rerum gestarum monumentis, traduntur, ea nec affirmare, nec refellere, in animo est. Datur haec venia antiquitati, ut, miscendo humana divinis, primordia urbium augustiora faciat. Et, si cui populo licere oportet consecrare origines suas, et ad Deos referre auctores, ea belli gloria est populo Romano, ut, quum suum conditorisque sui parentem Martem potissimum ferat, tam et hoc gentes humanae patiantur aequo animo, quàm imperium patiuntur. Sed haec et his similia, utcunque animadversa aut existimata erunt, haud in magno equidem ponam discrimine. Ad illa mihi pro se quisque acriter intendat animum, quae vita, qui mores fuerint; per quos viros, quibusque artibus, domi militiaeque, et partum et auctum imperium sit. Labente deinde paullatim disciplinâ, velut desidentes primò mores sequatur animo; deinde ut magis magisque lapsi sint; tum ire coeperint praecipites; donec ad haec tempora, quibus

nec vitia nostra, nec remedia pati possumus, perventum est. Hoc illud est praecipuè in cognitione rerum salubre ac frugiferum, omnis te exempli documenta in illustri posita monumento intueri; inde tibi tuaeque reipublicae, quod imitere, capias: inde foedum inceptu, foedum exitu, quod vites. Caeterum aut me amor negotii suscepti fallit, aut nulla unquam respublica nec major, nec sanctior, nec bonis exemplis ditior fuit: nec in quam civitatem tam serae avaritia luxuriaque immigraverint: nec ubi tantus ac tam diu paupertati ac parsimoniae honos fuerit. Adeò, quanto rerum minus, tanto minus cupiditatis erat. Nuper divitiae avaritiam, et abundantes voluptates desiderium, per luxum atque libidinem pereundi perdendique omnia, invexere. Sed querelae, ne tam quidem gratiae futurae, quum forsitan et necessariae erunt, ab initio certè tantae ordiendae rei absint. Cum bonis potius ominibus, votisque ac precationibus Deorum Dearumque, si, ut poëtis, nobis quodque mos esset, libentiùs inciperemus, ut orsis tantì operis successus prosperos darent.

I. JAM primum omnium satis constat, Trojà captâ, in ceteros saevitum esse Trojanos; duobus, Aeneae Antenoriq̃ue, et vetusti jure hospitii, et quia pacis reddendaeque Helenae semper auctores fuerant, omne jus belli Achivos abstinuisse. Casibus deinde variis Antenorem cum multitudine Henetum, qui seditione ex Paphlagonia pulsus, et sedes et ducem, rege Pylaemene ad Trojam amisso, quaerebant, venisse in intimum maris Hadriatici sinum; Euganeisque, qui inter mare Alpesque incolebant, pulsus, Henetos Trojanosque eas tenuisse terras: et in quem primum egressi sunt locum, Troja vocatur; pagoque inde Trojano nomen est: gens universa Veneti appellati. Aenean, ab simili clade domo profugum, sed ad majora initia rerum ducentibus fati¹, primò in Macedoniam venisse: inde in Siciliam quaerentem sedes delatum: ab Sicilia², classe Laurentem agrum tenuisse: Trojae et huic loco nomen est. Ibi egressi Trojani, ut quibus ab immenso prope errore nihil, praeter arma et naves, superesset, quum praedam ex agris agerent, Latinus rex Aboriginesque, qui tum ea tene-

¹ *Ad majora, &c.* The Fates conducting him to found an empire greater from its very origin.

² The wanderings of Aeneas, after leaving Sicily, described by Virgil, in the early books of the Aeneid, are neglected in this summary.

bant loca, ad arcendam vim advenarum armati ex urbe atque agris concurrunt. Duplex inde fama est: alii 'proelio victum' Latinum, pacem cum Aeneâ, deinde affinitatem junxisse' tradunt: alii¹, 'quam instructae acies constitissent, prius quàm signa canerent, processisse Latinum inter primores, ducemque advenarum evocâsse ad colloquium; percunctatum deinde, qui mortales essent, unde; aut quo casu profecti domo, quidve quaerentes in agrum Laurentem exissent? Postquam audierit, multitudinem Trojanos esse; ducem Aenean, filium Anchisae et Veneris; crematâ patriâ et domo profugos, sedem, condendaeque urbi locum quaerere, et nobilitatem admiratum gentis virique, et animum vel bello vel paci paratum, dexterâ datâ fidem futurae amicitiae sanxisse. Inde foedus ictum inter duces, inter exercitus salutationem factam. Aenean apud Latinum fuisse in hospitio. Ibi Latinum apud penates Deos domesticum publico' adjunxisse foedus, filiâ Aeneae in matrimonium datâ.' Ea res utique² Trojanis spem affirmat tandem stabili certâque sede finiendi erroris. Oppidum condunt. Aeneas ab nomine uxoris Lavinium appellat. Brevi, stirps quodque virilis ex novo matrimonio fuit; cui Ascanium parentes dixere nomen.

II. Bello deinde Aborigines Trojanique simul petiti. Turnus Rex Rutulorum, cui pacta Lavinia ante adventum Aeneae fuerat, praelatum sibi advenam aegrè patiens, simul Aeneae Latinoque bellum intulerat. Neutra acies laeta ex eo certamine abiit. Victi Rutuli: victores Aborigines Trojanique ducem Latinum amisère. Inde Turnus Rutulique diffisi rebus, ad florentes Etruscorum opes Mezentiumque, eorum regem, confugiunt: qui, Caere opulento tum oppido imperitans, jam inde ab initio³ minimè laetus novae origine urbis, et tum 'nimio plus, quàm satis tutum esset accolis, rem Trojanam 'crescere' ratus, haud gravatim socia arma Rutulis junxit. Aeneas, adversus tanti belli terrorem ut animos Aboriginum sibi conciliaret, ne⁴ sub eodem jure solùm sed etiam nomine

¹ This latter account is the one mainly adopted by Virgil. ² *Ea res utique.* That event beyond all others, viz. the marriage between Aeneas and Lavinia, in which both accounts agree. ³ This indicates, (and *jam inde* always has a similar force), dissatisfaction at first,

and a continuance of the feeling till the moment in question, from the beginning all along up to that time. ⁴ *Ne*, resolvable into *ut non*, viz. *ut non sub eodem, &c.*

omnes essent, Latinos utramque gentem appellavit. Nec deinde Aborigines Trojanis studio ac fide erga regem Aenean cessere. Fretusque his animis coalescentium in dies magis duorum populorum Aeneas, quanquam tanta opibus Etruria erat, ut jam non terras solùm, sed mare etiam per totam Italiae longitudinem, ab Alpibus ad fretum Siculum, famâ nominis sui implêset; tamen, quum moenibus bellum propulsare posset, in aciem copias eduxit. Secundum inde proelium Latinis, Aeneae etiam ultimum operum mortalium fuit. Situs est, quemcumque eum dici jus fasque est, super Numicium flumen: Jovem indigetem appellant.

III. Nondum maturus imperio Ascanius Aeneae filius erat: tamen id imperium ei ad puberem aetatem incolame mansit. Tantisper tutelâ muliebri, (tanta indoles in Lavinia erat,) res Latina et regnum avitum paternumque puero stetit. Haud nihil ambigam, (quis enim rem tam veterem pro certo affirmet?) hiccine fuerit Ascanius, an major, quàm hic, Creusâ matre Ilio incolumi natus, comesque inde paternae fugae, quem Iulum eundem Julia gens auctorem nominis sui nuncupat. Is Ascanius, ubicunque et quâcunque matre genitus, (certè natum Aeneâ constat) abundante Lavinii multitudine, florentem jam, (ut tum res erant,) atque opulentam urbem matri¹ seu novercae, reliquit: novam ipse aliam sub Albano monte condidit; quae, ab situ porrectae in dorso urbis, Longa Alba appellata. Inter Lavinium et Albam Longam coloniam deductam triginta ferme interfuere anni. Tantum tamen opes creverant, maximè fuis Etruscis, ut ne morte quidem Aeneae, nec deinde, inter muliebre tutelam rudimentumque primum puerilis regni, movere arma aut Mezentius Etruscique, aut ulli alii accolae ausi sint. Pax ita convenerat, ut Etruscis Latinisque fluviis Albula, quem nunc Tiberim vocant, finis esset. Silvius deinde regnat, Ascanii filius, casu quodam in silvis natus. Is Aenean Silvium creat. Is deinde Latinum Silvium. Ab eo coloniae aliquot deductae, Prisci Latini appellati. Mansit² Silviis postea omnibus cognomen, qui Albae regnârunt. Latino Alba ortus, Albâ Atys, Atye Capys, Capye Capetus, Capeto Tiberinus; qui, in trajectu Albulae amnis submersus,

¹ *Matri*, Lavinia, his mother by the one account, his stepmother by the other. ² *Mansit*, &c. Thereafter all who reigned at Alba retained the surname of Silvius. Note Silviis where the English idiom requires Silvius.

celebre ad posteros nomen flumini dedit. Agrippa inde Tiberini filius; post Agrippam Romulus Silvius, a patre accepto imperio, regnat. Aventino, fulmine ipse ictus, regnum per manus tradidit. Is, sepultus in eo colle, qui nunc est pars Romanae urbis, cognomen colli fecit. Proca deinde regnat: is Numitorem atque Amulium procreat. Numitori, qui stirpis maximus erat, regnum vetustum Silviae gentis legat. Plus tamen vis potuit, quam voluntas patris, aut verecundia aetatis. Pulso fratre, Amulius regnat. Addit sceleri scelus. Stirpem fratris virilem interimit: fratris filiae Rheae Silviae, per speciem honoris, quum Vestalem eam legisset, perpetuâ virginitate spem partûs adimit.

IV. Sed debebatur, ut opinor, fatis tantae origo urbis, maximeque secundum Deorum opes imperii principium. Vi compressa Vestalis, quum geminum partum edidisset, seu ita rata, seu quia Deus auctor culpae honestior erat, Martem incertae stirpis patrem nuncupat. Sed nec Dii, nec homines, aut ipsam, aut stirpem a crudelitate regiâ vindicant. Sacerdos vincita in custodiam datur: pueros in profluentem aquam mitti jubet. Forte quâdam divinitus super ripas Tiberis effusus lenibus stagnis, nec adiri usquam ad jasti cursum poterat amnis: et, posse quamvis languidâ mergi aquâ infantes, spem ferentibus dabat. Ita velut defuncti regis imperio, in proximâ alluvie, ubi nunc ficus Ruminalis est, (Romularem vocatam ferunt,) pueros exponunt. Vastae tum in iis locis solitudines erant. Tenet fama, 'quum fluitantem alveum,' quo expositi erant pueri, 'fenuis in sicco aqua destituisset, lupam sistentem ex montibus,' qui circâ sunt, 'ad puerilem vagituûm cursum flexisse: eam summissas infantibus aded mitem prae-buisse mammas¹, ut linguâ lambentem pueros magister regii pecoris invenerit.' Faustulo fuisse nomen ferunt. Ab eo ad stabula Larentiae uxori educandos latos. Sunt, qui 'Larentiam, vulgato corpore, lupam inter pastores vocatam' putent: 'inde locum fabulae ac miraculo datum.' Ita geniti, itaque educati, quum primûm adolevit aetas, nec in stabulis, nec ad pecora segnes, venando peragrarare circâ saltus. Hinc, robore corporibus animisque sumpto, jam non feras tantum subsistere, sed in latrones, praedâ onustos, impetus facere,

¹ See Virgil's picture of this incident, Aen. viii. 630-5.

pastoribusque rapta dividere: et cum his, crescente in dies grege juvenum, seria ac jocos celebrare. >

V. 'Jam tum¹ in Palatino monte Lupercal hoc fuisse ludicrum' ferunt, 'et a Pallanteo, urbe Arcadicâ, Pallantium deinde Palatium, montem appellatum. Ibi Evandrum,' (qui ex eo genere Arcadum multis antè tempestatibus ea tenuerat loca,) 'solenne allatum ex Arcadiâ instituisse, ut nudi juvenes, Lyceum Pana venerantes, per lusum atque lasciviam currerent;' quem Romani deinde vocârunt Inuum. 'Huic deditis ludicro, quum solenne notum esset, insidiatos ob iram praedae amissae latrones, quum Romulus vi se defendisset, Remum cepisse; captum regi Amulio tradidisse, ultrò accusantes.' Crimini maximè dabant², 'in Numitoris agros ab his impetum fieri: inde eos, collectâ juvenum manu, hostilem in modum praedas agere.' Sic Numitori ad supplicium Remus deditur. Jam inde³ ab initio Faustulo spes fuerat, regiam stirpem apud se educari; nam 'et expositos jussu regis infantes' sciebat, 'et tempus, quo ipse eos sustulisset, ad id ipsum congruere;' sed rem immaturam, nisi aut per occasionem, aut per necessitatem aperiri noluerat. Necessitas prior venit. Ita metu subactus, Romulo rem aperit. Fortè et Numitori, quum in custodia Remum haberet, audissetque geminos esse fratres, comparando et aetatem eorum, et ipsam minimè servilem indolem, tetigerat animum memoria nepotum: sciscitandoque eò demum pervenit, ut haud procul esset, quin Remum agnosceret. Ita undique regi dolus necitur. Romulus, non cum globo juvenum, (nec enim erat ad vim apertam par,) sed aliis alio itinere jussis certo tempore ad regiam venire pastoribus, ad regem impetum facit: et a domo Numitoris aliâ comparatâ manu adjuvat Remus. Ita regem obtruncant.

VI. Numitor, inter primum tumultum 'hostes invasisse urbem atque adortos regiam' dictitans, quum pubem Albanam in arcem praesidio armisque obtinendam avocâset⁴, posteaquam juvenes, perpetratâ caede, pergere ad se gratulantes vidit, extemplo advocato concilio, 'scelera in se fratris,

¹ *Jam tum.* Even at that early period. *Lupercal hoc.* 'The festival called Lupercal of the present times;' Dr HUNTER. ² Note this idiom. ³ See p. 5. note 3. ⁴ *Quum pubem, &c.* Having withdrawn from assisting the usurper, the Alban youth, under pretence of defending the citadel by armed troops.

'originem nepotum, ut geniti, ut educati, ut cogniti essent, 'caedem deinceps tyranni, seque ejus auctorem' ostendit. Juvenes, per mediam concionem agmine ingressi, quum avum regem salutassent, secuta ex omni multitudine consentiens vox ratum nomen imperiumque regi effecit. Ita Numitori Albanâ permissâ re, Romulum Remumque cupido cepit, in iis locis, ubi expositi, ubique educati erant, urbis condendae. Et supererat multitudo Albanorum Latinorumque. Ad id pastores quodque accesserant; qui omnes facillè spem facerent, parvam Albam, parvum Lavinium, prae eâ urbe, quae conderetur, fore. Intervenit deinde his cogitationibus avitum malum¹, regni cupido atque inde foedum certamen coortum a satis miti principio; 'quoniam gemini essent, nec aetatis verecundia discrimen facere posset, ut Dii, quorum tutelae ea loca essent, auguriis legerent, qui nomen novae urbi daret, 'qui conditam imperio regeret.' Palatium Romulus, Remus Aventinum ad inaugurandum templa capiunt.

VII. Priori Remo augurium venisse fertur, sex vultures; jamque, nunciato augurio, quum duplex numerus Romulo se ostendisset, utrumque regem sua multitudo consalutaverat. Tempore illi praecepto, at hi numero avium, regnum trahebant². Inde, cum altercatione congressi, certamine irarum ad caedem vertuntur. Ibi in turbâ ictus Remus cecidit. Vulgatiores fama est, 'ludibrio fratris Remum novos transiluisse muros: inde ab irato Romulo (quum verbis quoque increpitans adjecisset, "Sic deinde, quicumque alius transiliet moenia mea") interfectum.' Ita solus potitus imperio Romulus; condita urbs conditoris nomine appellata. Palatium primum, in quo ipse erat educatus, munlit: sacra Diis aliis Albano ritu; Graeco, Herculi, ut ab Evandro instituta erant, facit. 'Herculem in ea loca, Geryone interempto, boves mirâ specie abegisse' memorant³; 'ac prope Tiberim fluvium,' (quâ, prae se armentum agens, nando trajecerat,) 'loco herbido, ut quiete et pabulo laeto reficeret boves, et ipeum fessum viâ procubuisse.' Ibi quum eum cibo vinoque gravatum sopor oppressisset, pastor accola ejus loci, nomine Cacus, ferox viri-

¹ *Avitum malum*, the evil which had caused the conduct of their grand-uncle to their grandfather. ² *Tempore, &c.* The followers of Remus claimed the sovereignty on the ground of the priority of time, those of Romulus on that of the number of birds seen by him.

³ See Virgil's account of this, *Aen.* viii. 185. 272.

bus, captus pulchritudine boum, quum avertere eam praedant vellet; quia, si agendo armentum in speluncam compulisset, ipsa vestigia quaerentem dominum eò deductura erant; aversos boves, eximium quemque pulchritudine, caudis in speluncam traxit. Hercules, ad primam auroram somno excitus, quum gregem perlustrâsset oculis, et partem abesse numero sensisset, pergit ad proximam speluncam, si fortè eò vestigia ferrent. Quae ubi omnia foras versa vidit, nec in partem aliam ferre, confusus atque incertus animi, ex loco infesto agere porrò armentum coepit. Inde quum actae boves quaedam ad desiderium, ut fit, relictarum mugissent, reddita inclusarum ex spelunca boum vox Herculem convertit; quem quum vadentem ad speluncam Cacus vi prohibere conatus esset; ictus clavâ, fidem pastorum nequicquam invocans, morte occubuit. Evander tum ea, profugus ex Peloponneso, auctoritate magis quàm imperio, regebat loca: venerabilis vir miraculo literarum, rei novae inter rudes artium homines; venerabilior divinitate creditâ Carmentae matris, quam fatiloquam, ante Sibyllae in Italiam adventum, miratae hae gentes fuerant. Is tum Evander, concursu pastorum, trepidantium circa advenam manifestae reum caedis, excitus, postquam facinus facinorisque causam audivit, habitum formamque viri aliquantùm ampliorem augustioremque humanâ, intuens, rogitat¹, qui vir esset. Ubi nomen patremque ac patriam accepit; 'Jove nate, Hercules, salve,' inquit; 'te mihi mater, veridica interpres Deûm, aucturum coelestium numèrum cecinit; tibi que aram hic dicatum iri, quam opulentissima olim in terris gens Maximam vocet, tuoque ritu colat.' Dextrâ Hercules datâ², accipere se omen, impleturumque fata, arâ conditâ atque dicatâ, ait. Ibi tum primùm, bove eximiâ captâ de grege, sacrum Herculi, adhibitis ad ministerium dapemque Potitiis ac Pinariis, quae tum familiae maximè inclytae ea loca incole-

¹ *Rogitat*, present, followed by *esset*, past, because the first verb is a historic imperfect, that is, conveys the idea of past time through the medium of a present tense, to give the idea more vividness.

² *Dextra Hercules data*. It is of importance to attend to the position of these words. Observe, as a general rule, that 'the agent, when thrown in between the noun and the participle, is the agent not only in the leading but in the ablative clause.' Thus, *Hercules data dextra* does not indicate who it was that had presented the right hand; *dextra Hercules data* indicates that Hercules had presented it.

bant, factum. Fortè ita evenit, ut Potitii ad tempus praesto essent, iisque exta apponerentur; Pinarii, extis adesis, ad ceteram venirent dapem. Inde institutum mansit, donec Pinarium genus fuit, ne extis solennium vescerentur. Potitii, ab Evandro edocti, antistites sacri ejus per multas aetates fuerunt: donec, tradito servis publicis solenni familiae ministerio, genus omne Potitiorum interiit. Haec tum sacra Romulus una ex omnibus peregrina suscepit; jam tum immortalitatis virtute partae, ad quam eum sua fata ducebant, fautor.

VIII. Rebus divinis ritè perpetratis, vocatàque ad concilium multitudine, quae coalescere in populi unius corpus nullà re, praeterquam legibus, poterat, jura dedit: quae ita sancta generi hominum agresti fore ratus, si se ipse venerabilem insignibus imperii fecisset, quum cetero habitu se augustiorem, tum maximè lictoribus duodecim sumptis fecit. Alii ab numero avium, quae augurio regnum portenderant, eum secutum numerum putant. Me haud poenitet eorum sententiae esse, quibus 'et apparitores et hoc genus ab Etruscis 'finitimis,' unde sella curulis, unde toga praetexta sumpta est, 'numerum quòque ipsum ductum' placet: 'et ita habuisse 'Etruscos, quòd, ex duodecim populis communiter creato 'rege, singulos singuli populi lictores dederint.' Crescebat interim urbs, munitionibus alia atque alia appetendo loca, quum in spem magis futurae multitudinis, quàm ad id, quod tum hominum erat, munirent. Deinde, ne vanae urbis magnitudo esset, adjiciendae multitudinis causâ, vetere consilio condentium urbes, qui, obscuram atque humilem conciendo ad se multitudinem, natam e terrâ sibi prolem ementiebantur¹; locum, qui nunc septus descendentibus inter duos lucos est², Asylum aperit. Eò ex finitimis populis turba omnis, sine discrimine, liber an servus esset, avida novarum rerum per fugit: idque primum ad coeptam magnitudinem roboris fuit. Quum jam virium haud pœniteret, consilium deinde viribus parat. Centum creat senatores: sive quia is numerus satis erat: sive quia soli centum erant, qui creari patres possent. Patres certè ab honore, patriciique progenies eorum appellati.

IX. Jam res Romana adeò erat valida, ut cuilibet finitima-

¹ Those to whom this origin was attributed were called *ἀυροχόεις*.

² Qui nunc, &c. Where there is now the inclosure, at the descent between the two groves.

rum civitatum bello par esset; sed penuriâ mulierum, hominis aetatem duratura magnitudo erat; quippe quibus nec domi spes prolis, nec cum finitimis connubia essent. Tum ex consilio Patrum Romulus legatos circa vicinas gentes misit, qui societatem connubiumque novo populo peterent: 'Urbes quodque, ut cetera, ex infimo nasci: deinde quas sua virtus ac
' Dii juvent, magnas opes sibi magnumque nomen facere. Satis scire, origini Romanae et Deos affuisse, et non defuturam
' virtutem. Proinde ne gravarentur homines cum hominibus
' sanguinem et genus miscere.' Nusquam benignè legatio audita est: adeò simul spernebant, simul tantam in medio crescentem molem sibi ac posteris suis metuebant. A plerisque rogitantibus dimissi, 'Ecquod feminis quodque asylum
' aperuissent? id enim demum compar connubium fore.' Aegrè id Romana pubes passa, et haud dubiè ad vim spectare res coepit. Cui tempus locumque aptum ut daret Romulus, aegritudinem animi dissimulans, ludos ex industriâ parat Neptuno Equestri solennes: Consualia vocat. Anno 4
v. c. Indici deinde finitimis spectaculum jubet: quantoque apparatu tum sciebant, aut poterant, concelebrant; ut rem claram expectatamque facerent. Multi mortales convenere, studio etiam videndae novae urbis; maximè proximi quique, Caeninenses, Crustumini, Antemnates. Jam Sabinorum omnis multitudo, cum liberis ac conjugibus, venit; invitati hospitaliter per domos, quum situm moeniaque et frequentem tectis urbem vidissent, mirantur, tam brevi rem Romanam crevisse. Ubi spectaculi tempus venit, deditaeque eò mentes cum oculis erant, tum ex composito orta vis: signoque dato, juvenus Romana ad rapiendas virgines discurrit. Magna pars fortè, ut in quem quaeque inciderat, raptae. Quasdam formâ eccellente primoribus Patrum destinatas, ex plebe homines, quibus datum negotium erat, domos deferebant. 'Unam, longè ante alias specie ac pulchritudine insignem, à globo Tallasii cujusdam raptam ferunt. 'Multisque sciscitantibus, 'cuinam eam ferrent, identidem, ne quis violaret, Talassio 'ferri clamitatum. Inde nuptialem hanc vocem factam.' Turbato per metum ludicro, moesti parentes virginum profugiunt, incusantes violati hospitii foedus, Deumque invocantes, 'cujus ad solenne ludosque, per fas ac fidem decepti, venissent.' Nec raptis aut spes de se melior, aut indignatio est minor: sed ipse Romulus circuibat docebatque, 'Patrum id superbiâ

factam, qui connubium finitimis negâssent: illas tamen in matrimonio, in societate fortunarum omnium civitatisque, et, quo nihil carius humano generi sit, liberum fore. Molirent modò iras; et, quibus fors corpora dedisset, darent animos. Saepe ex injuriâ postmodum gratiam ortam: eoque melioribus usuras viris, quòd anxurus pro se quisque sit, ut, quum suam vicem functus officio sit¹, parentum etiam patriaeque expleat desiderium. Accedebant blanditiae virorum, factum purgantium cupiditate atque amore: quae maximè ad muliebre ingenium efficaces preces sunt.

X. Jam admodum mitigati animi raptis erant. At raptarum parentes tum maximè sordidâ veste, lacrymisque et querelis, civitates concitabant. Nec domi tantum indignationes continebant, sed congregabantur undique ad Titum Tatium regem Sabinorum: et legationes eò, quòd maximum Tatii nomen in his regionibus erat, conveniebant. Caeninenses Crustuminique et Antemnates erant, ad quos ejus injuriae pars pertinebat. Lentè agere iis Tatiùs Sabinique visi sunt. Ipsi inter se tres populi communiter bellum parant. Ne Crustumini quidem atque Antemnates, pro ardore irâque Caeninensium, satis se impigrè movent. Ita per seipsum nomen Caeninum in agrum Romanum impetum facit. Sed effusè vastantibus fit obviùs cum exercitu Romulus, levique certamine docet, vanum sine viribus iram esse: exercitum fundit fugatque: fustum persequitur: regem in proelio obtruncat, et spoliât. Duce hostium occiso², urbem primo impetu capit. Inde exercitu victore reducto, ipse, cum factis vir magnificus, tum factorum ostentator haud minor, spolia ducis hostium caesi, suspensa fabricato ad id aptè ferculo, gerens, in Capitolium ascendit: ibique ea quum ad quercum pastoribus sacram deposuisset, simul cum dono designavit templo Jovis fines, cognomenque addidit Deo: 'Jupiter Fere tri,' inquit, 'haec tibi victor Romulus rex regia arma fero, templumque iis regionibus, quas modò animo metatus sum, dedico, sedem opimis spoliis, quae, regibus ducibusque hostium caesis, me auctorem sequentes, posteri ferent.' Haec templi est origo, quod primum omnium Romae sacratum est. Ita deinde Diis viam, nec irritam conditoris templi vocem esse, quâ laturos

¹ Quum, &c. In addition to discharging his duty as a husband.

² This chief's name was Acron.

ed spolia posteros nuncupavit: nec, multitudine ^{sharen}compotum, ejus doni vulgari laudem. Bina postea ¹, inter tot annos, tot bella, opima parta sunt spolia. Aded rara ejus fortuna decoris fuit.

XI. Dum ea ibi Romani gerunt, Antemnatum exercitus, per occasionem ac solitudinem, hostiliter in fines Romanos incursionem facit. Raptim et ad hos Romana legio ducta palatos in agris oppressit. Fusi igitur primo impetu et clamore hostes: oppidum captum. Duplicique victoriâ ovantem Romulum Hersilia conjunx, precibus raptarum fatigata, orat, 'ut parentibus earum det veniam, et in civitatem accipiat: ita rem coalescere concordiâ posse.' Facile impetratum. Inde contra Crustuminos profectus, bellum inferentes. Ibi minus etiam, quod alienis cladibus ceciderant animi, certaminis fuit. Utrôque coloniae missae. Plures inventi, qui propter ubertatem terrae in Crustuminum nomina darent. Et Romam inde frequenter migratum est, a parentibus maximè ac propinquis raptarum. Novissimum ab Sabinis bellum ortum, multoque id maximum fuit. Nihil enim per iram aut cupiditatem actum est: nec ostenderunt bellum prius, quàm intulerunt. Consilio etiam additus dolus. Sp. Tarpejus Romanae praeerat arci. Hujus filiam virginem auro corrumpit Tatiùs, ut armatos in arcem accipiat. Aquam fortè ea tum sacris extra moenia petittum ierat. Accepti obrutam armis necavere: seu ut vi capta potiùs arx videretur; seu prodendi exempli causâ, ne quid usquam fidum proditori esset. Additur fabulae, 'quod vulgò Sabini aureas armillas magni ponderis brachio laevo, gemmatosque magnâ specie annulos haberint, pepigisse eam, quod in sinistris manibus haberent; ed scuta illi pro aureis donis congesta.' Sunt, qui 'eam, ex pacto tradendi ² quod in sinistris manibus esset, directò arma petisse' dicant: 'et fraude visam agere, suâ ipsam peremptam mercede.'

XII. Tenuere tamen arcem Sabini; atque inde postero

¹ The two generals who obtained the *spolia opima* after Romulus, were A. Cornelius Cossus, who slew Lar Tolumnius, King of the Veientes, (as detailed in the 19th chap. of the 4th book,) A. U. C. 317, and Marcellus, who slew Viridomarus, king of the Gauls, A. U. C. 532. ² *Ex pacto tradendi*. In pursuance of their agreement to deliver up.

die, quum Romanus exercitus instructus, quod inter Palatium Capitolinumque collem campi est, complêset; non prius descenderunt in aequum, quàm, irâ et cupiditate recuperandae arcis stimulante animos, in adversum Romani subiêre. Principes utrinque pugnam ciebant; ab Sabinis Mettus Curtius, ab Romanis Hostus Hostilius. Hic rem Romanam iniquo loco ad prima signa animo atque audaciâ sustinebat. Ut Hostus cecidit, confestim Romana inflectitur acies; fusaque est ad veterem portam Palatii. Romulus et ipse turbâ fugientium actus, arma ad coelum tollens, 'Jupiter, tuis,' inquit, 'jussus avibus hic in Palatio prima urbi fundamenta jeci. Arcem jam, scelere emptam, Sabini habent. Inde huc armati, superatâ mediâ valle, tendunt. At tu, pater Deum hominumque, hinc saltem arce hostes: deme terrorem Romanis, fugamque foedam siste. Hic ego tibi templum Statori Jovi, quod monumentum sit posteris, tuâ praesenti ope servatam urbem esse, voveo.' Haec precatus, veluti si sensisset auditas preces, 'Hinc,' inquit, 'Romani, Jupiter optimus maximus resistere atque iterare pugnam jubet.' Resistere Romani, tanquam coelesti voce jussi. Ipse ad primores Romulus provolat. Mettus Curtius ab Sabinis princeps ab arce decucurrerat, et effusos egerat Romanos, toto quantum foro spatium est. Nec procul jam a portâ Palatii erat, clamitans, 'Vicimus perfidos hospites, imbelles hostes. Jam sciunt longè aliud esse virgines rapere, aliud pugnare cum viris.' In eum, haec gloriantem, cum globo ferocissimorum juvenum Romulus impetum facit. Ex equo tum fortè Mettus pugnabat: eò pelli facilius fuit: pulsum Romani persequuntur. Et alia Romana acies, audaciâ regis accensa, fundit Sabinos. Mettus in paludem sese, strepitu sequentium trepidante equo, conjecit: adverteratque ea res etiam Sabinos tanti periculo viri. Et ille quidem, annuentibus ac vocantibus suis, favore multorum addito animo, evadit. Romani Sabinique in mediâ convalle duorum montium redintegrant proelium, sed res Romana erat superior.

XIII. Tum Sabinae mulieres, quarum ex injuriâ bellum ortum erat, crinibus passis, scissâque veste, victo malis muliebri pavore, ausae se inter tela volantia inferre, ex transverso impetu facto, dirimere infestas acies, dirimere iras; hinc patres, hinc viros orantes, 'ne se sanguine nefando soceri generique respergerent; ne parricidio macularent partus suos,

'nepotum illi, liberum hi progeniem: ¹ Si affinitatis inter vos, si connubii piget, in nos vertite iras: nos causa belli, nos vulnerum ac caedium viris ac parentibus sumus. Melius peribimus, quam sine alteris vestrum viduae aut orbae vivere mus.' Movet res tum multitudinem, tum duces.

⁷ ^{u. c.} Silentium et repentina fit quies. Inde ad foedus faciendum duces prodeunt; nec pacem modò, sed et civitatem unam ex duabus faciunt: regnum consociant; imperium omne conferunt Romam. Ita geminatâ urbe², ut Sabinis tamen aliquid daretur, Quirites a Curibus appellati. Monumentum ejus pugnae, ubi primum ex profundâ emersus palude equus Curtium in vado statuit, Curtium lacum appellârunt³. Ex bello tam tristi laeta repente pax cariores Sabinas viris ac parentibus, et ante omnes Romulo ipsi, fecit. Itaque, quum populum in ^{curias} ~~curias~~ triginta divideret, nomina earum curiis imposuit. Id non traditur, quum hand dubiè aliquanto numerus major hoc mulierum fuerit⁴, aetate, an dignitatibus suis virosumve, an sorte lectae sint, quae nomina curiis darent. Eodem tempore et centuriae tres equitum conscriptae sunt: Ramnenses ab Romulo; ab Tito Tatius Tatienses appellati. Luserum nominis et originis causa incerta est. Inde non modò commune, sed concors etiam, regnum duobus regibus fuit.

XIV. Post aliquot annos, propinqui regis Tatii legatos Laurentium pulsant. Quumque Laurentes jure gentium agerent, apud Tatium gratia suorum et preces plus poterant. Igitur illorum poenam in se vertit. Nam Lavinii, quum ad solenne sacrificium eò venisset, concursu facto, inter-

¹² ^{u. c.} ficitur. Eam rem minùs aegrè, quàm dignum erat, tulisse Romulum ferunt. Seu ob infidam societatem regni, seu quia hand injuriâ caesum credebat. Itaque bello quidem abstinuit; ut tamen expiarentur legatorum injuriae, regisque caedes, foedus inter Romam Laviniumque urbes re-

¹ Observe the effect of the change, from the direct mode of reporting to the indirect. ² Two hills, the Coelian and Aventine, are stated by Dionysius to have been added to the city on this occasion, Romulus possessing the Coelian and Aventine, Tatius the Capitoline and Quirinal. ³ In the 7th book, Livy seems to prefer the account which ascribes the origin of this name to the well-known action of that Curtius, who leapt into the gulf in the Forum. ⁴ 683 is the number mentioned by Dionysius.

novatum est.¹ Et cum his quidem insperata pax erat ; aliud multo propius, atque in ipsis prope portis, bellum ortum. Fidenates, nimis vicinas prope se convalescere opes rati, priùs quàm tantum roboris esset, quantum futurum apparebat, occupant bellum facere : juventute armatâ immissâ, vastatur agri quòd inter urbem ac Fidenas est. Inde ad laevam versi, quia dextrâ Tiberis arcēbat, cum magnâ trepidatione agrestium populantur : tumultusque repens, ex agris in urbem illatus, pro nuncio fuit. Excitus Romulus, (neque enim dilationem pati tam vicinum bellum poterat,) exercitum educit : castra a Fidenis mille passuum locat. Ibi modico praesidio relicto, egressus omnibus copiis, partem militum locis circa densa obsita virgulta obscuris subsidere in insidiis¹ jussit ; cum parte majore atque omni equitatu profectus, id quod quaerebat, tumultuoso et minaci genere pugnae, adequitando ipsis prope portis, hostem excivit ; fugae quòque, quae simulanda erat, eadem equestris pugna causam minùs mirabilem dedit. Et quum, velut inter pugnae fugaeque consilium trepidante equitatu, pedes quòque referret gradum, plenis repentè portis effusi hostes, impulsâ Romanâ acie, studio instandi sequendique trahuntur ad locum insidiarum. Inde subito exorti Romani, transversam invadunt hostium aciem. Addunt pavorem mota e castris signa eorum, qui in praesidio relictos fuerant. Ita multiplici terrore percussî Fidenates, priùs penè quàm Romulus, quique cum eo equis ierant, circumagerent frenis equos, terga vertunt : multoque effusiùs (quippe verâ fugâ) qui simulantes paullò antè secuti erant, oppidum repētebant. Non tamen eripuerunt se hosti : haerens in terga Romanus, priùs quàm fores portarum objicerentur, velut agmine uno irrupit.

XV. Belli Fidenatis contagione irritati Vejentium animi et consanguinitate, (nam Fidenates quòque Etrusci fuerunt²,) et quòd ipsa propinquitas loci, si Romana arma omnibus infesta finitimis essent, stimulabat, in fines Romanos excucurrerunt, populabundi magis quàm justis more belli. Itaque

¹ *Locis circa, &c.* To crouch down in places of concealment, which the close bush-wood growing all around furnished. ² This remark is required as explanatory of *consanguinitate*, for Fidenae lay on the east of the Tiber, in the country of the Sabines, and is stated by Dionysius to have been colonized by the Albans.

non castris positis, non expectato hostium exercitu, raptam ex agris praedam portantes, Vejos rediēre: Romanus contrā, postquam hostem in agris non invenit, dimicationi ultimae instructus intentusque, Tiberim transit. Quem postquam castra ponere, et ad urbem accessurum, Vejentes audivere; obviam egressi, ut potius acie decernerent, quā inclusi de tectis moenibusque dimicaret. Ibi, viribus nullā arte adjutis, tantum veterani robore exercitus rex Romanus vicit: persecutusque fufos ad moenia hostes, urbe validā, muris ac situ ipso munitā, abstinuit; agros rediens vastat, ulciscendi magis quā praedae studio. Eaque clade haud minū, quā adversā pugna subacti Vejentes, pacem petitiū oratores Romam mittunt. Agri parte multatis, in centum annos induciae datae. Haec firmā, Romulo regnante, domi militiaeque gesta: quorum nihil absōmū fidei divinae originis divinitatisque post mortem creditae fuit¹; non animus in regno avito recuperando, non condendae urbis consilium, non bello ac pace firmandae. Ab illo enim profectu viribus datis tantum valuit, ut in quadraginta deinde annos tutam pacem haberet. Multitudini tamen gratior fuit quā patribus; longē ante alios acceptissimus militum animis. Trecentosque armatos ad custodiam corporis, quos Celeres appellavit, non in bello solū, sed etiam in pace, habuit.

XVI. His immortalibus editis operibus, quum ad exercitum recensendum concionem in campo ad Caprae paludem haberet, subito coorta tempestas cum magno fragore tonitribusque tam denso regem operuit nimbo, ut conspectum ejus

concioni abstulerit. Nec deinde in terris Romulus fuit.
 38
 v. c. Romana pubes, sedato tandem pavore, postquam ex tam turbido die serena et tranquilla lux rediit, ubi vacuam sedem regiam vidit, etsi satis credebat Patribus, qui proximi steterant, sublimem raptum procellā; tamen, velut orbitatis metu icta, moestum aliquamdiu silentium obtinuit. Deinde, a paucis initio facto, Deum Deo natum, regem parentemque urbis Romanae, salvere universi Romulum jubent. Pacem precibus exposcunt, *¶* uti volens propitius suam semper per sospitet progeniem. *¶* Fuisse credo tum quoque aliquos,

¹ *Quorum, &c.* Not one of which jarred with faith in his divine descent, and the place among the gods which he is believed to have attained after his death.

qui 'discerptum regem Patrum manibus' taciti arguerent : manavit enim haec quodque, sed perobscura, fama. Illam alteram admiratio viri et pavor praesens nobilitavit. Consilio, etiam unius hominis addita rei dicitur fides. Namque Proculus Julius, sollicitâ civitate desiderio regis, et infensâ Patribus, gravis, ut traditur, quamvis magnae rei auctor, in concionem prodit. 'Romulus,' inquit, 'Quirites, parens urbis hujus, primâ hodiernâ luce coelo repentè delapsus, se mihi obviam dedit; quum, perfusus horrore venerabundusque, adstitissem, petens precibus ut contrâ intueri fas esset; Abi, nuncia, inquit, Romanis, Coelestes ita velle, ut mea Roma caput orbis terrarum sit: proinde rem militarem colant: sci-antque, et ita posteris tradant, nullas opes humanas armis Romanis resistere posse. Haec,' inquit, 'locutus, sublimis abiit.' Mirum, quantum illi viro, nuncianti haec, fidei fuerit; quâmq; desiderium Romuli apud plebem exercitumque, factâ fide immortalitatis, lenitum sit.

XVII. Patrum interim animos certamen regni ac cupido versabat. Nec dum a singulis, quia nemo magnopere eminebat in novo populo, pervenerant factiones: inter ordines certabatur. Oriundi ab Sabinis, ne, quia post Tatii mortem ab suâ parte non erat regnatum, in societate aequâ possessionem imperii amitterent, sui corporis creari regem volebant. Romani veteres peregrinum regem aspernabantur. In variis voluntatibus regnari tamen omnes volebant, libertatis dulcedine nondum expertâ. Timor deinde Patres incessit, ne civitatem sine imperio, exercitum sine duce, multarum circa civitatum irritatis animis, vis aliqua externa adoriretur. Et esse igitur aliquod caput placebat; et nemo alteri concedere in animum inducebat. Ita rem inter se centum Patres, decem decuriis factis, singulisque in singulas decurias creatis, qui summae rerum praesessent, consociant. Decem imperitabant, unus cum insignibus imperii et lictoribus erat: quinque die- rum spatio finiebatur imperium, ac per omnes in orbem ibat¹:

¹ *Per omnes, &c.* This does not imply that the whole senators actually held the government for five days each, otherwise we should require in all 500 days. The chief power went the round of the whole 10 decuriæ, taking one man in each, and then returned to the first decuria, to recommence a similar round; and this form of government lasted for a year between the first and second kings.

annuumque intervallum regni fuit. Id ab re, quod nunc quodque tenet nomen, Interregnum appellatum. Fremere deinde plebs; 'multiplicatam servitutem, centum pro uno dominos factos:' nec ultrâ nisi regem, et ab ipsis creatum, videbantur passuri. Quum sensissent ea moveri Patres, offerendum ultrò rati, quod amissuri erant, ita gratiam ineunt, summâ potestate populo permissâ, ut non plus darent juris, quàm destinerent. Decreverunt enim, ut, 'cùm populus regem jussisset, id sic ratum esset, si Patres auctores fierent:' hodieque in legibus magistratibusque rogandis usurpatur idem jus, vi ademptâ¹: prius quàm populus suffragium ineat, in incertum comitiorum eventum Patres auctores fiunt. Tum interrex, concione advocatâ: 'Quod bonum, faustum, felixque sit,' inquit, 'Quirites, Regem create; ita Patribus visum est. Patres deinde, si dignum, qui secundus ab Romulo numeretur, creâritis, auctores fient.' Adeò id gratum plebi fuit, ut, ne victi beneficio viderentur, id modò sciscerent juberentque, 'ut Senatus decerneret, qui Romae regnaret.'

XVIII. Inclyta justitia religioque eâ tempestate Numae Pompilii erat. Curibus Sabinis habitabat, consultissimus vir, ut in illâ quisquam aetate esse poterat, omnis divini atque humani juris. Auctorem doctrinae ejus, quia non exstat alius, falsò Samium Pythagoran edunt: quem², Servio Tullio regnante Romae, centum ampliùs post annos, in ultimâ Italiae orâ, circa Metapontum Heracleamque et Crotona, juvenum aemulantium studia coetus habuisse constat. Ex quibus locis, etsi ejusdem aetatis fuisset, quae fama in Sabinos, aut quo linguae commercio, quenquam ad cupiditatem discendi excivisset? quove praesidio unus per tot gentes, dissonas sermone moribusque, pervenisset? Suapte igitur ingenio temperatum animum virtutibus fuisse opinor magis; instructumque non tam peregrinis artibus, quàm disciplinâ tetricâ ac tristiveterum Sabinorum: quo genere nullum quondam incorrup-

¹ *Vi ademptâ*. Some interpret, when no unlawful violence operates against it. The meaning is obviously, though its real force is now altogether destroyed. ² *Quem* *juvenum, &c.* Who, it is agreed on all hands, formed schools, where the young men engaged in philosophical studies similar to his own. Cicero uses *aemuli* in the same sense. Leno cujus inventorum aemuli Stoici nominantur. *Muraen.* 29.

tus fuit. - Audito nomine Numae, Patres Romani, quanquam inclinari opes ad Sabinos, rege inde sumpto, videbantur; tamen, neque se quisquam, nec factionis suae alium, nec denique Patrum aut civium quenquam praeferre illi viro ausi, ad unum omnes Numae Pompilio regnum deferendum decernunt. Accitus, sicut Romulus auguratò urbe condendâ regnum adeptus est, de se quoque Deos consuli jussit. Inde ab augure, (cui deinde, honoris ergo, publicum id perpetuumque sacerdotium fuit,) deductus in arcem¹, in lapide ad meridiem versus consedit. Augur ad laevam ejus, capite velato, sedem cepit, dextrâ manu baculum sine nodo aduncum tenens, quem lituum appellaverunt. Inde ubi, prospectu in artem agrumque capto, Deos precatus, regiones ab oriente ad occasum determinavit; dexterâ ad meridiem partes, laevas ad septentrionem esse dixit². Signum contrâ, quò longissimè conspectum oculi ferebant, animo finivit. Tum, lituo in laevam manum translato, dextrâ in caput Numae impositâ, precatus est ita: 'Jupiter pater, si est fas, hunc Numam Pompilium, cujus ego caput teneo, regem Romae esse; uti tu signa nobis certa adclarâssis³ inter eos fines, quos feci.' Tum peregit verbis auspicia, 'quae mitti vellet.' Quibus missis, declaratus rex Numa de templo descendit.

u. c. XIX. Qui, regno ita potitus, urbem novam, condi-
39. tam vi et armis, jure eam legibusque ac moribus de integro condere parat. Quibus quum inter bella assuescere videret non posse, quippe efferatos militiâ animos; mitigandum ferocem populum armorum desuetudine ratus, Janum ad infimum Argiletum, indicem pacis bellique, fecit: apertus, ut in armis esse civitatem; clausus, pacatos circa omnes populos, significaret. Bis deinde post Numae regnum clausus fuit: semel T. Manlio consule, post Punicum primum perfectum bellum: iterum, quod nostrae aetati Dii dederunt, ut videremus, post bellum Actiacum, ab Imperatore Caesare Augusto, pace terrâ marique partâ. Clauso eo, quum omnium circa finitimorum societate ac foederibus junxisset animos, positus externorum periculorum curis ne luxuriarentur otio animi, quos metus hostium disciplinaque militaris con-

¹ Arcem, an elevated spot. Tabernaculum is the word used, iv. 7.

² The space thus bounded by the augur was called Templum.

³ Uti, precor uti. Adclarassis for adclaraveris.

tinuerat; omnium primùm, rem ad multitudinem imperitam, et illis seculis rudem, efficacissimam, Deorum metum injiciendum ratus est. Qui quum descendere ad animos sine aliquo commento miraculi non posset, simulat, 'sibi cum Deâ Egeriâ congressus nocturnos esse: ejus se monitu, quae accepiatissima Diis essent, sacra instituere; sacerdotes suos cuique Deorum praeficere.' Atque omnium primùm, ad cursum lunae¹, in duodecim menses describit annum. Quem (quia tricenos dies singulis mensibus luna non explet, desuntque dies solido anno, qui solstitiali circumagitur orbe) intercalaribus mensibus interponendis, ita dispensavit, ut quarto et vigesimo anno ad metam eandem solis, unde orsi essent, plenius annorum omnium spatium, dies congruerent. Idem nefastos dies fastosque fecit; quia aliquando nihil cum populo agi utile futurum erat.

XX. Tum sacerdotibus creandis animum adjecit, quamquam ipse plurima sacra obibat, ea maximè, quae nunc ad Dialem flaminem pertinent. Sed, quia in civitate bellicosa plures Romuli, quam Numae, similes reges putabat fore, iturosque ipsos ad bella, ne sacra regiae vicis desererentur, flaminem Jovi assiduum sacerdotem creavit, insignique eum veste et curuli regiâ sellâ adornavit. Huic duos flamines adjecit: Marti unum, alterum Quirino. Virginesque Vestae legit, Albâ oriundum sacerdotium, et genti conditoris haud alienum. His, ut assiduae templi antistites essent, stipendium de publico statuit: virginitate aliisque ceremoniis venerabiles ac sanctas fecit. Salios item duodecim Marti Gradi-vo legit, tunicaeque pictae insigne dedit et super tunicam aeneum pectori tegumen: coelestiaque arma, quae ancilia appellantur, ferre, ac per urbem ire canentes carmina cum tripudiis solennique saltatu jussit. Pontificem deinde Numam Marcium, Marci filium, ex Patribus legit, ei que sacra omnia exscripta exsignataque attribuit; quibus hostiis, quibus diebus, ad quae templa sacra fierent, atque unde in eos sumptus pecunia erogaretur. Cetera quodque omnia publica privataque

¹ There is considerable discrepancy in the various accounts given of Numa's year. The previous division had been into 10 months, beginning with March. The two new months were January and February. A lunar year, consisting of 354 days, wants (*desuntque dies solido anno,*) 10 days 5 hours 49 minutes to complete the year, *qui solstitiali circumagitur orbe.*

sacra Pontificis scitis subjecit : ut esset, quò consultum plebes veniret ; ne quid divini juris, negligendo patrios ritus, peregrinosque adsciscendo, turbaretur. Nec coelestes modò ceremonias, sed justa quòque funebria placandosque Manes, ut idem Pontifex edoceret ; quaeque prodigia, fulminibus aliove quo visu missa, susceperentur atque curarentur¹. Ad ea elicienda ex mentibus divinis, Jovi Elicio aram in Aventino dicavit, Deumque consuluit auguriis, quae suscipienda essent.

XXI. Ad haec consultanda procurandaque, multitudine omni a vi et armis conversâ, et animi aliquid agendo occupati erant, et Deorum assidua insidens cura, quum interesse rebus humanis coeleste Numen videretur, eâ pietate omnium pectora imbuerat, ut fides ac jusjurandum, proximo legum ac poenarum metâ², civitatem regerent. Et quum ipsi se homines in regis, velut unici exempli, mores formarent ; tum finitimi etiam populi, qui antè, castra, non urbem, positam in medio ad sollicitandam omnium pacem, crediderant, in eam verecundiam adducti sunt, ut civitatem, totam in cultum versam Deorum, violari ducerent nefas. Lucus erat, quem medium ex opaco specu fons perenni rigabat aquâ, quò quia se persaepe Numa sine arbitris, velut ad congressum Deae, inferebat, Camenis eum lucum sacrauit ; ' quòd earum ibi concilia cum conjugè suâ Egeriâ essent.' Et soli Fidei solenne instituit³. Ad id sacrarium flamines bigis, curru arcuato, vehi jussit, manūque ad digitos usque involutâ rem divinam facere : significantes fidem tutandam, sedemque ejus etiam in dextris sacratam esse. Multa alia sacrificia locaque sacris faciendis, quae Argeos pontifices vocant, dedicavit. Omnium tamen maximum ejus operum fuit tutela, per omne regni tempus, haud minor pacis, quàm regni. Ita duo deinceps reges, alius aliâ viâ, ille bello, hic pace, civitatem auxerunt. Romulus septem et triginta regnavit annos : Numa tres et qua-

¹ *Quaeque prodigia, &c.* And what prodigies indicated by lightning or any other object presented to the sight, should be taken up, (deserved attention,) and expiated. The common term is *procurare*, not *curare*. ² *Proximo, &c.* The dread of laws and penalties being (next and consequently) inferior. ³ *Et soli Fidei, &c.* Viewed in connexion with the passage immediately preceding, the meaning probably is, whilst Numa paid these honours to other Deities in masses, he considered Faith a virtue of so much importance, as to institute an annual festival in her sole honour.

draginta. Tum valida, tum temperata et belli et pacis artibus, erat civitas.

82
U. C. XXII. Numae morte ad interregnum res rediit. Inde Tullum Hostilium, nepotem Hostilii, cujus in infansâ arce clara pugna adversus Sabinos fuerat¹, regem populus jussit. Patres auctores facti. Hic non solum proximo regi dissimilis, sed ferocior etiam Romulo fuit; tum aetas viresque, tum avita quodque gloria animum stimulabat. Senescere igitur civitatem otio ratus, undique materiam excitandi belli quaerebat. Fortè evenit, ut agrestes Romani ex Albano agro, Albani ex Romano praedas invicem agerent. Imperitabat tum C. Cluilius Albae. Utrunque legati ferè sub idem tempus ad res repetendas missi. Tullus praeceperat suis, 'ne quid priùs, quàm mandata, agerent.' Satis sciebat, negatarum Albanum; ita piè bellum indici posse. Ab Albanis sociordius res acta: excepti hospitio ab Tullo blandè ac benignè, comiter regis convivium celebrant. Tantiisper Romani et res repetiverant priores, et neganti Albano bellum in trigesimum diem indixerant. Haec renunciant Tullo. Tum legatis Tullus dicendi potestatem, quid petentes venerint, facit. Illi omnium ignari, primùm purgando terunt tempus: 'Se invitos quicquam, quod minùs placeat Tullo, dicturos; sed imperio subigi: res repetitum se venisse. Ni reddantur, bellum indicere jussos.' Ad haec Tullus: 'Nunciate,' inquit, 'regi vestro, regem Romanum Deos facere testes, uter priùs populus res repetentes legatos aspernatus dimiserit, ut in eum omnes expetant² hujusce clades belli.'

XXIII. Haec nunciant domum Albani. Et bellum utrinque summâ ope parabatur, civili simillimum bello, propè inter parentes natosque; Trojanam utramque prolem, quum Lavinium ab Troja, ab Lavinio Alba, ab Albanorum stirpe regum oriundi Romani essent. Eventus tamen belli minùs miserabilem dimicationem fecit: quòd nec acie certatum est; et, tectis modò dirutis alterius urbis, duo populi in unum confusi sunt. Albani priores ingenti exercitu in agrum Romanum impetum fecere. Castra ab urbe haud plus quinque millia passuum locant, fossâ circundant: fossa Cluilia ab nomine ducis per aliquot secula appellata est, donec cum re nomen quodque vetustate abolevit. In his castris Cluilius Al-

¹ See 12th chapter.

² *Expetant.* See next chapter, note 1.

banus rex moritur; dictatorem Albani Mettum Fuffetium creant. Interim Tullus ferox, praecipuè morte regis, 'magnumque deorum numen, ab ipso capite orsum, in omne nomen Albanum expetiturum' poenas ob bellum impium' dictans, nocte, praeteritis hostium castris, infesto exercitu² in agrum Albanum pergit. Ea res ab stativis excivit Mettum. Ducit, quàm proximè ad hostem potest; inde legatum praemissum nunciare Tullo jubet, 'priùs quàm dimicent, opus esse colloquio; si secum congressus sit, satis scire, ea se allaturum, quae nibilo minùs ad rem Romanam, quàm ad Albanam, pertineant.' Haud aspernatus Tullus, tametsi vana afferebantur, in aciem educit. Exeunt contrà et Albani. Postquam instructi utrinque stabant, cum paucis procerum in medium duces procedunt. Ibi infit Albanus: 'Injurias et non redditas res ex foedere, quae repetitae sint, et ego regem nostrum Cluiliū, causam hujusce esse belli, audisse videor: nec te dubito, Tulle, eadem prae te ferre³. Sed, si vera potiùs, quàm dictu speciosa, dicenda sunt, cupido imperii duos cognatos vicinosque populos ad arma stimulat. Neque, rectè, an perperam, interpretor: fuerit ista ejus deliberatio⁴, qui bellum suscepit. Me Albani gerendo

¹ *Expetiturum*. The idea conveyed by the expression *expetere poenas*, is the exaction of a penalty. It is consequently almost invariably followed by the preposition *a* or *de*. Some eminent critics have accordingly been led to expunge poenas after expetiturum, and to translate both passages as if *expetere* were equivalent to *evenire*. Taking, however, the latter passage as it stands, we may suppose that Livy passes from the notion of the party *from* whom the exacted penalty came, to that of the party *on* whom the exaction of the penalty was exercised; and we may translate the first passage thus, 'to cause all the calamitous consequences of this war to light upon his head.'

² *Infesto exercitu*. with an army acting on the offensive. ³ *Injurias*, &c. The grammatical arrangement seems to be, *Et ego videor audisse regem nostrum Cluiliū DICERE injurias et non redditas res ex foedere, quae repetitae sint, esse causam hujusce belli; nec te, dubito, Tulle, eadem prae te ferre*; I think I have heard our King Cluilius say, that acts of injustice, and the refusal to make restitution according to treaty, were the cause of this war; and I doubt not, Tullus, that you pretend the same thing. Dr HUNTER. Others supply *prae se ferre* instead of *dicere*.

⁴ *Fuerit*, &c. Let the consideration of that point, (the consideration of that point, viz. the propriety or impropriety of the war, I hold to be no business of mine, but to) have belonged to him.

' bello ducem creavere. Illud te, Tulle, monitum velim ;
 ' Etrusca res, quanta circa nos teque maximè sit, quò pro-
 ' pior es ¹, hoc magis scis. Multam illi terrâ, plurimum ma-
 ' ri pollent. Memor esto, jam, quum signam pugnae dabis,
 ' has duas acies spectaculo fore ; ut fessos confectosque, simul
 ' victorem ac victum, aggrediantur. Itaque, si nos Dii amant,
 ' quoniam, non contenti libertate certâ, in dubiam imperii ser-
 ' vitique aleam imus, ineamus aliquam viam, quâ utri utris
 ' imperent, sine magnâ clade, sine multo sanguine utriusque
 ' populi, decerni possit.' Haud displicet res Tullo, quanquam,
 tum indole animi, tum spe victoriae, ferocior erat. Quae-
 rentibus ² utrinque ratio initur, cui et fortuna ipsa praebuit
 materiam.

XXIV. Forte in duobus tum exercitibus erant trigemini
 fratres, nec aetate, nec viribus dispares. Horatios Curiatios-
 que fuisse, satis constat : nec ferme res antiqua alia est no-
 bilior. Tamen in re tam clarâ nominum error manet ; utrius
 populi Horatii, utrius Curiatii fuerint. Auctores utròque
 trahunt : plures tamen invenio qui Romanos Horatios vocent.
 Hos ut sequar, inclinât animus. Cum trigeminis agunt reges,
 ' ut pro suâ quisque patriâ, dimicent ferro. Ibi imperium fore,
 ' unde victoria fuerit.' Nihil recusatur : tempus et locus
 convenit. Priùs quàm dimicarent, foedus ictum inter Roma-
 nos et Albanos est his legibus, ' ut, cujusque ³ populi cives
 ' eo certamine vicissent, is alteri populo cum bonâ pace im-
 ' peritaret.' Foedera alia aliis legibus, ceterum eodem modo
 omnia, fiunt. Tum ita factum accepimus, nec ullius vetustior
 foederis memoria est. Fecialis regem Tullum ita rogavit :
 ' Jubeasne me, Rex, cum patre patrato populi Albani foedus
 ' ferire ?' jubente rege, ' Sagmina,' inquit, ' te, Rex, posco.'
 Rex ait, ' Puram ⁴ tollito : Fecialis ex arce graminis herbam

¹ *Propior es.* The manuscripts have *propiores Volscis*. This has been universally rejected, as the Volsci are a state of the Latins. The younger Gronovius reads, *propior es Veiis* ; Ruddiman and Dr Hunter, along with others, *propiores vos*. Heyne suggests the reading here adopted. ² *Quaerentibus.* The dative governed by *initur*, instead of the ablative with *a*. ³ *Cujusque* for *cujuscunque*. In the same way Horace uses *quandoque* for *quandocunque*.

' Indignor quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus.'

⁴ *Puram* agreeing with *herbam*. *Graminis herbam puram*, (Gramen, specifically grass, generically, as here, any herb,) a pure blade of vervain, the same as *sagmina*, (derived by Festus from *sanctus* or *sancio*), and *vervena*.

param attulit. Postea regem ita rogavit: 'Rex, facisne me tu regium nuncium populi Romani Quiritium? vasa, comitesque meos?' Rex respondit: 'Quod sine fraude meâ populi que Romani Quiritium fiat, facio.' Fecialis erat M. Valerius; patrem patratus Sp. Fusiū fecit, verbenâ caput capillosque tangens. Pater patratus ad iusjurandum patrandum, id est, sanciendum fit foedus; multisque id verbis, quae, longo effata carmine, non operae est referre, peragit. Legibus deinde recitatis: 'Audi,' inquit¹, 'Jupiter; audi, pater patre populi Albani; audi tu populus Albanus; ut illa palam prima postrema ex illis tabulis cerâve recitata sunt sine dolo malo, utique ea hic hodie rectissimè intellecta sunt, illis legibus populus Romanus prior non deficiet. Si prior defexit² publice consilio, dolo malo; tu illo die, Jupiter, populum Romanum sic ferito, ut ego hunc porcum hic hodie feriam: tantoque magis ferito, quanto magis potes pollesque.' Id ubi dixit, porcum saxo silice percussit. Sua item carmina³ Albani, suumque iusjurandum per suum dictatorem suosque sacerdotes peregerunt.

XXV. Foedere icto, trigemini, sicut convenerat, arma capiant. Quum sui utrosque adhortarentur, 'Deos patrios, patriam ac parentes, quidquid civium domi, quidquid in exercitu sit, illorum tunc arma, illorum intueri manus:' feroces et suapte ingenio, et pleni adhortantium vocibus, in medium inter duas acies procedunt. Consederant utrinque pro castris duo exercitus, periculi magis praesentis, quam curae, expertes. Quippe imperium agebatur, in tam paucorum virtute atque fortunâ positum. Itaque ergo erecti suspensique in minimè gratum spectaculum animo intenduntur. Datur signum; infestisque armis, velut acies, terni juvenes, magnorum exercituum animos gerentes, concurrunt: nec his, nec illis periculum suum; publicum imperium servitiumque obversatur animo, futuraque ea deinde patriae fortuna, quam ipsi fecissent. Ut primo statim concursu increpuere arma, micantesque fulsere gladii, horror ingens spectantes perstringit: et, neutrò inclinâtâ spe, torpebat vox spiritusque. Consertis deinde manibus, quum jam non motus tantum corporum, agitatioque anceps telorum armorumque, sed vulnera quodque et

¹ *Inquit.* Pater patratus inquit.

² *Defexit* for *defecerit.*

³ *Carmina.* Any set form of words is called carmen.

sanguis spectaculo essent; duo Romani, super alium alius; vulneratis tribus Albanis, exspirantes corruerunt. Ad quorum casum quum conclamâset gaudio Albanus exercitus, Romanas legiones jam spes tota, nondum tamen cura, deseruerat, exanimis vice unius, quem tres Curiatii circumsteterant. Fortè is integer fuit, ut universis solus nequaquam par¹, sic adversus singulos ferox. Ergo, ut segregaret pugnam eorum, capessit fugam, 'ita' ratus 'secuturos, ut quem-que vulnere affectum corpus sineret.' Jam aliquantum spatii ex eo loco, ubi pugnatum est, aufugerat, quum respiciens videt magnis intervallis sequentes: unum haud procul ab sese abesse. In eum magno impetu rediit; et, dum Albanus exercitus inclamat Curiatiis, 'uti opem ferant fratri,' jam Horatius, caeso hoste victor, secundam pugnam petebat. Tum clamore, qualis ex insperato faventium solet², Romani adjuvant militem suum: et ille defungi proelio festinat. Priùs itaque, quàm alter, qui nec procul aberat, consequi posset, et alterum Curiatium conficit. Jamque, aequato Marte, singuli supererant; sed nec spe, nec viribus pares. Alterum, intactum ferro corpus et geminata victoria, ferocem in certamen tertium dabant: alter, fessum vulnere, fessum cursu trahens corpus, victusque fratrum ante se strage, victori objicitur hosti. Nec illud proelium fuit. Romanus exsultans, 'Duos,' inquit, 'fratrum Manibus dedi: tertium causae belli hujusce, 'ut Romanus Albano imperet, dabo.' Malè sustinenti arma gladium supernè jugulo defigit: jacentem spoliât. Romani ovantes ac gratulantes Horatium accipiunt: eo majore³ cum gaudio, quo prope metum res fuerat. Ad sepulturam inde suorum nequaquam paribus animis vertuntur; quippe impetio alteri aucti, alteri ditionis alienae facti. Sepulchra exstant, quo quisque loco cecidit. Duo Romana uno loco propiùs Albam, tria Albana Romam versus; sed distantia locis, et ut pugnatum est.

¹ *Ut — sic.* These words are frequently used by Livy introducing antithetical clauses, and ought generally to be translated, *though,—yet.* ² *Qualis, &c.* Qualis clamor faventium solet oriri

ex insperato, like the shouts raised in the amphitheatre, by the backers of one of the combatants, on the occurrence of any unexpected success. Faveo is frequently applied to backing a combatant in the public spectacles; thus, *vincenti turmae quum sua turma favet.* MARTIAL. ³ *Majore, &c.* Gronovius suggests the division of *majore* into *magis magno*, that *magis* may be supplied to *prope*.

XXVI. 'Prius quam inde digrederentur,' roganti Metto, 'ex foedere icto quid imperaret,' imperat Tullus, 'uti juventutem in armis habeat: usurum se eorum opera, si bellum cum Vejentibus foret.' Ita exercitus inde domos abducti. Princeps Horatius ibat, trigemina spolia prae se gerens; cui soror virgo, quae desponsa uni ex Curiatiis fuerat, obvia ante portam Capenam fuit: cognitoque super humeros fratris paludamento¹ sponsi, quod ipsa confecerat, solvit crines, et flebiliter nomine sponsum mortuum appellat. Movet feroci juveni animum compleratio sororis in victoriâ suâ tantoque gaudio publico. Stricto itaque gladio, simul verbis increpans, transigit puellam. 'Abi hinc cum immaturo amore ad sponsum,' inquit, 'oblita fratrum mortuorum vivique, oblita patriae. Sic eat, quaecunque Romana lugebit hostem.' Atrox visum id facinus Patribus plebique: sed recens meritum facite obstabat: tamen raptus in jus ad regem. Rex, ne ipse tam tristis ingratiue ad vulgus iudicii, aut, secundum iudicium, supplicii auctor esset, concilio populi advocato, 'Duumviros,' inquit, 'qui Horatio perduellionem iudicent secundum legem, facio.' Lex horrendi carminis erat: 'Duumviri perduellionem iudicent. Si a Duumviris provocârit, provocatione certato: si vincent, caput obrubito: infelici arbori reste suspendito: verberato vel intra pomœrium, vel extra pomœrium.' Hac lege Duumviri creati, qui 'se absolvere' non rebantur 'eâ lege, ne innoxium quidem, posse,' quum condemnâssent; tum alter ex his, 'P. Horati, tibi perduellionem iudico,' inquit: 'I, lictor, colliga manus.' Accesserat lictor, iniciebatque laqueum. Tum Horatius, auctore Tullo, clemente legis interprete, 'Provoco,' inquit². Ita (de) provocatione

¹ *Paludamento*. Not used here in its strict acceptation, the military cloak of the general. ² *Rex ne, &c.* Several inferences, which appear to me to be erroneous, have been drawn from these sentences. *Perduellio* has been translated, on the authority of this passage, as simple murder: *iudicare perduellionem*, is stated to be equivalent to *perduellionis actionem intendere*: the law is said to have been made by Tullus for the occasion; and what is most important, the appeal to the people has been interpreted as a proof, that the popular power was superior to the regal. The true account of the matter seems to be, that the king, placed in a difficult situation, endeavoured to extricate himself, by throwing the case into the hands of the people themselves. In ordinary circumstances, it is probable he would have pronounced sentence himself, and that from his sentence there could be no appeal.

certatum ad populum est¹. Moti homines sunt in eo iudicio, maximè P. Horatio patre proclamante, 'se filiam jure caesam judicare; ni ita esset, patrio jure in filium animadversurum fuisse.' Orabat deinde, 'ne se, quem paullo antè cum egre- giâ stirpe conspexissent, orbum liberis facerent.' Inter haec senex, juvenem amplexus, spolia Curiatorum fixa eo loco, qui nunc Pila Horatia appellatur, ostentans, 'Hunc cine,' aiebat, 'quem modò decoratum ovantemque victoriâ inceden- tem vidistis, Quirites, eum sub furcâ vinctum inter verbera et cruciatus videre potestis? quod vix Albanorum oculi tam deforme spectaculum ferre possent. I, lictor, colliga manus, quae paullo antè armatae imperium populo Romano pepe- rerunt. I, caput obnube liberatoris urbis hujus: arbori infe- lici suspende: verbera, vel intra pomoerium, modò inter il- lam pilam et spolia hostium; vel extra pomoerium, modò in- tra sepulchra Curiatorum. Quò enim ducere hunc juvenem potestis, ubi non sua decora eum a tantâ foeditate supplicii vindicent?' Non tulit populus nec patris lacrimas, nec ip- sius parem in omni periculo animum: absolveruntque admi- ratione magis virtutis, quàm jure causae. Itaque, ut caedes

Valerius Publicola, we learn from II. 8, first introduced appeals even from the magistrates during the republic. Tullus therefore takes advantage of an old law, (Livy could not have said *Tullo clemente legis* interprete, if Tullus had made the law,) provided for cases of treason against the state, in which the ultimate decision of state charges was properly left to the people. *Reus perduellionis dicebatur qui se quoque modo hostii animo in rempublicam esse declarasset.* VAURO. Horatius was, at the time he committed the deed, invested with an important public office, and therefore could with propriety be styled a *reus perduellionis*, as he had exposed the state in his public capacity to the wrath of heaven. The terms of the law left no option to the *Duumviri*, to whom, as a preliminary step, the passing of the sentence only was entrusted, *qui perduellionem judicent.* They at once, without considering his guilt or innocence, doom him to death as a traitor. This brings the matter before the people as a crime against them, by appeal not from the sentence of the *King*, but that of the *Duumviri*, and seems to have been the first time the law was acted upon, as Dionysius expressly states that the people had never before decided on a capital case. ¹ *De provocatione certatum est.* This would mean, the point was debated with regard to the appeal. The expression evidently corresponds to the clause in the law *provocatione certato*, and indicates, that in consequence of the appeal, the parties debated the case. Perhaps, as Faber suggests, the reading should be *itaque*. One manuscript has *ita demum*.

manifesta, aliquo tamen piaculo, lueretur, imperatum patri, ut filium expiaret pecuniâ publicâ. Is, quibusdam piacularibus sacrificiis factis, quae deinde genti Horatiae tradita sunt, transmissa per viam tigillo, capite adoperto, velut sub jugum mikit juvenem. Id hodie quodque publicè semper refectum manet. Sororium tigillum vocant. Horatiae sepulchrum, quo loco corruerat icta, constructum est saxo quadrato.

XXVII. Nec diu pax Albana mansit. Invidia vulgi, quod tribus militibus fortuna publica commissa fuerit, vanum ingenium dictatoris corrumpit; et, quoniam recta consilia haud bene evenerant, pravis reconciliare popularium animos coepit. Igitur, ut prius in bello pacem, sic in pace bellum quaerens, quia suae civitati animorum plus, quàm virium, cernebat esse, ad bellum palàm atque ex edicto gerendum alios concitat populos: suis per speciem societatis prodicionem reservat. Fidenates, colonia Romana, Vejentibus sociis consilii assumptis, pacto transitionis Albanorum ad bellum atque arma incitantur. Quum Fidenae apertè descissent, Tullus, Metto exercituque ejus ab Albâ accito, contra hostes ducit. Ubi Anienem transiit, ad confluentes collocat castra. Inter eum locum et Fidenas Vejentium exercitus Tiberim transierat. Hi et in acie prope flumen tenere dextrum cornu: in sinistro Fidenates propiùs montes consistunt. Tullus adversus Vejentem hostem dirigit suos: Albanos contra legionem Fidenatium collocat. Albano non plus animi erat, quàm fidei. Nec manere ergo, nec transire apertè ausus, sensim ad montes succedit. Inde, ubi 'satis subisse sese' ratus est, erigit totam aciem¹: fluctuansque animo, ut tereret tempus, ordines explicat. Consilium erat, 'quâ fortuna rem daret, eâ inclinare vires.' Miraculo primò esse Romanis, qui proximi steterant, ut nudari latera sua sociorum digressu senserunt: inde eques citato equo nunciat regi, 'abire Albanos.' Tullus in re trepidâ duodecim vocit Salios, fanaque Pallori ac Pavori. Equitem, clarâ increpans voce, ut hostes exaudirent, 'redire in proelium' jubet: 'nihil trepidatione opus esse: suo jussu circumduci Albanum exercitum, ut Fidenatium nuda terga invadant.' Idem imperat, 'ut hastas equites erigere jubeat.' Id factum magnae parti peditum Romanorum conspectum abeuntis Albani exercitus intersepsit; qui viderant, id, quod

¹ *Inde, &c.* Then, when he (Mettus) thought that he himself had gained a sufficient height, he causes his whole army to ascend.

ab rege auditum erat, rati, eo acrius pugnant. Terror ad hostes transit: et audiverant clarâ voce dictum; et magna pars Fidenatum, ut qui coloni additi Romanis essent¹, Latine sciebant. Itaque, ne subito ex collibus decursu Albanorum intercluderentur ab oppido, terga vertunt. Instat Tullus, fusoque Finenatum cornu, in Vejentem, alieno pavore perculsum, ferocior redit. Nec illi tulere impetum: sed ab effusâ fugâ flumen objectum a tergo arcebat. Quò postquam fuga inclinavit, alii, arma foedè jactantes, in aquam caeci ruebant; alii, dum cunctantur in ripis, inter fugae pugnaeque consilium, oppressi. Non alia antè Romana pugna atrocior fuit.

XXVIII. Tum Albanus exercitus, spectator certaminis, deductus in campos. Mettus Tullo devictos hostes gratulatur: contrà Tullus Mettum benigne alloquitur. ‘Quod bene vertat², castra Albanos Romanis castris jungere’ jubet; sacrificium lustrale in diem posterum parat. Ubi illuxit, paratis omnibus, ut assolet, vocari ad concionem utrumque exercitum jubet. Praecones, ab extremo orsi, primos excivere Albanos; hi, novitate etiam rei moti, ut regem Romanum concionantem audirent, proximi constitere. Ex composito armata³ circumdatur Romana legio. Centurionibus datum negotium erat, ut sine morâ imperia exsequerentur. Tum ita Tullus infit: ‘Romani, si unquam antè aliàs ullo in bello fuit, quod primùm Diis immortalibus gratias ageretis, deinde vestrae ipsorum virtuti, hesternum id proelium fuit. Dimicatum est enim non magis cum hostibus, quàm, quae dimicatio major atque periculosior est, cum proditione ac perfidiâ sociorum. Nam, ne vos falsa opinio teneat, injussu meo Albani subière ad montes: nec imperium illud meum, sed consilium et imperii simulatio fuit: ut nec vobis ignorantibus deseri vos, averteretur a certamine animus; et hostibus, circumveniri se a tergo ratis, terror ac fuga injiceretur. Nec ea culpa, quam arguo, omnium Albanorum est. Ducem secuti sunt: ut et vos, si quò ego inde agmen declinare voluissem, fecissetis. Mettus ille est ductor itineris hujus,

¹ When a sufficient number of Romans did not volunteer to colonize a proposed settlement, others were added. Thus, III. 1. *Ad eos pauci nomina dedere, ut ad explendum numerum coloni Volsci adderentur.*

² *Quod bene vertat.* Which, he prays heaven, may be conducive to good. Vertat used intransitively. ³ According to Dionysius, the Romans had swords concealed under their cloaks.

‘Mettus idem hujus machinator belli, Mettus foederis Romani Albanique ruptor. Audeat deinde talia alius, nisi in hunc insigne jam documentum mortalibus dederō¹.’ Centuriones armati Mettum circumsistant: rex cetera, ut orsus erat, peragit. ‘Quod bonum, faustum, felixque sit populo Romano ac mihi, vobisque, Albani, populum omnem Albanum Romam traducere in animo est; civitatem dare plebi; primores in Patres legere; unam urbem, unam rempublicam facere. Ut ex uno quondam in duos populos divisa Albana res est, sic nunc in unum redeat.’ Ad haec Albana pubes, inermis ab armatis septa, in variis voluntatibus, communi tamen metu cogente, silentium tenet. Tum Tullus, ‘Mette Fuffeti,’ inquit, ‘si ipse discere posses fidem ac foedera servare, vivo tibi ea disciplina a me adhibita esset. Nunc, quoniam tuum insanabile ingenium est, at² tu tuo supplicio doce humanum genus ea sancta credere, quae a te violata sunt. Ut igitur paulò antè animum inter Fidenatem Romanamque rem ancipitem gessisti, ita jam corpus passim distrahendum dabis.’ Exinde, duabus admotis quadrigis, in currus earum distentum illigat Mettum. Deinde in diversum iter equi concitati, lacerum in utroque curru corpus, quā inhaeserant vinculis membra, portantes³. Avertere omnes a tantā foeditate spectaculi oculos. Primum ultimumque illud supplicium apud Romanos exempli parum memoris legum humanarum fuit. In aliis gloriari licet, nulli gentium mitiores placuisse poenas.

XXIX. Inter haec jam praemissi Albam erant equites⁴, qui multitudinem traducerent Romam. Legiones deinde ductae ad diruendam urbem; quae ubi intravere portas, non quidem fuit tumultus ille, nec pavor, qualis captarum esse urbium solet; quum, effractis portis, stratisve ariete muris, aut arce vi captā, clamor hostilis et cursus per urbem armatorum omnia ferro flammāque miscet: sed silentium triste ac tacita moestitia ita defixit omnium animos, ut prae metu oblii, quid relinquerent, quid secum ferrent, deficiente consilio, rogantesque alii alios, nunc in liminibus starent, nunc errabundi domos suas, ultimum illud⁵ visuri, pervagarentur. Ut verò

¹ *Nisi, &c.* If I shall have failed in now making him a memorable example for the instruction of all men. *Documentum*, any thing which instructs. ² *At*, at least. ³ See Virgil, VIII, 642. ⁴ They

were commanded by the Horatius who slew his sister. ⁵ *Ultimum*

jam equitum clamor exire jubentium instabat, jam fragor tectorum, quae diruebantur, ultimis urbis partibus audiebatur, pulvisque, ex distantibus locis ortus, velut nube inductâ omnia impleverat; raptim, quibus quisque poterat, elatis, quum larem ac penates tectaque, 'in quibus natus quisque educatusque esset,' relinquentes exirent: jam continens agmen migrantium impleverat vias: et conspectus aliorum mutuâ miseratione integrabat lacrimas: vocesque etiam miserabiles exaudiebantur: mulierum praecipuè, quum obsessa ab armatis templa augusta praeterirent, ac velut captos relinquerent Deos. Egressis urbem Albanis, Romanus passim publica privataque omnia tecta adaequat solo, unaque hora¹ quadringentorum annorum opus, quibus Alba steterat, excidio ac ruinis dedit. Templis tamen Deûm (ita enim edictum ab rege fuerat) temperatum est.

XXX. Roma interim crescit Albae ruinis. Duplicatur civium numerus. Coelius additur urbi mons²: et, quò frequentius habitaretur, eam sedem Tullus regiae capit, ibique habitavit. Principes Albanorum in Patres, ut ea quòque pars reipublicae cresceret, legit Tullios, Servilios, Quintios, Geganios, Curiatios, Cloelios: templumque ordini³ ab se aucto curiam fecit, quae Hostilia usque ad patrum nostrorum aetatem appellata est, et, ut omnium ordinum viribus aliquid ex novo populo adjiceretur, equitum decem turmas ex Albanis legit. Legiones et veteres eodem supplemento explevit, et novas scripsit. Hac fiduciâ virum Tullus Sabinis bellam indicit; genti eâ tempestate secundum Etruscos opulentissimae viris armisque. Utrinque injuriae factae, ac res nequaquam erant repetitae. Tullus, 'ad Feroniae sanum mercatu frequenti negotiatores Romanos comprehensos,' querebatur: Sabini, 'suos prius in lucum confugisse, ac Romae retentos.' Hae causae belli ferebantur. Sabini, haud parùm memores, 'et suarum virum partem

illud, for that last time. Something similar to this adverbial use of the pronoun is to be found in the English expression, *and that*, and in the Greek *καὶ ταῦτα*, *faciens, doing*, and *ποῦν*, being perhaps understood.

¹ Dionysius states the period of Alba's duration as 387 years. ² See p. 16, note 2. The Coelian was on this occasion included within the walls. ³ Any place consecrated by the augurs was called *templum*,

from *temple*, an obsolete verb, remaining in its compound *contemplot*, to behold, with an evident reference to the forms observed in taking the auspices, c. 18. The senate houses were always thus consecrated.

'Romae ab Tatio locatam, et Romanam rem nuper etiam 'adjectione populi Albani auctam,' circumspicere et ipsi externa auxilia. Etruria erat vicina, proximi Etruscorum Veientes. Inde, ob residuas bellorum iras maximè sollicitatis ad defectionem animis, voluntarios traxere. Et apud vagos quosdam ex inopi plebe etiam merces valuit. Publico auxilio nullo adjuti sunt, valuitque apud Veientes (nam de ceteris minùs mirum est) pacta cum Romulo induciarum fides¹. Quum bellum utrinque summâ opâ pararent, vertique in eo res videretur, utri prius arma inferrent, occupat Tullus in agrum Sabinum transire. Pugna atrox ad silvam Malitiosam fuit. Ubi et peditum quidem robore, ceterum equitatu aucto super, plurimum Romana acies valuit. Ab equitibus repentè invectis turbati ordines sunt Sabinorum: nec pugna deinde illis constare, nec fuga explicari sine magnâ caede potuit.

XXXI. Devictis Sabinis, quum in magnâ gloriâ magnisque opibus regnum Tulli ac tota res Romana esset, nunciatum regi Patribusque est, 'in monte Albano lapidibus 'pluisse².' Quod quum credi vix posset, missis ad id visendum prodigium, in conspectu, haud aliter quàm quum grandinem venti glomeratam in terras agunt, crebri cecidere coelo lapides. Visi etiam audire vocem ingentem ex summi cacuminis luco³, 'ut patrio ritu sacra Albani facerent,' quae, velut Diis quòque simul cum patriâ relictis, oblivioni dederant: et aut Romana sacra susceperant, aut, fortunae, ut fit, obirati, cultum reliquerant Deum. Romanis quòque ab eodem prodigio novendiale sacrum publicè susceptum est: seu voce coelesti ex Albano monte missâ, (nam id quòque traditur,) seu aruspicum monitu. Mansit certè solenne, ut, quandoque⁴ idem prodigium nunciaretur, feriae per novem dies agerentur. Haud ita multò pòt pestilentia laboratum est. Unde quum pigritia militandi oriretur, nulla tamen ab armis quies daba-

¹ There seems to be some confusion in this passage. The statement here made of the respect paid by the Veientes to the truce made with Romulus, (c. 15,) is quite at variance with their violation of that truce, mentioned in c. 27. ² *Lapidibus pluisse*. That there had been a shower of stones. *Lapidibus* the ablative; so uniformly in Livy after *pluo*. ³ *Videor* is often joined with verbs of hearing; thus,

Audire magnos jam videor duces. HOR. CAR. II. 1.

Visaeque canes ululare perumbram. VIRG. VI. 257.

⁴ See p. 26, note 3.

tur ab bellicoso rege, salubriora¹ etiam credente militiae, quàm domi, juvenum corpora esse; donec ipse quòque longinquo morbo est implicitus. Tunc 'adèd fracti simul cum corpore sunt spiritus illi feroces, ut, qui nihil antè ratus esset minùs regium, quàm sacris dedere animum, repentè omnibus magnis parvisque superstitionibus obnoxius degeret, religionibusque etiam populum impleret. Vulgò jam homines, eum statum rerum, qui sub Numà rege fuerat, requirentes, unam opem aegris corporibus relictam, si pax veniaque ab Diis impetrata esset, credebant. 'Ipsam regem,' tradunt, 'volventem commentarios Numae, quum ibi quaedam occulta solennia sacrificia Jovi Elicio² facta invenisset, operatum his sacris se abdidisse; sed non ritè initum aut curatum id sacrum esse; nec solùm nullam ei oblatam coelestium speciem, sed irà Jovis, sollicitati pravà religione, fulmine ictum cum domo conflagrâsse.' Tullus magnà glorià belli regnavit annos duos et triginta.

XXXII. Mortuo Tullo, res, ut institutum jam inde
 u. c. ab initio erat, ad Patres redierat: hique interregem
 114. nominaverant; quo comitia habente, Ancum Marcium regem populus creavit: Patres fuere auctores. Numae Pompilii regis nepos, filià ortus, Ancus Marcius erat. Qui, ut regnare coepit, et avitae gloriae memor, et quia proximum regnum, cetera egregium, ab unà parte haud satis prosperum fuerat, aut neglectis religionibus, aut pravè cultis; longè antiquissimum ratus³, sacra publica, ut ab Numà instituta erant, facerè; 'omnia ea ex commentariis regis' pontificem 'in albam relata, proponere in publico' jubet. Inde et civibus otii cupidis, et finitimis civitatibus facta spes, in avi mores atque instituta regem abiturum⁴. Igitur Latini, cum quibus, Tullo regnante, ictum foedus erat, sustulerant animos: et, quum incursionem in agrum Romanum fecissent, repetenti-

¹ *Saluber* is generally used in an active sense, *health-bringing*, here *salubriora* for *saniora*, more healthy. ² See 20th chapter.

³ *Longè antiquissimum*, by far the most desirable plan. So iii. 20, *Id antiquius consuli fuit*. ⁴ *In avi, &c.* That the king would

adopt the manners and practices of his grandfather Numa, rather than continue in those of Tullus. From the vote of the Roman senate having been taken by the parties ranging themselves on different sides of the senate house, such words of motion, as *abire*, *transire*, *discedere*, are used generally to express the adoption of one opinion or habit in preference to another.

bas res Romanis superbè responsum reddunt ¹; ‘desidem Ro-
 ‘manum regem inter sacella et aras acturum esse regnum’
 rati. Medium erat in Anco ingenium, et Numae, et Romuli
 memor; et, praeterquam quòd ‘avi regno magis necessariam
 ‘fuisse pacem’ credebat, ‘quum in novo, tum feroci populo;’
 etiam, ‘quod illi contigisset otium, sine injuriâ id se haud
 ‘facilè habiturum: tentari patientiam, et tentatam contemni;
 ‘temporaeque esse Tullo regi aptiora, quàm Numae.’ Ut ta-
 men, quoniam Numa in pace religiones instituisset, a se bel-
 licae ceremoniae proderentur; nec gererentur solùm, sed
 etiam indicerentur bella aliquo ritu; jus ab antiquâ gente Ae-
 quicolis, quod nunc feciales habent, descripsit, quo res repe-
 tuntur. Legatus, ubi ad fines eorum venit, unde res repe-
 tuntur, capite velato filo, (lanae velamen est,) ‘Audi, Jupi-
 ‘ter,’ inquit, ‘audite fines’ (cujuscunque gentis sunt, nomi-
 nat,) ‘audiat fas. Ego sum publicus nuncius populi Romani,
 ‘justè pièque legatus venio, verbisque meis fides sit.’ Per-
 agit deinde postulata. Inde Jovem testem facit: ‘Si ego in-
 ‘justè impièque illos homines illasque res dedier ² nuncio po-
 ‘puli Romani mihi exposco, tum patriae compotem me nun-
 ‘quam siris ³ esse.’ Haec. quum fines suprascandit, haec, qui-
 cunque ei primus vir obvius fuerit, haec, portam ingrediens,
 haec, forum ingressus, paucis verbis carminis ⁴ concipiendique
 jurejurandi mutatis, peragit. Si non deduntur, quos ex-
 poscit, diebus tribus et triginta, (tot enim solennes sunt,) per-
 actis, bellum ita indicit: ‘Audi, Jupiter, et tu, Juno, Qui-
 ‘rine, Diique omnes coelestes, vosque terrestres, vosque in-
 ‘ferni, audite. Ego vos testor, populum illum,’ (quicunque
 est, nominat,) ‘injustum esse, neque jus persolvere. Sed de
 ‘istis rebus in patriâ majores natu consulemus, quo pacto jus
 ‘nostrum adipiscamur.’ Cum his nuncius Romam ad con-
 sulendum redit ⁵. Confestim Rex his ferme verbis Patres
 consulebat: ‘Quarum rerum, litium, causarum condixit pater

¹ The answer given by the Latins, we learn from Dionysius to have been, that the treaty had been made with Tullus, and, on his death, ceased to be binding. ² *Dedier for dedi*, pr. inf. pas. ³ *Siris* for *siveris*, or *sieris*. ⁴ See p. 27, note 3. ⁵ *Cum his*. Upon this the messenger returns to Rome,—an expression similar to those which frequently occur in conversation. *With this*, off he went. Dr HUNTER. —Up to this point Livy describes the procedure of the *Feciales* in all cases of meditated war; but in what follows, details the mode in which this particular war only was solemnly undertaken.

‘*patratus populi Romani Quiritium patri patrato Priscorum Latinorum hominibusque Priscis Latinis, quas res dari, fieri, solvi oportuit, quas res nec dederunt, nec fecerunt, nec solverunt, dic,*’ inquit ei, quem primum sententiam regabat, ‘*quid censes*¹?’ Tum ille: ‘*Puro pioque duello quaerendas censeo, itaque consentio consciscoque.*’ Inde ordine alii rogabantur: quandòque² pars major eorum, qui aderant, in eandem sententiam ibat, bellum erat consensu. Fieri solitum, ut facialis hastam ferratam aut sanguineam praeustam ad fines eorum ferret, et, non minùs tribus pueribus praesentibus, diceret: ‘*Quòd populi Priscorum Latinorum, hominesque Prisci Latini adversus populum Romanum Quiritium fecerunt, deliquerunt, quòd populus Romanus Quiritium bellum cum Priscis Latinis jussit esse, senatusque populi Romani Quiritium censuit, consensit, conscivit, ut bellum cum Priscis Latinis fieret; ob eam rem ego populusque Romanus populis Priscorum Latinorum hominibusque Priscis Latinis, bellum indico facioque.*’ Id ubi dixisset, hastam in fines eorum emittebat³. Hoc tum modo ab Latinis repetitae res, ac bellum indictum: moremque eum posterì acciperunt.

¹ *Quarum, &c.* What governs *rerum*? Does *condixit* refer to the making of a treaty, or the demanding restitution? Was it the office of the pater patratus to demand restitution, or to make treaties only? Without entering into the many points of controversy arising from this sentence, it will perhaps be better to give what seems at least a probable construction and translation of the passage. *Dic quid censes* (de his rebus, causis, litibus, dationem, factionem, solutionem.) *quarum rerum, litium, causarum, pater patratus Populi Romani Quiritium condixit patri patrato Priscorum Latinorum hominibusque Priscis Latinis, quas res oportuit dari, fieri, solvi, quas res nec dederunt, nec fecerunt, nec solverunt?* ‘Pronounce your opinion with regard to the matters, causes, controversies, for the giving, performing, and discharging of which the pater patratus of the Roman people entered into a treaty with the pater patratus of the Prisci Latini, and with the Prisci Latini, which things ought to have been given, performed, discharged, which things they have neither given, nor performed, nor discharged.’ Observe *oportuit dari, not oportet dari esse*, according to the English idiom: thus, *oportet rem dari, a thing ought to be given; oportuit rem dari, a thing ought to have been given.*

² See p. 26, note 3. ³ This formula was called *Clarigatio*. The whole ceremony, in later ages, when the extension of the Roman territory led them to make war on distant states, was performed in an open space within the city. It is thus alluded to by Ovid:

XXXIII. Ancus, demandatâ curâ sacrorum flaminibus sacerdotibusque aliis, exercitu novo conscripto, profectus, Politorium, urbem Latinorum, vi cepit; secutusque morem regum priorum, qui rem Romanam auxerant hostibus in civitatem accipiendis, multitudinem omnem Romanam tradexit. Et, quum circa Palatium, sedem veterum Romanorum, Sabini Capitolium atque arcem, Coelium montem Albani implerent; Aventium novae multitudini datum. Additi eodem haud ita multo post, Tellemis Ficanaeque captis, novi cives. Politorium inde rursus bello repetitum¹, quod vacuum occupaverant Prisci Latini. Eaque causa diruendae urbis ejus facti Romanis, ne hostium semper receptaculum esset. Postremo, omni bello Latino Medulliam compulso, aliquandiu ibi Marte incerto, variâ victoriâ, pugnatum est; nam et urbs tuta munitionibus, praesidioque firmata valido erat, et, castris in aperto positâ, aliquoties exercitus Latinus cominus cum Romanis signa contulerat. Ad ultimum, omnibus copiis connixus Ancus, acie primùm vincit: inde ingenti praedâ potitus, Romam redit, tam quodque multis millibus Latinorum in civitatem acceptis; quibus, ut jungeretur Palatio Aventinum, ad Murciae² datae sedes. Janiculum quodque adjectum; non inopiâ loci, sed ne quando ea arx hostium esset. Id non muro solum, sed etiam, ob commoditatem itineris, ponte sublicio, tum primùm in Tiberim facto, conjungi urbi placuit. Quiritium quodque fossa, haud parvum munimentum a planioribus aditu locis, Anco regis opus est. Ingenti incremento rebus auctis, quum in tantâ multitudine hominum, discrimine rectè an perperam facti confuso, facinora clandestina fierent³, carcer ad terrorem incrementis audaciae mediâ urbe, imminens foro, aedificatur. Nec urbs tantùm hoc rege crevit, sed etiam ager finesque. Silva Maesia Vejentibus adempta, usque ad mare imperium

¹ Prospicit a templo summum brevis area Circum,

² Est ibi non parvae parva columna notae.

³ Hinc solet, hasta manu, belli praenuntia, mitti,

⁴ In regem et gentes, cum placet arma capi.

FASTI, VI. 205.

¹ *Rursus repetitum* simply expresses more strongly the idea conveyed by *rursus petitum*, or *repetitum*. ² *Ad Murciae aedem*. ³ *Quum*, &c. When in so numerous a population, crimes were committed without detection, from the difficulty of distinguishing between legal and unlawful actions.

U. C.
133. prolatum, et in ore Tiberis Ostia urbs condita : salinae circa factae, egregièque rebus bello gestis, aedes Jovis Feretrii amplificata.

XXXIV. Anco regnante, Lucumo, vir impiger ac divitiis potens, Romam commigravit, cupidine maximè ac spe magni honoris, cujus adipiscendi Tarquiniis, (nam ibi quòque peregrinà stirpe oriundus erat,) facultas non fuerat. Damarati Corinthii filius erat; qui, ob seditiones domo profugus, quum Tarquiniis fortè consedisset, uxore ibi ductâ, duos filios genuit. Nomina his Lucumo atque Aruns fuerunt. Lucumo superfuit patri, bonorum omnium haeres: Aruns prior, quàm pater, moritur; uxore gravidâ relictâ. Nec diu manet superstes filio pater; qui quum, ignorans nulum ventrem ferre, immemor in testando nepotis decessisset, puero, post avi mortem, in nullam sortem bonorum nato, ab inopiâ Egerio inditum nomen. Lucumoni contrâ, omnium haeredi bonorum, quum divitiae jam animos facerent, auxit ducta in matrimonium Tanaquil, summo loco nata, et quae haud facilè iis, in quibus nata erat, humiliora sineret ea, quae innupsisset¹. Spernentibus Etruscis Lucumonem, exsule advenâ ortum, ferre indignitatem non potuit; oblitaque ingenuitatis erga patriam caritatis, dummodo virum honoratum videret, consilium migrandi ab Tarquiniis cepit. Roma est ad id potissimùm visa. 'In novo populo, ubi omnis repentina atque ex virtute nobilitas sit, futurum locum forti ac strenuo viro: regnâsse Tatium Sabinum: arcessitum in regnum Numam à Curibus: et Ancum Sabinâ, matre ortum, nobilemque unâ imagine Numae esse².' Facilè

¹ *Et quae, &c.* And a woman whose disposition was such, that she would not easily permit the rank into which she had married to be inferior to that in which she had been born. As amongst the Romans, and probably the Etruscans, the husband acquired the *patria potestas* over his wife, she stood to him in the relation of daughter, and consequently was of the same rank. ² Facts do not exactly agree with the reasoning which Livy here ascribes to Tanaquil. Numa was himself of a noble family, his daughter might be considered a Roman rather than a Sabine, and the father of Ancus was a man of high rank. As the passage stands, however, *una imagine* has reference to a state of things which must have arisen long posterior to the date of Tanaquil's ambitious aspirations. Those only were entitled to have their images placed in the atrium who enjoyed certain offices. The first of a family thus privileged was called *novus homo*. His son would be styled *novus una imagine*. But, in this view, Romulus himself was *novus homo*, and *nulla imagine*.

persuadet¹, ut cupido honorum, et cui Tarquinii materna tantum patria esset. Sublatis itaque rebus commigrant Romanam. Ad Janiculum fortè ventum erat. Ibi ei, carpento sedenti cum uxore, aquila, suspensis demissa leniter alis, pileum aufert: superque carpentum cum magno clangore volitans, rursus², velut ministerio divinitus missa, capiti aptè reponit. Inde sublimis abiit. Accepisse id augurium laeta dicitur Tanaquil, perita, ut vulgò Etrusci, coelestium prodigiorum mulier. 'Excelsa et alta sperare' complexa virum, jubet. 'Eam alitem, eà regione coeli, et ejus Dei nunciam, venisse'³. 'Circa summum culmen hominis auspiciū fecisse. Levâsse humano superpositum capiti decus, ut divinitus eidem redderet.' Has spes cogitationesque secum portantes, urbem ingressi sunt, domicilioque ibi comparato, L. Tarquinium Priscum edidere nomen⁴. Romanis conspicuum eum novitas divitiarumque faciebant: et ipse fortunam benigno alloquio, comitate invitandi, beneficiisque, quos poterat, sibi conciliando, adjuvabat; donec in regiam quodque de eo fama perlata est; notitiamque eam brevi, apud regem liberaliter dextrarumque obeundo officia, in familiaris amicitiae adduxerat jura, ut publicis pariter ac privatis consiliis belli domique interesset: et, per omnia expertus⁵, postremò tutor etiam liberis regis testamentum institueretur.

XXXV. Regnavit Ancus annos quatuor et viginti, cuiuslibet superiorum regum belli pacisque et artibus et gloriâ par. Jam filii prope puberem aetatem erant. Eò magis Tarquinius instare, ut quàm primùm comitia regi creando fierent. Quibus indictis, sub tempus pueros venatum ablegavit. Isque primus et petisse ambitiosè regnum, et orationem dicitur habuisse ad conciliandos plebis animos compositam: 'Quum, se non rem novam petere: quippe qui non primus, quod quisquam indignari mirarive posset, sed ter-

¹ Facile persuadet viro. *Ut, as being.* ² Rursus reponit. *Rursus ponit or reponit.* See p. 39, note 1. ³ Eam alitem, &c. That such was the royal rank of the bird, such the quarter of the heaven, and such the god whose message it had borne. The bird, the eagle; the quarter of the heaven, the entrance to Rome; the god, Jupiter. ⁴ It is almost unnecessary to observe, that Livy anticipates in this passage. The name Tarquinius Priscus, Tarquin the Ancient, could hardly have been given till a younger Tarquin rendered the epithet necessary, for the sake of distinction. ⁵ Expertus, used passively. So Cap. 17. *Libertatis dulcedine nondum expertus.*

'tius Romae peregrinus regnum affectet: et Tatium non ex peregrino solum, sed etiam ex hoste, regem factum: et Numam, ignarum urbis, non petentem, in regnum ultrò accitum. Se, ex quo sui potens fuerit, Romam cum con- jure ac foetibus omnibus commigrasse: majorem partem aetatis ejus quàm civilibus officiis fungantur homines, Romae se, quàm in vetere patriâ, vixisse. Domi militiaeque sub haud poenitendo magistro, ipso Anco rege, Romana se jura, Romanos ritus didicisse. Obsequio et observantiâ in regem cum omnibus, benignitate erga alios cum rege ipso certasse.'

U. C. 138. Haec eum haud falsa memorantem ingenti consensu populus Romanus regnare jussit. Ergo virum, cetera egregium, secuta, quam in petendo habuerat, etiam regnantem ambitio est¹. Nec minùs regni sui firmandi, quàm augendae reipublicae, memor, centum in Patres legit; qui deinde minorum gentium sunt appellati; factio haud dubia regis, cujus beneficio in curiam venerant. Bellum primum cum Latinis gessit, et oppidum ibi Appiolas vi cepit: praedâque inde majore, quàm quanta belli fama fuerat, revectâ, ludos opulentiùs instructiùsque, quàm priores reges, fecit. Tum primum circo, qui nunc Maximus dicitur, designatus locus est. Loca divisa Patribus equitibusque, ubi spectacula, sibi quisque, facerent, Fori appellati². Spectavere furcis duodenos ab terrâ spectacula alta sustinentibus pedes. Ludicrum fuit, equi pugilesque ex Etruriâ maximè acciti. Solennes deinde annui mansere ludi, Romani Magnique variè appellati. Ab eodem rege et circa forum privatis aedificanda divisa sunt loca; porticus, tabernaeque factae.

¹ *Ergo, &c.* Ergo ambitio quam habuerat in petendo secuta est virum egregium caetera etiam regnantem. As might have been expected, the same love of popularity which he had entertained in his application for the sovereign power, clung to him, distinguished as he was in other respects, even after his elevation to the throne.

² Livy seems to have committed an oversight, in assigning separate seats to the senators and knights at so early a period. According to Dionysius places were marked off for the *curiae* only. Valerius Maximus, iv. 51, has the following remark: *A condita urbe usque ad Africanum et Tiberium Longum consules promiscuus senatui et populo spectandorum ludorum locus erat.* Besides, Livy himself confirms this when speaking of the Aediles, A. U. C. 556. *Horum aedilium ludos Romanos primum senatus a populo secretus spectavit*, xxxiv. 51. *Spectacula, loca unde spectamus.*

XXXVI. Muro quòque lapideo circumdare urbem parabat, quum Sabinum bellum coeptis intervenit. Adeòque ea subitè res fuit, ut priùs Anienem transirent hostes, quàm obviàm ire ac prohibere exercitus Romanus posset. Itaque trepidatum Romae est. Et primò dubià victorià magnà utrinque caede pugnatum est. Reductis deinde in castra hostium copiis, datoque spatio Romanis, ad comparandum de integro bellum, Tarquinius, 'equitem maximè suis deesse viribus' ratus¹, ad Ramnes, Tatienses, Luceres, quas centurias Romulus scripserat, addere alias constituit, suoque insignes relinquere nomine. Id quia inauguratò Romulus fecerat, negare Attus Navius, inclytus eà tempestate augur, 'neque mutari, neque 'novum constitui, nisi aves addixissent, posse'². Ex eo ira regi mota, eludensque artem, ut ferunt, 'Agedum,' inquit, 'divine tu, inaugura, fierine possit, quod nunc ego mente 'concipio.' Quum ille, in augurio rem expertus, profectò futuram dixisset: 'Atqui hoc animo agitavi,' inquit, 'te no- 'vaculà cotem discissurum. Cape haec, et perage quod aves ' tuae fieri posse portendunt.' 'Tum illum haud cunctanter 'discidisse cotem' ferunt. Statua Atti capite velato, quo in loco res acta est, in comitio, in gradibus ipsis ad laevam curiae fuit: 'cotem quòque eodem loco sitam fuisse' memorant, 'ut esset ad posteros miraculi ejus monumentum.' Auguriis certè sacerdotioque augurum tantus honos accessit, ut nihil belli domique postea, nisi auspicatò gereretur: concilia populi, exercitus vocati, summa rerum, 'ubi aves non admisissent,' dirimerentur³. Neque tum Tarquinius de equitum centuriis quicquam mutavit: numero alterum tantum adjecit, ut mille et octingenti equites in tribus centuriis essent. Posteriores modò sub iisdem nominibus, qui additi erant, appellati sunt: quas nunc, quia geminatae sunt, sex vocant centurias.

XXXVII. Hac parte copiarum auctà, iterum cum Sabinis configitur. Sed praeterquam quòd viribus creverat Roma-

¹ See Chap. 13. ² *Negare*, a negative joined with *neque mutari neque constitui*. To *nego* is generally attributed the force of *dicere non*. The difficulty is got rid off by resolving it into *dicere contra*. *Addixissent*, had sanctioned it; *Addicere* used in the same sense as *admittere* in a following passage. ³ *Concilia*, &c. The assemblies of the people were dismissed, the summoning of the soldiers was postponed, in short, all affairs of whatever importance were broken off whenever the Augurs declared that the birds had not sanctioned the proceedings.

nus exercitus, ex occulto etiam additur dolus, missis, qui magnam vim lignorum, in Anienis ripâ jacentem, ardentem in flumen conjicerent: ventoque javante accensa ligna, et pleraque in ratibus, impacta sublicis quum haerent, pontem incendunt¹. Ea quoque res in pugna terrorem attulit Sabinis. Effusis eadem fugam impediit: multique mortales, quum hostem effugissent, in flumine ipso periêre: quorum fluitantia arma ad urbem cognita in Tiberi, prius penè quàm nunciari posset, insignem victoriam fecere. Eo proelio præcipua equitum gloria fuit. 'Utrunque ab cornibus positos, quum jam pelleretur media peditum suorum acies, ita incurrisse ab lateribus' ferunt, 'ut non sisterent modò Sabinas legiones, ferociter instantes cedentibus, sed subito in fugam averterent.' Montes effuso cursu Sabini petebant, et pauci tenere; maxima pars, ut antè dictum est, ab equitibus in flumen acti sunt. Tarquinius, instandum perterritis ratus, prædâ captivisque Romam missis, spoliis hostium, (votum id Vulcanò erat,) ingenti cumulo accensis, pergit porrò in agrum Sabinum exercitum inducere: et, quanquam malè gesta res erat, nec gesturos meliùs sperare poterant, tamen, quia consulendi res non dabat spatium, iêre obviàm Sabini tumultuario milite. Iterumque ibi fusi, perditis jam prope rebus, pacem petiêre.

XXXVIII. Collatia, et quicquid circa Collatiam agri erat, Sabinis ademptum. Egerius, (fratris hic filius erat regis,) Collatiae in praesidio relictus. Deditosque Collatinos ita accipio, eamque deditiois formulam esse. Rex interrogavit; 'Estisne vos legati oratoresque, missi a populo Collatino, ut vos populumque Collatinum dederetis?' 'Sumus.' 'Estne populus Collatinus in suâ potestate?' 'Est.' 'Deditisne vos, populumque Collatinum, urbem, agros, aquam, terminos, delubra, utensilia, divina humanaque omnia, in meam populique Romani ditionem?' 'Dedimus.' 'At ego, recipio.' Bello Sabino perfecto, Tarquinius triumphans Romam rediit². Inde Priscis Latinis bellum fecit. Ubi nusquam ad universae rei dimicationem³ ventum est, ad singula oppida circumferen-

¹ *Ventoque, &c.* As the wind assisted the blazing wood, and most of it was driven on rafts against the wooden posts of the bridge, and stuck there, they set fire to the bridge.

² Though the triumph seems to have been instituted by Romulus, on the occasion mentioned by Livy in the 10th chap., this is the first time he notices it under its peculiar name.

³ *Ad, &c.* To a general engagement.

do arma, omne nomen Latinum domuit. Corniculum, Ficulea vetus, Cameria, Crustumerium, Ameriola, Medullia, Nomentum, haec de Priscis Latinis, aut qui ad Latinos defecerant, capta oppida. Pax deinde est facta. Majore inde animo pacis opera inchoata, quàm quantâ mole gesserat bella, ut non quietior populus domi esset, quàm militiae fuisset. Nam et muro lapideo, cujus exordium operis Sabino bello turbatum erat, urbem, quâ nondum munierat, cingere parat : et infima urbis loca circa forum aliasque interjectas collibus convalles, quia ex planis locis haud faciliè evehebant aquas, cloacis e fastigio in Tiberim ductis¹ siccant : et aream ad aedem in Capitolio Jovis, quam voverat bello Sabino, jam praesagiente animo futuram olim amplitudinem loci, occupat fundamentis.

XXXIX. Eo tempore in regiâ prodigium visu eventumque mirabile fuit. ‘Pueri dormienti,’ cui Servio Tullio nomen fuit, ‘caput arsisse’ ferunt ‘multorum in conspectu. Plurimo igitur clamore inde ad tantae rei miraculum orto excitos reges². ‘Et quum quidam familiarium aquam ad restinguendum ferret, ab reginâ retentum : sedatoque eam tumultu, moveri vetuisse puerum ; donec suâ sponte experrectus esset. Mox ‘cum somno et flammam abisse.’ Tum abducto in secretum viro Tanaquil, ‘Viden’ tu puerum hunc,’ inquit, ‘quem tam ‘humili cultu educamus ? Scire licet, hunc lumen quondam ‘rebus nostris dubiis futurum, praesidiumque regiae afflictæ. ‘Proinde materiem ingentis publicè privatimque decoris omni ‘indulgentiâ nostrâ nutriamus.’ ‘Inde puerum liberum loco ‘coeptum³ haberi, erudiri que artibus,’ quibus ingenia ad magnæ fortunæ cultum excitantur. Evenit faciliè, quod Diis cordi esset. Juvenis evasit verè indolis regiae. Nec, quum quaereretur gener Tarquinio, quisquam Romanae juventutis ullâ arte conferri potuit : filiamque ei suam Rex despondit. Hic, quâcunque de causâ, tantus illi honos habitus credere prohibet servâ natum eum, parvumque ipsum servisse. Eorum

¹ *Cloacis, &c.* By common sewers sloping down to the Tiber.

² *Reges.* The king and queen. In the same way Virgil applies the word *soceros* to Priam and Hecuba :

 Saepius Andromache ferre incommitata solebat

 Ad soceros.

 ÆN. II. 456.

³ *Coeptum haberi.* *Coepti*, when used with a verb in the passive, generally assumes itself a passive form.

magis sententiae sum, qui, 'Corniculo capto, Servii Tullii,' qui princeps in illâ urbe fuerat, 'gravidam viro occiso uxorem, quum inter reliquas captivas cognita esset, ob unicam nobilitatem ab reginâ Romanâ prohibitam' ferunt 'servitio partem Romae edidisse, Prisci Tarquinii domo. Inde tanto beneficio et inter mulieres familiaritatem auctam, et puerum, ut in domo a parvo eductum, in caritate atque honore fuisse: fortunam matris, quod captâ patriâ in hostium manus venerit, ut servâ natus crederetur fecisse.'

XL. Duodequadragesimo ferme anno, ex quo regnare coeperat Tarquinius, non apud regem modò, sed apud Patres plebemque longè maximo honore Servius Tullius erat. Tum Anci filii duo,—etsi antea semper pro indignissimo habuerant, 'se patrio regno tutoris fraude pulsos, regnare Romae advenam, non modò civicae, sed ne Italicae quidem stirpis¹;' tum impensius his indignitas crescere, 'si ne ab Tarquinio quidem ad se rediret regnum, sed praeceps inde porrò ad servitiâ caderet: ut in eâdem civitate post centesimum ferè annum², quam Romulus, Deo prognatus, Deus ipse, tenuerit regnum, donec in terris fuerit, id servus servâ natus possideat. Tum commune Romani nominis, tum praecipuè id domus suae dedecus fore, si, Anci regis virili stirpe salvâ, non modò advenis, sed servis etiam, regnum Romae pateret,'—ferro igitur eam arcere contumeliam statuunt. Sed et injuriae dolor in Tarquinium ipsum magis, quàm in Servium, eos stimulabat: et quia gravior ultor caedis, si superesset, Rex futurus

¹ *Non modo*, &c. In all the critical notices of this passage, (and this is assumed as a general rule in all cases where two clauses occur, the first with *non modo*, and the second with *ne quidem*,) the reader is directed to supply *non* after *non modo*. In a most valuable note by Dr Hunter, on a passage in the 2d book, this doctrine has been examined in a manner worthy of that eminent philologist. It will be sufficient here to state merely the two canons which he seems to have incontestably established, by reasoning derived both from the nature of the language generally, and the uniform practice of the Latin authors. 'I. When one common circumstance is denied in both clauses, and in the arrangement of the sentence is placed after *ne quidem*, no second negative is necessary after *non modo*. II. When two different and distinct circumstances are denied severally, one in each of the clauses, a second negative is indispensably required after *non modo*.' The real period was more than 140 years. But the sons of Ancus make the contrast stronger by bringing the two reigns closer in point of time.

erat, quàm privatus : tum, Servio occiso, quemcunque alium generum delegisset, eundem regni hæredem facturus videbatur. Ob hæc ipsi regi insidiæ parantur. Ex pastoribus duo ferocissimi delecti ad facinus, quibus consueti erant uterque agrestibus ferramentis, in vestibulo regiae, quàm potnere tumultuosissimè, specie rixæ in se omnes apparitores regios convertunt : inde, quum ambo regem appellarent, clamorque eorum penitus in regiam pervenisset, vocati ad regem pergunt. Primò uterque vociferati, et certatim alter alteri obstrepere, coerciti ab lictore, et jussi in vicem dicere, tandem obloqui desistant. Unus rem ex composito orditur. Cùm intentus in eum se Rex totus averteret, alter elatam securim in caput deiecit : relictoque in vulnere telo, ambo se foras ejiciunt.

XLJ. Tarquinium moribundum quum, qui circà erant, excipissent, illos fugientes lictores comprehendunt. Clamor inde concursusque populi, mirantium quid rei esset. Tanaquil inter tumultum claudi regiam jubet, arbitros ejicit : simul, quæ curando vulneri opus sunt, tanquam spes subesset, sedulò comparat : simul, si destituat spes, alia præsidia molitur. Servio properè accito, quum penè exsanguem virum ostendisset ; dextram tenens orat, ‘ ne inultam mortem soceri, ne socrum inimicis ludibrio esse sinat. Tuum est,’ inquit, ‘ Servi, si vir es, regnum ; non eorum, qui alienis manibus pessimum facinus fecere. Erige te, Deosque duces sequere, qui clarum hoc fore caput divino quondam circumfuso igni porterunt¹. Nunc te illa cœlestis excitet flamma : nunc expergiacere verè. Et nos peregrini regnavimus. Qui sis, non unde natus sis, reputa. Si tua re subitâ consilia torpent, at tu mea sequere.’ Quum clamor impetusque multitudinis vix sustineri posset, ex superiore parte aedium, per fenestras, in novam viam versas, (habitabat enim rex ad Jovis Statoris²) populum Tanaquil alloquitur : Jubet ‘ bono animo esse, sopitum fuisse regem subito ictu : ferrum haud altè in corpus descendisse : jam ad se redisse. Inspectum vulnus absterso cruore : omnia salubria³ esse : confidere, propediem, ipsum eos visuros. Interim Servio Tullio jubere populum dicto audientem esse. Eum jura redditurum, obiturumque alia

¹ See Chap. 39. ² Supply *aedem*. A common mode of expression with the Romans, as St. George's (church) with us. ³ *Omnia*, &c. That all the symptoms were favourable.

‘regis munia esse.’ Servius cum trabeâ et lictoribus prodit; ac, sede regiâ sedens, alia decernit, de aliis consulturum se regem esse simulat. Itaque, per aliquot dies, quum jam exspirâset Tarquinius, celatâ morte, per speciem alienae fungendae vicis suas opes firmavit. Tum demum palam facto, et

U. C.
176. comploratione in regiâ ortâ, Servius, præsidio firmo munitus, primus injussu populi, voluntate Patrum regnavit.

Anci liberi, jam tunc comprehensis sceleris ministris, ut vivere regem, et tantas esse opes Servii nunciatum est, Suesam Pometiam exsulatum ierant.

XLII. Nec jam publicis magis consiliis Servius, quàm privatis, munire opes¹. Et ne, qualis Anci liberum animus adversus Tarquinium fuerat, talis adversus se Tarquini liberum² esset, duas filias juvenibus regiis, Lucio atque Arunti Tarquiniis, jungit. Nec rupit tamen fati necessitatem humanis consiliis, quin invidia regni etiam inter domesticos infida omnia atque infesta faceret. Peropportunè ad praesentis quietem statûs bellum cum Vejentibus, (jam enim induciae exierant³,) aliisque Etruscis sumptum. In eo bello et virtus et fortuna enituit Tullii. Fusoque ingenti hostium exercitu, haud dubius rex, seu Patrum, seu plebis animos periclitaretur, Romam rediit. Aggrediturque inde ad pacis longè maximum opus; ‘Ut, quemadmodum Numa divini auctor juris fuisset, ita Servium conditorem omnis in civitate discriminis ordinumque, quibus inter gradus dignitatis fortunaeque aliquid interlucet, posteris famâ ferrent.’ Censum⁴ enim instituit, rem saluberrimam tanto futuro imperio: ex quo belli pacisque munia non viritim, ut antè, sed pro habitu pecuniarum fierent. Tum classes centuriasque et hunc ordinem⁵ ex censu descripsit, vel paci decorum, vel bello.

XLIII. Ex iis, qui centum millium aeris, aut majorem, censum haberent, octoginta confecit centurias, quadragenas

¹ *Publicis*, referring to the measures detailed in the previous chapter, *privatis*, to his domestic plans, which are narrated in the next sentence.

² Dionysius endeavours at great length to prove that these must have been the grandsons, not the sons, of Tarquin. ³ See Chap. 15.

⁴ *Census* here means a valuation of the fortunes, names, and families of the citizens, registered in the public records. In the first sentence of the next chapter, it means simply the fortune of the citizens.

⁵ *Hunc ordinem*. The arrangement of the state as at present existing. In the same way *Hoc Lupercal*, Chap. 5.

seniorum ac juniorum¹. Prima classis omnes appellati. Seniores, ad urbis custodiam ut praesto essent: juvenes, ut foris bella gererent. Arma his imperata, galea, clypeum, ocreae, lorica; omnia ex aere. Haec ut tegumenta corporis essent. Tela in hostem, hastaque et gladius. Additae huic classi duae fabrum centuriae, quae sine armis stipendia facerent. Datum munus, ut machinas in bello ferrent. Secunda classis intra centum usque ad quinque et septuaginta millium censum instituta; et ex his, senioribus junioribusque, viginti conscriptae centuriae: arma imperata, scutum² pro clypeo, et praeter lorica omnia eadem. Tertiae classis in quinquaginta millium censum esse voluit. Totidem centuriae et haec, eodemque discrimine aetatum, factae³: nec de armis quicquam mutatum; ocreae tantum ademptae. In quartâ classe census quinque et viginti millium, totidem centuriae factae. Arma mutata, nihil praeter hastam et verutum datum. Quinta classis aucta, centuriae triginta factae: fundas lapidesque missiles hi secum gerebant. In his accensi, cornicines, tibicinesque, in tres centurias distributi. Undecim millibus haec classis censebatur. Hôc minor census reliquam multitudinem habuit. Inde una centuria facta est, immunis militiâ. Ita pedestri exercitu ornato distributoque, equitum ex primoribus civitatis duodecim scripsit centurias. Sex item alias centurias, tribus ab Romulo institutis, sub iisdem, quibus inauguratae erant, nominibus fecit. Ad equos emendos dena millia aeris ex publico data; et, quibus equos alerent, viduae attributae, quae bina millia aeris in annos singulos penderent⁴. Haec omnia in dites a pauperibus inclinata onera. Deinde est honos additus. Non enim, (ut ab Romulo traditum ceteri servaverant Reges,) viritim suffragium eâdem vi eodemque jure promiscuè omnibus datum est: sed gradus facti, ut neque exclusus quisquam suffragio videretur, et vis

¹ *Juniorum*, from 17 to 45 years of age, *Seniorum*, all above.

² *Scutum*, a long oblong shield covering the whole body, and rendering unnecessary the *lorica*, which was worn by those who were defended by the *scutum*, or round shield. ³ That is, there were

twenty centuries, ten *juniorum*, ten *seniorum*. ⁴ *Et quibus, &c.* And the burden of maintaining their horses was laid on the widows, who were ordered to pay, (not each, but collectively,) to each horseman, 200 pounds of brass yearly.

omnis penes primores civitatis esset. Equites enim vocabantur primi; octoginta inde primae classis centuriae: ibi si variaret, quod raro incidebat, ut secundae classis vocarentur; nec fere unquam infra ita descenderent, ut ad infimos pervenirent¹. Nec mirari oportet, hunc ordinem, qui nunc est, post expletas quinque et triginta tribus, duplicato earum numero, centuriis juniorum seniorumque, ad institutam ab Ser. Tullio summam non convenire². Quadripartitam enim urbe divisâ regionibus collibusque, quae habitabantur partes, Tribus³ eas appellavit; ut ego arbitror, ab tributo: nam ejus quodque aequaliter ex censu conferendâ ab eodem inita ratio est. Neque hae tribus ad centuriarum distributionem numerumque quicquam pertinere.

XLIV. Censu perfecto, quem maturaverat metu legis de

¹ In order to get rid of the difficulties presented by this sentence some critics supply *tum efficiebatur* before *ut secundae*, &c., and are thus forced to change *descenderent* into *descenderunt*; others supply *incidit* after *usquam*, leaving *ut secundae classis vocarentur* unaccounted for. The conjecture of Sigonius seems after all the best, making *gradus facti* in the preceding sentence influence all that follows. The translation of the passage would, in this way, be; gradations of political power were established in such a way, that, on the one hand, no individual was excluded from the right of suffrage, and, on the other, the aristocracy had the whole management in their own hands; for the *Equites* were first called to vote; then the eighty centuries of the first class; if these were not unanimous, (*si sententia variaret*,) which rarely happened, the gradations were established in such a way, that the centuries of the second class were called, and in such a way, that they almost never descended so low as to reach the poorest class. ² *Nec mirari*, &c. This sentence is rendered obscure by our ignorance of the number of centuries into which the people were divided in the time of Livy, and of the precise effect which the introduction of Tribes, as a branch of the *comitia centuriata*, had upon the proceedings. The following translation is hazarded: Nor need we wonder that the arrangement of centuries, existing in our day, since the tribes have reached the full number of 35, double their number having been added, by forming them into centuries of *juniiores* and *seniores*, does not tally with the amount instituted by Tullus. It may be proper to remark, that *centuriarum* not *tribuum* is by others supplied after *earum*, and that the sentence is understood, consequently, to mean, that the number of centuries in the time of Livy was double what it was according to the institution of Servius Tullius. ³ These tribes were called, *Palatina, Esquilina, Suburrana, Collina*.

incensio latae cum vinculorum minia mortisque, edixit, ut omnes cives Romani, equites peditesque, in sua quaque centurie, in campo Martio primâ luce adessent. Ibi instructum exercitum omnem suovetaurilibus lustravit¹. Idque conditum² lustrum appellatum, quia is censendo finis factus est. Milia octoginta eo lustro civium censa dicuntur³. Adjicit scriptor antiquissimus Fabius Pictor, 'eorum, qui ferre arma possent, eum numerum fuisse.' Ad eam multitudinem urbs quòque amplificanda visa est. Addit duos colles, Quirinalem Viminalemque. Inde deinceps auget Esquilias⁴: ibique ipse, ut loco dignitas fieret, habitat. Aggere et fossis et muro circumdat urbem. Ita pomoerium profert. Pomoerium, verbi vim solam intuentes, postmoerium interpretantur esse. Est autem magis circa murum locus, quem in condendis urbibus quondam Etrusci, quâ murum ducturi erant, certis circa terminis inauguratò consecrabant: ut neque interiore parte aedificia moenibus continuarentur, quae nunc vulgò etiam conjungunt; et extrinsecus pari aliquid ab humana cultu pateret soli. Hoc spatium, quod neque habitari, neque arari fas erat, non magis 'quòd post murum esset,' quàm 'quòd murus post id,' pomoerium Romani appellârunt: et in urbis incremento semper, quantum moenia processura erant, tantum termini hi consecrati proferebantur.

XLV. Auctâ civitate magnitudine urbis, formatis omnibus domi et ad belli et ad pacis usus, ne semper armis opes acquirerentur, consilio augere imperium cœtus est, simul et aliquod addere urbi decus. Jam tum erat inclytum Dianae Ephesiae fanum: 'id communiter a civitatibus Asiae factum' 'fama ferebat.' Quum consensum Deosque consociatos lauda-

¹ *Ibi, &c.* There he purified with the sacrifice of a sow, a sheep, and a bull, (*Suovetaurilia*, compounded of *sus*, *ovis* and *taurus*,) the whole army drawn up in order. Dionysius substitutes a goat for a sow.

² *Condere* often signifies to terminate, as in Virgil,
Cantando puerum memini me condere soles.

EOL. ix. 52.

Hence we may translate *conditum lustrum*, the concluding purificatory sacrifice. ³ Dionysius gives the number as 84,700, and states, on the authority of the censor's book, that this included all the Roman citizens, not those only who were able to bear arms, which we learn, from the next sentence, to have been the opinion of Fabius Pictor. ⁴ Supply *aedificiis*. Some suggest *Aesquilis*, supplying urbem.

ret mirè Servius inter procures Latinorum, cum quibus publicè privatimque hospitia amicitiasque de industriâ junxerat; saepe iterando eadem perpulit tandem, ut Romae fanum¹ Dianae populi Latini cum populo Romano facerent. Ea erat confessio, 'caput rerum Romam esse'¹, de quo toties armis certatum fuerat. Id quanquam omissum jam ex omnium curâ Latinorum, ob rem toties infelicitè tentatam armis, videbatur; uni se ex Sabinis fors dare visa est privato consilio imperii recuperandi². Bos in Sabinis nata cuidam patri familiae dicitur, mirandâ magnitudine ac specie. Fixa per multas aetates cornua in vestibulo templi Dianae monumentum ei fuere miraculo. Habita, ut erat³, res prodigii loco est: et cecinere vates⁴, 'cujus civitatis eam civis Dianae immolâset, ibi fore imperium'; idque carmen pervenerat ad antistitem fani Dianae. Sabinus, ut prima apta dies sacrificio visa est, bovem Romam actam deducit ad fanum Dianae, et ante aram statuit. Ibi antistes Romanus, quum eum magnitudo victimae celebrata famâ movisset, memor responsi Sabinum ita alloquitur: 'Quidnam tu, hospes, paras?' inquit, 'incestè sacrificium Dianae facere? Quin tu antè vivo perfunderis flumine⁵? infimâ valle praefuit Tiberis.' Religione tactus hospes, qui omnia, ut prodigio responderet eventus, cuperet ritè facta, ex templo descendit ad Tiberim. Interea Romanus immolat Dianae bovem. Id mirè gratum regi atque civitati fuit.

XLVI. Servius, quanquam jam usu haud dubium regnum possederat, tamen, quia interdum jactari voces a juvene Tarquinio audiebat, 'se injussu populi regnare,' conciliatâ prius voluntate plebis, agro capto ex hostibus viritim diviso, ausus est ferre ad populum, 'vellent, juberentne, se regnare?' Tantoque consensu, quanto haud quisquam alius antè, rex est de-

¹ It was built on the Aventine Hill. ² *Uni, &c.* Fors imperii recuperandi privato consilio visa est dare se uni ex Sabinis. ³ *Uti erat.* By these words Livy indicates a belief in this prodigy, somewhat at variance with his common practice of narrating such incidents without any comment.

⁴ *Cecinere vates.* It is hardly necessary to remind the reader, that *canere*, *vates* and *carmen*, are applied alike to singing and prophesying, to poet and priest, to song and prophecy. Each word is here employed in its second meaning. ⁵ *Quin, &c.* Why do you not first wash yourself in running water? Perfunderis, *passive*, used as a *middle verb*.

claratus. Neque ea res Tarquinio spem affectandi regni minuit: immò eo impensius, quia de agro plebis adversâ Patrum voluntate senserat agi, 'criminandi Servii apud Patres, creandique in curiâ sibi occasionem datam' ratas est, et ipse juvenis ardentis animi, et domi (uxore) Tulliâ inquietum animum stimulante. Tulit enim et Romana regia sceleris tragici exemplum¹, ut tædio regum maturior veniret libertas; ultimumque regnum esset, quod scelere partum foret. Hic L. Tarquinius, (Priaci Tarquinii regis filius neposne² fuerit, parum liquet; pluribus tamen auctoribus filium ediderim,) fratrem habuerat Aruntem Tarquinium, mitis ingenii juvenem. His duobus, ut antè dictum est, duæ Tulliae, regis filiae, nupsérant, et ipsae longè dispares moribus. Fortè ita inciderat, ne³ duæ violenta ingenia matrimonio jungerentur, fortunâ, crede, populi Romani, quò diuturnius Servii regnum esset, constituique civitatis mores possent. Angebatur ferox Tullia, nihil materiae in viro neque ad cupiditatem, neque ad audaciam esse; tota in alterum versa Tarquinium, eum mirari, eum virum dicere, ac regio sanguine ortum: spernere sororem, 'quod virum nacta muliebri cessaret audaciâ.' Contrahit celeriter similitudine eos, ut ferè fit malum malo aptissimum. Sed initium turbandi omnia a feminâ ortum est. Ea, secretis viri alieni assuefacta sermonibus, nullis verborum contumeliis parcere, de viro ad fratrem, de sorore ad virum; et 'se rectius viduam, et illum coelibem futurum fuisse' contendere, 'quàm cum impari jungi, ut elanguescendum alienâ ignaviâ esset. Si sibi eum, quo digna esset, Dii dedissent virum, domi se propediem visuram regnum fuisse, quod apud patrem videat.' Celeriter adolescentem suae temeritatis implet⁴. Lucius⁵ Tarquinius et Tullia minor, prope

¹ *Tulit, &c.* For the Roman palace also, (as well as that of Agamemnon, a favourite scene of the tragic writers, where an infamous murder was committed on the king by his wife Clytemnestra, and where she herself was killed by her son Orestes,) witnessed a deed of guilt equal to any thing presented in tragic exhibitions. ² See p. 48, note 2. ³ *Ne.* See p. 5, note 4. ⁴ *Temeritatis implet.*

A verb of filling, governing the accusative with the genitive, ⁵ *Lucius.* The common reading of the MSS. is *Aruns*, but there can be no doubt that the one given in the text is correct. I. In all phrases similar to *quum domos vacuas novo matrimonio fecissent*, the verb has for its agent the guilty individuals, as in the familiar passage of Cicero, Catil. I. *Cum morte superioris uxoris domum vacuum navis nup-*

continuatis funeribus quum domos vacuas novo matrimonio fecissent, junguntur nuptiis, magis non prohibente Servio, quàm approbante.

XLVII. Tum verò in dies infestior Tullii senectus, infestius coepit regnum esse. Jam enim ab scelere ad aliud spectare mulier scelus: nec nocte, nec interdiu virum conquiescere pati, ne gratuita praeterita parricidia essent. 'Non sibi defuisse, cui nupta diceretur, nec cum quo tacita serviret: defuisse, qui se regno dignum putaret; qui meminisset se esse Prisci Tarquini filium; qui habere, quàm sperare, regnum mallet. Si tu¹ is es, cui nuptam esse me arbitror, et virum et regem appello: sin minus, eo nunc pejùs mutata est res, quòd isthic cum ignavià est scelus². Quin accingeris? Non tibi ab Corintho, nec ab Tarquiniis, ut patri tuo, peregrina regna moliri necesse est. Dii te penates patriique, et patris imago, et domus regia, et in domo regale solium, et nomen Tarquinium creat vocatque regem. Aut si ad haec parum est animi, quid frustraris civitatem? quid te ut regium juvenem conspici sinis? Facesse hinc Tarquinius, aut Corinthum. Devolvere retrò ad stirpem, fratri similior, quàm patri.' His aliisque increpando juvenem instigat, nec conquiescere ipsa potest: 'si, quum Tanaquil, peregrina mulier, tantum moliri potuisset animo, ut duo continua regna viro, ac deinceps genero, dedisset; ipsa, regio semine orta, nullum momentum in dando adimendoque regno faceret.' His muliebribus instinctus furiis Tarquinius circumire et prensare, minorum maximè gentium, Patres; admonere paterni beneficii³, ac pro eo gratiam repetere; allicere donis juvenes: tum de se ingentia pollicendo, tum regis criminibus omnibus locis crescere. Postremò, ut jam agenda rei tempus visum est, stipatus agmine armatorum, in forum irrupit; inde, omnibus percussis pavore, in regià sede pro

tiis fecisses. II. If we suppose that Livy, contrary to this practice, used, as the agent to the verb, the names of the parties put out of the way, a new nominative is required to *junguntur*. III. We learn from Dionysius, that Aruns Tarquinius, the second grandson of Tarquinius Priscus, was married to Tullia minor, the second daughter of Servius Tullius. If, then, the old reading were accurate, we should require *major* not *minor*. ¹ See p. 16, note 1. ² *Sui minus*, &c.

But if not, my condition has been changed to the worse, in so much as in you, there is guilt added to cowardice. ³ See the institution of the *patres minorum gentium* in the 35th Chapter.

curiâ sedens, Patres in curiam per praeconem ad regem Tarquinium citari jussit. Convenere extemplo, alii jam antè ad hoc praeeparati, alii metu, ne non venisse fraudi esset, novitate ac miraculo attoniti, et jam de Servio actum rati. Ibi Tarquinius, maledicta ab stirpe ultimâ¹ orsus; ‘Servum, servâque natum, post mortem indignam parentis sui, non interregno, ut antea, inito, non comitiis habitis, non per suffragium populi, non auctoribus Patribus, muliebri dono regnum occupâsse. Ita natum, ita creatum regem, fautorem infimi generis hominum, ex quo ipse sit, odio alienae honestatis ereptum primoribus agrum sordidissimo cuique divisisse: omnia onera, quae communia quondam fuerint, inclinâsse in primores civitatis: instituisse censum, ut insignis ad invidiam locupletiorum fortuna esset, et parata, unde, ubi vellet, egen-
tissimis largiretur.’

XLVIII. Huic orationi Servius quum intervenisset, trepido nuncio excitatus, extemplo a vestibulo curiae magnâ voce, ‘Quid hoc,’ inquit, ‘Tarquini, rei est? quâ tu audaciâ, me vivo, vocare ausus es Patres? aut in sede considerare meâ?’ Quum ille ferociter ad haec, ‘Se patris sui tenere sedem, multo, quàm servum, potiorum filium regis regni haeredem: satis illum diu per licentiam eludentem insultâsse dominis;’ clamor ab utriusque fautoribus oritur, et concursus populi fiebat in curiam: apparebatque regnaturum, qui vicisset. Tum Tarquinius, necessitate jam ipsâ cogente ultima audere, multo et aetate et viribus validior, medium arripit Servium; elatumque e curiâ in inferiorem partem per gradus dejicit. Inde ad cogendum Senatum in curiam redit. Fit fuga regis apparitorum, atque comitum. Ipse prope exsanguis, quum semianimi regio comitatu domum se reciperet; pervenissetque ad summum Cyprium vicum, ab iis, qui missi ab Tarquinio fugientem consecuti erant, interficitur. Creditur, quia non abhorret a cetero scelere, ‘admonitu Tulliae id factum.’ Carpento certè, (id quod satis constat,) in forum invecta. Nec reverita coetum virorum, evocavit virum e curiâ; regemque prima appellavit. A quo facessere jussa ex tanto tumultu, quum se domum reciperet, pervenissetque ad summum Cyprium vicum, ubi Dianium² nuper fuit; flectenti

¹ Ab stirpe ultima. From his degraded origin.

² Dianium.

A temple to Diana, as in Greek from *Ἥρακλεις*, is formed *Ἥρακλίων*.

carpentum dextrâ in Virbium clivum, ut in collem Esquilium eveheretur, restitit pavidus, atque inhibuit frenos is, qui jumenta agebat, jacentemque dominae Servium trucidatum ostendit¹. Foedum inhumanumque inde traditur scelus, monumentoque locus est: Sceleratum vicum vocant, quo 'amens, agitantibus furiis sororis ac viri, Tullia per patris corpus carpentum egisse' fertur, 'partemque sanguinis ac caedis paternae cruento vehiculo, contaminata ipsa respersaque, tulisse ad penates suos virique sui: quibus iratis, malo regni principio similes prope diem exitus sequerentur.' Ser. Tullius regnavit annos quatuor et quadraginta, ita ut bono etiam moderatoque succedenti regi difficilis aemulatio esset. Ceterum id quoque ad gloriam accessit, quod cum illo simul justa ac legitima regna occiderunt. 'Id ipsum tam mite ac tam moderatum imperium tamen, quia unius esset, deponere eum in animo habuisse,' quidam auctores sunt, 'nisi scelus intestinum liberandae patriae consilia agitati intervenisset.'

XLIX. Inde L. Tarquinius regnare coepit, cui *Su-*
220. perbo cognomen facta indiderunt, quia socerum gener sepulturâ prohibuit: 'Romulum quoque insepultum perisse' dictitans: primores Patrum, quos Servii rebus favisse credebat, interfecit: conscius deinde, malè quaerendi regni ab se ipso adversus se exemplum capi posse, armatis corpus circumsepsit. Neque enim ad jus regni quicquam praeter vim habebat; ut qui neque populi jussu, neque auctoribus Patribus regnaret. Eò accedebat, ut in caritate civium nihil spei reponenti metu regnum tutandum esset²: quem ut pluribus incuteret, cognitiones capitalium rerum sine consiliis per se solus exercebat: perque eam causam occidere, in exilium agere, bonis multare poterat non suspectos modò aut invisos, sed unde nihil aliud, quàm praedam sperare posset. Ita Patrum praecipuè numero imminuto, statuit nullos in Patres legere; quod contemptior paucitate ipsâ ordo esset, minùsque per se nihil agi indignarentur. Hic enim regum primus traditum a prioribus morem de omnibus senatum consulendi

¹ *Flectenti, &c.* Is qui agebat jumenta restitit, atque inhibuit frenos, ostenditque dominae flectenti, (jubenti ut flecteret,) carpentum dextra in Virbium clivum, ut reveheretur in collem Aesquiliarium, jacentem Servium trucidatum. ² *Eo, &c.* Besides, a man who placed no confidence in the affections of his subjects, was forced to maintain his power by exciting their fear.

solvit: domesticis consiliis rempublicam administravit: bellum, pacem, foedera, societates per se ipse, cum quibus voluit, injussu populi ac senatus, fecit, diremitque. Latinorum sibi maximè gentem conciliabat, ut peregrinis quodque opibus tator inter cives esset. Neque hospitium modò cum primoribus eorum, sed affinitates quodque, jungebat. Octavio Mamilio Tusculano, (is longè princeps Latini nominis erat, si famae credimus, ab Ulixè Deâque Circe oriundus:) ei Mamilio filiam nuptum dat; perque eas nuptias multos sibi cognatos amicosque ejus conciliat.

L. Jam magna Tarquinii auctoritas inter Latinorum proceres erat; quum, 'in diem certam ut ad lucum Ferentinae conveniant,' indicit: 'esse, quae agere de rebus communibus velit.' Conveniunt frequentes primâ luce. Ipse Tarquinius diem quidem servavit; sed paullo antè, quàm sol occideret, venit. Multa ibi totâ die in concilio variis jactata sermonibus erant. Turnus Herdonius ab Ariciâ ferociter in absentem Tarquinium erat invectus; 'Haud mirum esse, Superbo inditum Romae cognomen.' (Jam enim ita clam quidem mussitantes, vulgò tamen, eum appellabant.) 'An quicquam superbis esse, quàm ludificari sic omne nomen Latinum? Principibus longè ab domo excitis, ipsum, qui concilium indixerit, non adesse. Tentari profectò patientiam, ut, si jugum acceperint, obnoxios premat. Cui enim non apparere affectare eum imperium in Latinos? Quod si sui bene crediderint cives, aut si creditum illud, et non raptum parricidio, sit, credere et Latinos, (quanquam ne sic quidem alienigenae,) debere¹. Sin suos ejus poeniteat, (quippe qui alii super alios trucidentur, exsulatum eant, bona amittant,) quid spei melioris Latinis portendi? Si se audiant, domum suam quemque inde abituros: neque magis observaturos diem consilii, quàm ipse, qui indixerit, observet.' Haec atque alia eodem pertinentia seditiosus facinorosusque homo, hisque artibus opes domi nactus, quum maximè dissereret, intervenit Tarquinius. Is finis orationi fuit. Aversi omnes ad Tarquinium

¹ *Quod si, &c.* If his (Tarquin's) own subjects have acted for their happiness in entrusting him with the sovereign power, or if it has been entrusted to him, and not forcibly seized through parricide, he (Turnus) supposes, (although, even in this case, his being a foreigner destroys the obligation,) that the Latins also ought to do the same. —*Quod*, the relative pronoun.

salutandum, qui, silentio facto, monitus a proximis, 'ut purgaret se, quòd id temporis venisset,' 'disceptatorem,' ait, 'se sumptum inter patrem et filium : curâ reconciliandi eos in gratiam moratum esse : et, quia ea res exemisset illum diem, postero die acturum, quae constitueret.' 'Ne id quidem ab Turno tulisse tacitum' ferunt. 'Dixisse' enim, 'Nullam breviorē esse cognitionem, quā inter patrem et filium, paucisque transigi verbis posse : ni pareat patri, habiturum infortunium esse.'

LI. Haec Aricinus in regem Romanum increpans ex concilio abiit. Quam rem Tarquinius aliquanto, quā videbatur, aegrius ferens, confestim Turno necem machinatur; ut eundem terrorem, quo civium animos domi oppresserat, Latinis injiceret. Et quia pro imperio palam interfici non poterat, oblato falso crimine insonem oppressit. Per adversae factionis quosdam Aricinos servum Turni auro corrupt, ut in deversorium ejus vim magnam gladiatorum inferri clam sineret. Ea quum unā nocte perfecta essent, Tarquinius, paulò ante lucem accitis ad se principibus Latinorum, quasi re novâ perturbatus, 'moram suam hesternam, velut Deorum quādam providentiā illatam,' ait, 'saluti sibi atque illis fuisse. Ab Turno dici sibi et primoribus populorum parari necem, ut Latinorum solus imperium teneat. Aggressorum fuisse hesterno die in concilio.' Dilatam rem esse, quòd auctor concilii abfuerit, quem maximè peterat. Inde illam absentis insecutionem esse natam, quòd morando spem destituerit. Non dubitare, si vera deferantur, quin primâ luce, ubi ventum in concilium sit, instructus cum conjuratorum manu armatusque venturus sit. Dicit, gladiatorum ingentem numerum esse ad eum convectum. Id vanum necne sit, extemplo sciri posse. Rogare eos, ut inde secum ad Turnum veniant.¹ Suspectam fecit rem et ingenium Turni ferox, et oratio hesternae, et mora Tarquini; quòd videbatur ob eam differri caedes potuisse. Eunt inclinatis quidem ad credendum animis, tamen, nisi gladiis deprehensis, cetera vana existimaturi. Ubi est eò ventum, Turnum ex somno excitatum circumstant custodes : comprehensisque servis, qui caritate domini²

¹ Tulisse—dixisse. Tarquinius tulisse. Turnum dixisse. ² Caritate domini. Actuated by affection for their master. Caritas passive. In the 49th Chapter caritate civium, the affection of his subjects. Caritas active.

vim parabant, quum gladii abditi ex omnibus locis deverticuli¹ protraherentur; enimvero manifesta res visa, injectaeque Turno catenae: et confestim Latinorum concilium magno cum tumultu advocatur. Ibi tam atrox invidia orta est, gladiis in medio positis, ut, indictâ causâ, nove genere lethi, dejectus ad caput² aquae Ferentinae, crate supernâ injectâ³ saxisque congestis, mergeretur.

LII. Revocatis deinde ad concilium Latinis, Tarquinius, collaudatisque, 'qui Turnum novantem res pro manifesto paricidio meritâ poenâ affecissent,' ita verba fecit, 'Posse quidem se vetusto jure agere, quod, quum omnes Latini ab Albâ oriundi sint, in eo foedere teneantur, quo ab Tullo res omnis Albana cum colonis suis in Romanum cesserit imperium. Ceterum se utilitatis id magis omnium causâ censere, ut renovetur id foedus: secundâque potius fortunâ populi Romani ut participes Latini fruuntur, quàm urbium excidia vastationesque agrorum, quas Asco prius, patre deinde suo regnante, perpassi sint, semper aut exspectent, aut patiantur.' Haud difficulter persuasum Latinis, quanquam in eo foedere superior Romana res erat. Ceterum et capita nominis Latini stare ac sentire cum rege videbant, et Turnus sui cuique periculi, si adversatus esset, recens erat documentum. Ita renovatum foedus, indictumque junioribus Latinorum, 'ut ex foedere die certâ ad lucum Ferentinae armati frequentes adessent.' Qui ubi adiectum Romani regis ex omnibus populis convenere; se ducem suum, neve secretum imperium, propriae signa haberent, miscuit manipulos ex Latinis Romanisque, ut ex binis singulos faceret, binosque ex singulis. Ita geminatis manipulis centuriones imposuit⁴.

LIII. Nec, ut injustus in pace Rex, ita dux belli pravus fuit. Quam eâ arte aequâset superiores reges, ni degenera-

¹ *Deverticulo.* Deverticulum est ubi iter de via flectitur. Et proprie deverticula dicuntur in via domicilia ad quae de itinere devertendum sit.—DONAT.

² *Caput.* The source. So Horace,

Ad aquae lene caput sacrae. Car. i. l. 22.

³ This is afterwards mentioned as a military punishment, iv. 50.

⁴ *Miscuit, &c.* Various meanings have been attached to these words. One is: He divided every manipule into two parts, and then formed two of these divisions, one of each nation, into one manipule. More correctly, perhaps, the passage is taken to mean, He intermingled the maniples of the Latins and Romans, by first throwing the two into one, and then dividing the united body into two.

tum¹ in aliis huic quòque decori offecisset. Is primus Volscis bellum in ducentos ampliùs post suam aetatem annos movit, Suessamque Pometiam ex his vi cepit. Ubi quum dividendâ praeda quadraginta talenta argenti aurique refecisset²; concepit animo eam amplitudinem Jovis templi, quae digna Deum hominumque rege, quae Romano imperio, quae ipsius etiam loci³ majestate esset. Captivam pecuniam in aedificationem ejus templi seposuit. Excepit deinde eum lentius spe bellum, quo Gabios⁴, propinquam urbem, nequicquam vi adortus, quum obsidendi quòque urbem spes pulso a moenibus adempta esset, postremò minimè arte Romanâ, fraude ac dolo, aggressus est. Nam quum, velut posito bello, fundamentis templi jaciendis aliisque urbanis operibus intentum se esse simularet, Sextus filius ejus, qui minimus ex tribus erat, transfugit ex composito Gabios, patris in se saevitiam intolerabilem conquerens; 'Jam ab alienis in suos vertisse superbiam: et liberorum quòque eum frequentiae taedere; ut, quam in curiâ solitudinem fecerit, domi quòque faciat; ne quam stirpem, ne quem haeredem regni relinquat. Se quidem, inter tela et gladios patris elapsum, nihil usquam sibi tutum, nisi apud hostes L. Tarquinius, credidisse. Nam, ne

¹ *Ni degeneratum.* Ni eum degeneratum esse offecisset. Had it not been that his having degenerated, &c. Strangely enough, this instance of the simple and common form of expression, where an infinitive is made to supply the place of a nominative to the verb, has been uniformly confounded by the critics with such sentences as *cum pronuntiatum* 'nequis praeter armatos violaretur,' *reliquam omnem multitudinem voluntarium exuit armis*, and *degeneratum* has been regarded as the passive participle merely. The mistake arises from regarding the participle in such cases, (*pronuntiatum* in the sentence quoted,) as the nominative to the verb (*exuit*.) The clause to which the participle refers, and with which it agrees, (*ne quis*, &c.) is evidently the nominative.

² *Quum*, &c. The precise meaning of this passage is rendered uncertain by the uncertainty of the text. *Dividendâ praeda refecere summam* seems to be an incongruous combination; and though *dividenda* be the reading of the MSS., we must, if *refecisset* be retained, adopt Gronovius's emendation, *dividenda*. On the other hand, if *dividenda* be retained, we must, instead of *refecisset*, adopt *recepisset*, the general MS. reading. Dionysius says explicitly, that Tarquin ordered all the gold and silver to be brought to one place, and having reserved—*quum recepisset*—a tenth part of it to build a temple, he distributed the rest among his soldiers.—Dr HUNTER.

³ *Loci.* The capitol. ⁴ For all the subsequent events of Tarquin's reign, see Ovid's *Fasti*, ii. 675–852.

'errarent, manere his bellum¹, quod positum simuletur; et per occasionem eum incautos invasurum. Quòd si apud eos supplicibus locus non sit, pererraturum se omne Latium: Volcosque se inde, et Aequos, et Hernicos petiturum; donec ad eos perveniat, qui a patrum crudelibus atque impiis suppliciis tegere liberos sciant. Forsitan etiam ardoris aliquid ad bellum armaque se adversus superbissimum regem ac ferocissimum populum inventurum.' Quum, si nihil morarentur, infensus irâ porro inde abiturus videretur, benignè ab Gabinis excipitur. Vetant 'mirari, si, qualis in cives, qualis in socios, talis ad ultimum in liberos esset. In se ipsum postremò saeviturum, si alia desiunt. Sibi verò gratum adventum ejus esse: futurumque credere brevi, ut illo adjuvante, ab portis Gabinis sub Romana moenia bellum transferatur.'

LIV. Inde in concilia publica adhiberi. Ubi, quum 'de aliis rebus assentire se veteribus Gabinis' diceret, 'quibus hae notiores essent,' ipse identidem belli auctor esse, in eo sibi praecipuam prudentiam assumere, 'quòd utriusque populi vires nòsset, sciretque, invisam profectò superbiam regiam civibus esse, quam ferre ne liberi quidem potuissent.' Ita quum sensim ad rebellandum primores Gabinorum incitaret, ipse cum promptissimis juvenum praedatum atque in expeditiones iret, et dictis factisque omnibus ad fallendum instructis vana accresceret fides², dux ad ultimum belli legitur. Ibi quum, insciâ multitudine quid ageretur, proelia parva inter Romam Gabiosque fierent, quibus plerumque Gabina res superior esset; tum certatim summi infimique Gabinorum 'Sex. Tarquinium dono Deûm sibi missum ducem' credere. Apud milites verò obeundo pericula ac labores pariter, praedam munificè largiendo, tantâ caritate esse, ut non pater Tarquinius potentior Romae, quàm filius Gabiis esset. Itaque, postquam satis virium collectum ad omnes conatus videbat, tum e suis unum sciscitatum Romam ad patrem mittit, 'quidnam se facere vellet? quandoquidem, ut omnia unus Gabiis posset, ei³ Dii dedissent.' Huic nuncio, quia, credo, du-

¹ *Manere his bellum.* That the war with them still exists. ² *Fides vana.* A confidence arising from false appearances. ³ *Ei.* The reader may here be reminded, that the pronoun *sui* is used in the indirect form when applied to the individual whose words or sentiments the author is reporting. In this case why not *sibi*? As *se* occurs in

biae fidei videbatur, nihil voce responsum est. Rex, velut de-
 liberabundus, in hortum aedium transit, sequente nuncio filii :
 ibi, inambulans tacitus, summa papaverum¹ capita dicitur bac-
 culo decussisse. Interrogando expectandoque responsum nun-
 cius fessus, ut re imperfectâ, redit Gabios ; quae dixerit ipse,
 quaeque viderit, refert : ' seu irâ, seu odio, seu superbiâ insitâ
 ingenio, nullam eum vocem emisisse.' Sexto ubi, quid vel-
 let parens, quidve praeciperet tacitis ambagibus, patuit ; pri-
 mores civitatis, criminando alios apud populum, alios suâ ip-
 sos invidiâ opportunos² interemit. Multi palâm ; quidam,
 in quibus minùs speciosa criminatio erat futura, clâm inter-
 fecti. Patuit quibusdam volentibus fuga, alii in exilium acti
 sunt, absentiumque bona juxtâ atque interemptorum divisui
 fuere. Largitionis inde praedaeque et dulcedine privati com-
 modi sensus malorum publicorum adimi, donec, orba consilio
 auxilioque, Gabina res regi Romano siue ullâ dimicatione in
 manum traditur.

LV. Gabiis receptis, Tarquinius pacem cum Aequorum
 gente fecit ; foedus cum Tuscis renovavit. Inde ad negotia
 urbana animum convertit. Quorum erat primum, ' ut Jovis
 templum in monte Tarpejo, monumentum regni sui nomi-
 nisque, relinqueret : Tarquinius reges ambos, patrem vovis-
 se³, filium perfecisse.' Et ' ut libera a ceteris religionibus
 area esset tota Jovis templique ejus, quod inaedificaretur,'
 exaugurare fana sacellaque statuit ; quae aliquot ibi a Tatio
 rege, primùm in ipso discrimine adversus Romulum pugnae
 vota, consecrata, inaugurataque postea fuerant. ' Inter prin-
 cipia condendi hujus operis movisse numen⁴ ad indicandam
 tanti imperii molem' traditur Deos : nam, quum omnium
 sacellorum exaugurationes admitterent aves, in Termini fano
 non addixere⁵. Id omen auguriumque ita acceptum est ;

the previous clause referring to the same person, we can only account
 for this apparent violation of common usage, by supposing that, in the
 first question, Livy states the question as put by Sextus Tarquinius,
 and then passes, in the concluding clause, to give the reason for the
 question, as stated by the messenger. ¹ *Papaverum*. According to
 Ovid, lilies were selected by Tarquin,

Virgâ lilia summa metit. *Fasti*, i. 706.

² *Alios, &c.* Others who were rendered an easy prey by the public
 odium to which they had exposed themselves. ³ See end of Chap.
 38. ⁴ *Movisse numen*. Had exerted their divine power. ⁵ *Ad-*
mitterent—addixisse. See p. 43, note 2. *Termini*. Critics have

'non motam Termini sedem, unumque eum Deorum non 'evocatum sacratis sibi finibus, firma stabiliisque cuncta portendere.' Hoc perpetuitatis auspicio accepto, secutum aliud, magnitudinem imperii portendens, prodigium est. 'Caput 'humanum integrâ facie aperientibus fundamenta templi' dicitur 'apparuisse.' Quae visa species, haud per ambages, arcem eam imperii caputque rerum fore portendebat. Idque ita cecinere vates, quique in urbe erant, quosque ad eam rem, consultandam ex Etruriâ acciverant. Augebatur ad impensas regis animus. Itaque Pometinae¹ manubiae, quae perducendo ad culmen operi destinatae erant, vix in fundamenta suppeditavere. Eo magis Fabio, praeterquam quod antiquior est, crediderim, quadraginta ea sola talenta² fuisse, quàm Pisoni, qui quadraginta millia pondo argenti³ seposita in eam rem scribit, summam pecuniae neque ex unius tum urbis praedâ sperandam, et nullius, ne horum quidem magnificentiae operum, fundamenta non exsuperaturam⁴.

LVI. Intentus perficiendo templo, fabris undique ex Etruriâ accitis, non pecuniâ solùm ad id publicâ est usus, sed operis etiam ex plebe. Qui quum, haud parvus et ipse, militiae adderetur labor, minùs tamen plebs gravabatur, se templa Deûm exaedificare manibus suis: quae posthac et ad alia, ut specie minora, sic laboris aliquantò majoris, traducebatur opera; foros⁵ in circo faciendos, cloacamque maximam⁶, receptaculum omnium purgamentorum urbis, sub terram agendam: quibus duobus operibus vix nova haec magnificentia quicquam

expressed their wonder that Livy does not add *Juventatisque*, as that goddess is joined with *Terminus* in the epitome, as well as by Dionysius and Livy himself in v. 54. Rupert, even in an epitome drawn up by himself, for the purpose of remedying the defects of that commonly prefixed to the books of Livy, retains the name of the goddess *Juventas*, as if mentioned here. There seems to be no reason for the surprise, or the emendation. Livy's object, in adducing the resistance of *Terminus*, is to shew the inference drawn from it with regard to the stability of the empire. With this omen *Juventas* has, of course, no connexion.

¹ See Chap. 53. ² *Quadraginta ea sola talenta, fuisse.* That the (number) forty, (agreed on by both writers) were talents only, (a sum equivalent to about L. 7750 of our money.)

³ About L. 129,166.

⁴ *Et nullius* (magnificentiae, &c). And which would do much more than suffice to lay the foundations of the most splendid structure even of our own times. *Horum*, see p. 5, note 1.

⁵ See Chap. 35.

⁶ Begun by Tarquinius Priscus,

c. 38.

adaequare potuit. His laboribus exercitâ plebe, quia et 'urbi
' multitudinem, ubi usus non esset, oneri' rebatur 'esse,' et
colonis mittendis occupari latius imperii fines volebat; Sig-
niam Circejosque colonos misit, praesidia urbi futura terrâ
marique. Haec agenti portentum terribile visum. Anguis,
ex columnâ lignêâ elapsus, quum terrorem fugamque in re-
giam fecisset, ipsius regis non tam subito pavore perculit pec-
tus, quàm anxiiis implevit curis. Itaque quum ad publica pro-
digia Etrusci tantum vates adhiberentur, hoc velut domestico
exterritus visu, Delphos ad maximè inclytum in terris oracu-
lum mittere statuit. Neque responsa sortium ulli alii com-
mittere ausus, duos filios per ignotas eâ tempestate terras, ig-
notiora maria, in Graeciam misit. Titus et Aruns profecti.
Comes his additus L. Junius Brutus, Tarquiniâ sorore¹ regis
natus, juvenis longè alius ingenio, quàm² cujus simulationem
induerat. Is, quum primores civitatis, in quibus fratrem suum
ab avunculo interfectum audisset, neque in animo suo quic-
quam regi timendum, neque in fortunâ concupiscendum relin-
quere statuit, contemptuque tutus esse, ubi in jure parum prae-
sidii esset. Ergo ex industriâ factus ad imitationem stulti-
tiae, quum se suaeque praedae esse regi sineret, Bruti quodque
haud abnuît cognomen: ut sub ejus obtentu cognominis li-
berator ille populi Romani animus latens opperiretur tempora
sua. Is tum ab Tarquiniis ductus Delphos, ludibrium veriùs,
quàm comes, 'aureum baculum, inclusum corneo cavato ad
' id baculo, tulisse donum Apollini' dicitur, per ambages effi-
giem ingenii sui. Quò postquam ventum est, perfectis patris
mandatis, cupido incessit animos juvenum sciscitandi, ad quem
eorum regnum Romanum esset venturum. 'Ex infimo specu
' vocem redditam' ferunt: 'Imperium summum Romae ha-
' bibit, qui vestrûm primus, ô juvenes, osculum matri tulerit.'
Tarquini, ut Sextus, qui Romae relictus fuerat, ignarus re-
sponsi expersque imperii esset, rem summâ ope taceri jubent;
ipsi inter se, uter prior, quum Romam redissent, matri oscu-
lum daret, sorti permittunt. Brutus, 'aliò' ratus 'spectare
' Pythicam vocem,' velut si prolapsus cecidisset, terram os-
culo contigit: scilicet, 'quòd ea communis mater omnium
' mortalium esset.' Reditum inde Romam, ubi adversus Ru-
tulos bellum summâ vi parabatur.

¹ According to Dionysius, and more probably, the King's aunt. See p. 48, note 2. ² The ellipsis may be thus supplied, *quam ingenium fuit*.

LVII. Ardeam Rutuli habebant, gens, ut in eâ regione atque in eâ aetate, divitiis præpollens. Eaque ipsa causa belli fuit, quòd rex Romanus tum ipse ditari, exhaustus magnificentiâ publicorum operum, tum praedâ delinire popularium animos studebat; praeter aliam superbiam regno infestos etiam, quòd 'se in fabrorum ministeriis ac servili tamdiu habitos' opere ab rege' indignabantur. Tentata res est, si primo impetu capi Ardea posset. Ubi id parum processit, obsidione munitionibusque coepti¹ premi hostes. In iis stativis, ut sit longo magis quàm acri bello, satis liberi comestus erant: primoribus tamen magis, quàm militibus. Regii quidem juvenes interdum otium conviviis commensationibusque inter se terebant. Fortè potantibus his apud Sex. Tarquinius, ubi et Collatinus coenabat Tarquinius, Egerii filius, incidit de uxoribus mentio: suam quisque laudare miris modis. Inde certamine accenso, Collatinus negat, 'verbis opus esse, paucis id quidem horis posse sciri, quantum ceteris praestet Lucretia sua.'² Quin si vigor juventae inest, conscendimus equos, invisimusque praesentes nostrarum ingenia? Id cuiusque spectatissimum sit, quod nec opinato viri adventu occurrerit oculis.' Incaluerant vino. 'Age sane,' omnes. Citatis equis advolant Romam. Quòd quum, primis se intendentibus tenebris, pervenisissent, pergunt inde Collatiam: ubi Lucretiam, haudquaquam ut regias nurus, quas in convivio luxuque cum aequalibus viderant tempus terentes, sed nocte serâ deditam lanae inter lucubrantès ancillas in medio aedium sedentem inveniunt. Muliebris certaminis laus penes Lucretiam fuit. Adveniens vir Tarquiniique excepti benignè. Victor maritus comiter invitat regios juvenes. Ibi Sex. Tarquinius mala libido Lucretiae per vim stuprandae capit. Tum forma, tum spectata castitas incitat. Et tum quidem ab nocturno juvenili ludo in castra redeunt.

LVIII. Paucis interjectis diebus, Sex. Tarquinius incio Collatino, cum comite uno Collatiam venit. Ubi exceptus benignè ab ignaris consilii, quum post coenam in hospitale cubiculum deductus esset, amore ardens, postquam satis tuta circà, sopitque omnes videbantur, stricto gladio ad dormientem Lucretiam venit, sinistrâque manu mulieris pectore oppresso, 'Tace, Lucretia,' inquit, 'Sex. Tarquinius sum; fer-

¹ See p. 45, note 3.² See p. 16, note 1.

'rum in manu est : moriere, si emisericis vocem.' Quum pavida ex somno mulier nullam opem, prope¹ mortem imminentem, videret; tum Tarquinius fateri amorem, orare, miscere precibus minas, versare in omnes partes muliebrem animum. Ubi obstinatum videbat, et ne mortis quidem metu inclinari, addit ad metum dedecus: 'cum mortua jugulatum servum nudum positurum,' ait, 'ut in sordido adulterio necata dicatur.' Quo terrore quum vicisset obstinatum pudicitiam velut victrix libido, profectusque inde Tarquinius, ferox expugnato decore muliebri, esset; Lucretia, moesta tanto malo, nuncium Romam eundem ad patrem, Ardeamque ad virum mittit, 'ut cum singulis fidelibus amicis veniant: ita facto maturatoque opus esse; rem atrocem incidisse.' Sp. Lucretius cum P. Valerio Volesi filio, Collatinus cum L. Junio Bruto venit; cum quo fortè Romam rediens ab nuncio uxoris erat conventus². Lucretiam sedentem moestam in cubiculo inveniunt. Adventu suorum lacrimae obortae: quaerentique viro, 'Satin' salvae³? 'Minimè,' inquit; 'quid enim salvi est mulieri, amissâ pudicitia? Vestigia viri alieni, Collatine, in lecto sunt tuo. Ceterum corpus est tantum violatum, animus insons; mors testis erit. Sed date dexteras fidemque, haud impune adultero fore. Sex est Tarquinius, qui hostis pro hospite priore nocte vi armatus mihi sibi, si vos viri estis, pestiferum hinc abstulit gaudium.' Dant ordine omnes fidem: consolantur aegram animi, avertendo noxam ab coactâ in auctorem delicti. 'Mentem peccare, non corpus: et, unde consilium abfuerit, culpam abesse.' 'Vos,' inquit, 'videritis, quid illi debeatur: ego me, etsi peccato absolvo, supplicio non libero. Nec ulla deinde impudica Lucretiae exemplo vivet.' Cultrum, quem sub veste abditum habebat, eum in corde defigit: prolapsaque in vulnus, moribunda cecidit. Conclamant vir paterque.

LIX. Brutus, illis luctu occupatis, cultrum, ex vulnere Lucretiae extractum, manantem cruore prae se tenens, 'Per hunc,' inquit, 'castissimum ante regiam injuriam sanguinem juro, vosque, Dii, testes facio, me L. Tarquinium Super-

¹ Dr Hunter suggests, instead of this pointing, *quum videret nullam opem prope*, when she saw no help near. ² *Convenio nuncium*, I meet a messenger. *Convenior ab nuncio*, I am met by a messenger. So Cicero: *De Antonio jam ante tibi scripsi, non esse eum a me conventum*. *Ad Attic.* xv. l. ³ Supply *res sunt*.

'bum, cum sceleratâ conjuge et omni liberorum stirpe, ferro, igni, quacunque dehinc vi possim, exsecuturum. Nec illos, nec alium quenquam regnare Romae passurum.' Cultrum deinde Collatino tradit; inde Lucretio ac Valerio, stupentibus miraculo rei, unde novum in Bruti pectore ingenium. Ut praeceptum erat, jurant; totique ab luctu versi in iram, Brutum, jam inde ad expugnandum regnum vocantem, sequuntur ducem. Elatum domo Lucretiae corpus in forum deferunt, concientque miraculo, ut fit, rei novae atque indignitate homines. Pro se quisque scelus regium ac vim queruntur. Movet tum patris moestitia, tum Brutus, castigator lacrimarum atque inertium querelarum, auctorque, 'quod viros, quod Romanos deceret,' arma capiendi adversus hostilia ausos. Ferocissimus quisque juvenum cum armis voluntarius adest. Sequitur et cetera juvenus. Inde, pari praesidio¹ relicto Collatiae ad portas, custodibusque datis, ne quis eum motum regibus nunciaret, ceteri armati, duce Bruto, Romam profecti². Ubi ed ventum est, quacunque incedit, armata multitudo pavorem ac tumultum facit. Rursus, ubi anteire primores civitatis vident, 'quicquid sit, haud temerè 'esse' rentur. Nec minorem motum animorum Romae tam atrox res facit, quam Collatiae fecerat. Ergo ex omnibus locis urbis in forum curritur. Quò simul ventum est, praeco ad tribunum³ Celerum, in quo tum magistratu forte Brutus erat, populum advocavit. Ibi oratio habita, nequaquam ejus pectoris ingeniique, quod simulatum ad eam diem fuerat, de vi ac libidine Sex. Tarquinii, de stupro infando Lucretiae et miserabili caede, de orbitate Tricipitini, 'cui morte filiae 'causa mortis indignior ac miserabilior esset.' Addita superbia ipsius regis, miseriaeque et labores plebis, in fossas cloacasque exhauriendas demersae. 'Romanos homines, virores omnium circà populorum, opifices ac lapidas pro bel-latoribus factos.' Indigna Ser. Tullii regis memorata cae-

¹ *Pari praesidio*, a sufficient garrison. ² Dionysius narrates these events as having happened at Rome, not Collatia. *Regibus*, the king and his sons, see p. 45, note 2. ³ The *Tribunus Celerum* was commander of the horse, who composed the king's body guard. (See Chap. 15.) The relationship of Brutus to the king, and his supposed imbecillity of mind, rendered him, according to Dionysius, a desirable person to whom to commit a trust, where a man not connected with the royal family, and possessed of talents, might be supposed likely to form a party in his own favour.

des, et invecta corpori patris nefando vehiculo filia¹; invocatique ultores parentum Dii. His atrocioribusque, credo, aliis, quae praesens rerum indignitas haudquaquam relatu scriptoribus facilia subjecit², memoratis, incensam multitudinem perpulit, ut imperium regi abrogaret, exsulesque esse juberet L. Tarquinius cum conjuge ac liberis. Ipse, junioribus, qui ultrò nomina dabant, lectis armatisque, ad concitandum inde adversus regem exercitum, Ardeam in castra est profectus; imperium in urbe Lucretio, praefecto urbis jam antè ab rege instituto, relinquit. Inter hunc tumultum Tullia domo profugit, execrantibus, quàcunque incedebat, invocantibusque parentum furias viris mulieribusque.

LX. Harum rerum nunciis in castra perlatis, quum re novâ trepidus rex pergeret Romam ad comprimendos motus, flexit viam Brutus, (senserat enim adventum,) ne obvius fieret; eodemque fere tempore, diversis itineribus, Brutus Ardeam, Tarquinius Romam, venerunt³. Tarquinio clausae portae, exsiliumque indictum: liberatorem urbis laeta castra accepere; exactique inde liberi regis. Duo patrem secuti sunt, qui exsulatum Caere in Etruscos ierunt. Sex. Tarquinius, Gabios, tanquam in suum regnum, profectus, ab ultoribus veterum simultatum, quas sibi ipse caedibus rapinisque conciverat, est interfectus. L. Tarquinius Superbus regnavit annos quinque et viginti. Regnatum Romae ab conditâ urbe ad liberatam annos ducentos quadraginta quatuor⁴.

¹ See Chap. 58. ² *Quas, &c.* Which being suggested by the immediate indignation arising from the events, are by no means easy for historians to report. ³ *Brutus, &c.* *Venerunt* equal to *venit* repeated; and *universally*, the plural form of words of every description is equal to the singular repeated, and is used to supersede the necessity of such repetition. Dr HUNTER.

⁴ <i>Romulus</i>	reigned	37 years.
<i>Interregnum</i> .....	.....	1 year.
<i>Numa</i>	reigned	43 years.
<i>Tullus Hostilius</i>.....	.....	32 —
<i>Ancus Martius</i>.....	.....	24 —
<i>Tarquinius Priscus</i>...	.....	38 —
<i>Servius Tullius</i>.....	.....	44 —
<i>Tarquinius Superbus</i>.	.....	25 —

244 years.

U. C.
245. Duo consules inde comitiis centuriatis a praefecto urbis ex commentariis Ser. Tullii¹ creati sunt, L. Junius Brutus et L. Tarquinius Collatinus.

¹ *Ex commentariis Ser. Tullii.* According to some, founding on the report mentioned in the 48th chapter, as to the intention of Ser. Tullius to resign the sovereign power, these words import, that a scheme was found in the repositories of that king, for the establishment of a republic governed by consuls. It seems more probable, however, that these words have a reference to the forms of holding the comitia centuriata, which, from disuse, (see Chap. 49.) must have become uncertain.

LIBER SECUNDUS.

EPITOME.

I. *BRUTUS* jurejurando populum adstrinxit, neminem regnare Romae passuros : II. *Tarquinius Collatinus*, collegam suum, propter affinitatem Tarquiniolorum suspectum, coëgit consulatu se abdicare, et civitate cedere. V. *Bona regum* diripi jussit : agrum *Marti* consecravit, qui *Campus Martius* nominatus est. *Adolescentes nobiles*, in quibus suos quoque et sororis filios, quia conjuraverant de recipiendis rebus, securi percussit. *Servo indici*, cui *Vindicio* nomen fuit, libertatem dedit : ex cujus nomine vindicta est appellata. VI. Quum adversus reges, qui, contractis *Vejentium* et *Tarquiniensium* copiis, bellum intulerant, exercitum duxisset, in acie cum *Arunte*, filio *Superbi*, commortuus est : VII. Eumque matronae annum luxerunt. VIII. *P. Valerius* consul legem de provocatione ad populum tulit. *Capitolium* dedicatum est. IX. X. *Porsena*, *Rex Clusinorum*, bello pro *Tarquiniis* suscepto, quum ad *Janiculum* venisset, ne *Tiberim* transiret, virtute *Coclitis Horatii* prohibitus est ; qui, dum alii pontem publicum rescindunt, solus *Etruscos* sustinuit ; et, ponte rupto, armatus se in flumen misit, et ad suos transivit. XII. Alterum accessit virtutis exemplum a *Mucio* : qui, quum ad feriendum *Porsenam* castra hostium intrasset, occiso

scribâ, quem regem esse putabat, comprehensus, impositam altaribus manum, in quibus sacrificatum erat, exuri passus est; dixitque, tales trecentos esse conjuratos in mortem ipsius regis. Quorum admiratione coactus Porsena pacis conditiones ferre, bellum omisit, acceptis obsidibus. XIII. Ex quibus virgo una Cloelia, deceptis custodibus, per Tiberim ad suos tranavit: et, quum reddita esset, a Porsena honorificè remissa, equestri statuâ donata est. XVI. Ap. Claudius ex Sabinis Romam transfugit: ob hoc Claudia tribus adjecta est. Numerus tribuum ampliatus est, ut essent viginti una. XIX. XX. Adversus Tarquinium Superbum cum Latinorum exercitu bellum inferentem, A. Postumius dictator prosperè pugnavit apud lacum Regillum. XXIII, &c. Plebs, quum propter nexos ob aes alienum in Sacrum montem secessisset, consilio Menenii Agrippae a seditione revocata est. Idem Agrippa, quum decessisset, propter paupertatem publico impendio elatus est. XXXIII. Tribuni plebis quinque creati sunt. Oppidum Volscorum Corioli captum est virtute et operâ C. Marcii, qui ob hoc Coriolanus vocatus est. XXXVI, &c. Ti. Atinius, vir de plebe, quum in visu admonitus esset, ut de quibusdam religionibus ad senatum perferret, et neglexisset, amisso filio, debilis factus, postquam, delatus ad senatum lecticâ, eadem illa indicaverat, usu pedum recepto, domum reversus est. XXXIX. XL. Quum C. Marcius Coriolanus, qui in exilium erat pulsus, dux Volscorum factus, exercitum hostium urbi Romae admovisset, et missi ad eum primùm legati, postea sacerdotes, frustra deprecati essent ne bellum patriae inferret; Veturia mater et Volumnia uxor impetraverunt ab eo, ut recederet. XLI. Lex agraria primùm lata est. Sp. Cassius consularis regni crimine damnatus est necatusque. XLII, &c. Oppia, virgo Vestalis, ob incestum viva defossa est. XLVI, &c. Quum vicini hostes Vejentes, incommodi magis, quàm graves, essent, familia Fabiorum id bellum gerendum depoposcit; misitque in id trecentos sex armatos, qui ad Cremeram ad unum ab hostibus caesi sunt, uno impubere domi relicto. LVIII. LIX. Ap. Claudius consul, quum adversus Volscos contumaciâ exercitus malè pugnatum esset, decimum quosque militum fuste percussit. LX, &c. Res praeterea adversum Volscos, et Aequos, et Vejentes, et seditiones inter Patres plebemque continet.

I. LIBERI jam hinc populi Romani res, pace belloque gestas, annuos magistratus, imperiaque legum, ^{v. c.} 245. potentiora quàm hominum, peragam. Quae libertas ut laetior esset, proximi regis superbia fecerat. Nam priores ita regnârunt, ut haud immeritò omnes deinceps conditores partium certè urbis, quas novas ipsi sedes ab se auctae multitudini addiderunt¹, numerentur: neque ambigitur, quin Brutus idem, qui tantum gloriae, Superbo exacto rege, meruit, pessimo publico² id factururus fuerit, si libertatis immaturae cupidine priorum regum alicui regnum extorsisset. Quid enim futurum fuit, si illa pastorum convenarumque plebs, transfuga ex suis populis, sub tutelâ inviolati templi aut libertatem, aut certè impunitatem, adepta, soluta regio metu, agitari coepta esset³ tribunicis procellis? et in alienâ urbe cum Patribus serere certamina, priùs quàm pignora conjugum ac liberorum, caritasque ipsius soli, cui longo tempore assuescitur, animos eorum consociâset? Dissipatae res nondum adultae discordiâ forent: quas fovit tranquilla modefactio imperii, eoque nutriendo perduxit, ut bonam frugem libertatis maturis jam viribus ferre possent. Libertatis autem originem inde magis, quia annum imperium consulare factum est, quàm quòd deminutum quicquam sit ex regiâ potestate, numeres⁴. Omnia jura, omnia insignia primi consules tenuere. Id modò cautum est, ne, si ambo fasces haberent, duplicatus terror videretur. Brutus prior⁵, concedente collegâ, fasces habuit: qui non acrior vindex libertatis fuerat, quàm deinde custos fuit. Omnium primùm avidum novae libertatis populum, ne postmodum, flecti precibus aut donis regiis posset, jurejurando adegit, neminem Romae passuros regnare. Deinde, quòd plûs virium in senatu frequentia etiam ordinis faceret, caedibus regis deminutum Patrum numerum, primori-

¹ Quas, &c. Quas partes novas ipsi addiderunt sedes multitudini auctae ab se. ² Pessimo publico. A singular expression. The phrases *bonum publicum*, *malum publicum*, are quite familiar; hence *pessimo publico*, with the worst consequences to the state. ³ See p. 45, note 3. ⁴ Quia, followed by the indicative, *factum est*; *quod* by the subjunctive, *deminutum sit*. The reason seems to be, that Livy himself, in the clause introduced by *quia*, states, *on his own authority*, a fact as certain; in that introduced by *quod*, the *possible reasoning of another*, which he afterwards invalidates. *Quia*, because; *quod*, that.

⁵ Consulis imperium hic *primus* saevasque secures.

Accipiet.

VIRGIL, vi. 819.

bus equestris gradûs lectis, ad trecentorum summam explevit. 'Traditumque inde' fertur, 'ut in senatum vocarentur, 'qui Patres, quique conscripti essent'¹. Conscriptos, videlicet, in novum senatum appellabant lectos. Id mirum quantum profuit ad concordiam civitatis, jungendosque Patribus plebis animos.

II. Rerum deinde divinarum habita cura. Et, quia quaedam publica sacra per ipsos reges factitata erant, ne ubiubi regum desiderium esset, regem sacrificulum creant. Id sacerdotium pontifici subjecere, ne additus nomini honos aliquid libertati, cujus tunc prima erat cura, officeret. Ac nescio, an, nimis undique eam minimis quodque rebus muniendo, modum excesserint. Consulis enim alterius², quum nihil aliud offenderit, nomen invisum civitati fuit. 'Nimium Tarquinios regno assuêsse. Initium a Prisco factum. Regnâsse deinde Ser. Tullium. Ne intervallo quidem facto, oblitum, 'tanquam alieni, regni Superbum Tarquinium, velut haereditatem gentis scelere ac vi repetisse³. Pulso Superbo, pe-

¹ This traditional conjecture has been combated with great success by Dr Hunter. It is his opinion, that by the terms *Patres Conscripti* 'were meant, agreeably to their literal import, the fathers whose names 'were contained in the roll of the Senate who alone had a decisive 'voice, or the right of deciding on every question submitted to their 'deliberation; and that the terms were employed, not only as the 'most respectful and honourable forms of address, but likewise to 'distinguish the senators on the roll from the other persons present, '—*quibus in senatu sententiam dicere licebat*,—who joined in the deliberations, having the *jus sententiae*, though not the *jus suffragii*, a 'deliberative, but not a decisive voice in the question.' ² *Consulis alterius*. L. Tarquinius Collatinus. The account given by Livy of the motives which instigated the Romans to deprive this nobleman of office seems improbable and inconsistent. If the mere circumstance of the name, as connecting him with the Tarquin family, rendered him an object of suspicion, Brutus was likewise liable to its effects, being connected with them by his mother. Dionysius narrates the merits very differently. He narrates the banishment of Collatinus as having occurred after the conspiracy, of which an account follows in the next chapters, and attributes it to his having favoured Tarquin's claims to his private property, and to his defence of his nephews, the *Aquillii*. ³ *Ne, &c.* That this interruption even had not induced the proud Tarquin to forget the throne of a nation in which he was as it were (almost) a foreigner, and that he had wickedly and violently sought, as if it belonged to his family by inheritance, to regain it.

'*nes Collatinum imperium esse. Nescire Tarquinos privatos vivere. Non placere nomen. Periculosum libertati esse.*' Hic primò sensim tentantium animos sermo per totam civitatem est datus, sollicitamque suspicionem plebem Brutus ad concionem vocat. Ibi omnium primùm iuramentum populi recitat: '*Neminem regnare passuros, nec esse Romae, unde periculum libertati foret. Id summâ ope tuendum esse: neque ullam rem, quae eò pertineat, contemnendam. Invitum se dicere hominis causâ: nec dicturum fuisse, ni caritas reipublicae vinceret. Non credere populum Romanum, solidam libertatem recuperatam esse. Regium genus, regium nomen, non solùm in civitate, sed etiam in imperio esse. Id officere, id obstare libertati. Hunc tu*¹,*' inquit, tuâ voluntate, L. Tarquini, remove metum. Meminimus, fatemur, eiecisti reges. Absolve beneficium tuum. Aufer hinc regium nomen. Res tuas tibi non solùm reddent cives tui, auctore me; sed, si quid deest, munificè augebunt*². '*Amicus abi. Exonera civitatem vano forsitan metu. Ita persuasum est animis, cum gente Tarquinia regnum hinc abiturum.*' Consuli primò tam novae rei ac subitae admiratio incluserat vocem. Dicere deinde incipientem primores civitatis circumsistunt, eadem multis precibus orant. Et ceteri quidem movebant minùs. Postquam Sp. Lucretius, major aetate ac dignitate, socer praeterea ipsius, agere variè, rogando alternis suadendoque, coepit, '*ut vinci se consensu civitatis pateretur;*' timens consul, ne postmodum privato sibi eadem illa cum bonorum amissione, additâque aliâ iusuper ignominia, acciderent, abdicavit se consulatu; rebusque suis omnibus Lavinium translatis, civitate cessit. Brutus ex senatusconsulto ad populum tulit, ut omnes Tarquiniae gentis exsules essent: collegam sibi comitiis centuriatis creavit P. Valerium³, quo adiutore reges⁴ eiecerat.

III. Quum haud cuiquam in dubio esset, bellum ad Tarquiniis imminere, id quidem spe omnium serius fuit. Ceterum, id quod non timebant, per dolum ac prodicionem propè libertas amissa est. Erant in Romanâ juventute adolescentes aliquot, nec ii tenui loco orti, quorum in regno libido solutior fuerat, aequales sodalesque adolescentium Tarquiniarum, as-

¹ See p. 16, note 1. ² According to Dionysius, Collatinus received from the Roman state 20 talents; (L. 3, 875.) ³ See Chap. 58.

⁴ See p. 45, note 2.

sueti more regio vivere. Eam tum, aequato jure omnium, licentiam quaerentes, libertatem aliorum in suam vertisse servitutem inter se conquerebantur. ' Regem hominem esse, a quo impetres, ubi jus, ubi injuria opus sit; esse gratiae locum, esse beneficio: et irasci et ignoscere posse: inter amicum atque inimicum discrimen nosse. Leges rem surdam, inexorabilem esse, salubriorem melioremque inopi, quam potenti: nihil laxamenti nec veniae habere, si modum excesseris. Periculosum esse, in tot humanis erroribus solâ innocentiam vivere.' Ita, jam suâ sponte aegris animis, legati ab regibus superveniunt, sine mentione redditus bona tantum repetentes. Eorum verba postquam in senatu audita sunt, per aliquot dies ea consultatio tenuit¹; ne non reddita, belli causa; reddita, belli materia et adjumentum essent. Interim legati alii alia moliri, apertè bona repetentes, clam recuperandi regni consilia struere. Et, tanquam ad id, quod agi videbatur, ambientes nobilium adolescentium animos pertentant. A quibus placidè oratio accepta est, his literas ab Tarquiniiis reddunt²; et de accipiendis clam nocte in urbem regibus colloquuntur.

IV. Vitelliis Aquiliisque fratribus primò commissa res est. Vitelliorum soror consuli nupta Bruto erat: jamque ex eo matrimonio adolescentes erant liberi, Titus Tiberiusque. Eos quòque in societatem consilii avunculi assumunt. Praeterea et nobiles aliquot adolescentes conscii assumpti, quorum vetustate memoria abiit. Interim quum in senatu vicisset sen-

¹ *Tenuit.* Supply *senatum*. *Tenere* is, however, often used in an intransitive sense, *continued*; thus, Imber continens per noctem totam usque ad horam tertiam diei insequentis *tenuit*, xxiii. 44. In a similar manner, though not in the same sense, the English verb, to hold, in such expressions as, This argument *holds* good. ² *Reddunt.* Not, as the composition of the word imports, *restore*, but simply *deliver*. The force of the particle *re*, is often merged in a similar manner, but in all cases denoting a transference from one object to another. The letters had been in the hands of one set of men before the deputies were intrusted with them; they gave them *again*; consequently, when they delivered them to the Roman youth, though not giving them to the same set, they cannot be said to *restore* them. In the same way, we may explain such passages as, *In castris Helvetiorum tabulae repertae sunt literis Graecis confectae, et ad Caesarem. relatae* (some read *perlatae*). CAES. *Bell. Gall.* i. 29. *Redditus his primum terris.* VIRGIL, *Aen.* vi. 18.

tentia, quae censebat reddenda bona; eamque ipsam causam morae in urbe haberent legati, 'quòd spatium ad vehicula com-
'paranda a consulibus sumpsissent, quibus regum asportarent
'res; omne id tempus cum conjuratis consultando absumunt, evincuntque instando, ut literae sibi ad Tarquinius darentur; nam aliter quì credituros eos, non vana ab legatis super re-
'bus tantis afferri?' Datae literae, ut pignus fidei essent, manifestum facinus fecerunt. Nam quum, pridie quàm legati ad Tarquinius profiscerentur, et coenatum fortè apud Vitellios esset, conjuratique ibi, remotis arbitris, multa inter se de novo, ut fit, consilio egissent; sermonem eorum ex servis unus excepit, qui jam antea id senserat agi: sed eam occasionem, ut literae legatis darentur, quae deprehensae rem coarguere possent, expectabat. Postquam datas sensit, rem ad consules detulit. Consules, ad deprehendendos legatos conjuratosque profecti domo, sine tumultu rem omnem oppressere: literarum in primis habita cura, ne interciderent. Proditoribus ex templo in vincula coniectis, de legatis paullulum addubitatum est: et quanquam visi sunt commisisse, ut hostium loco essent, jus tamen gentium valuit.

V. De bonis regiis, quae reddi antè censuerant, res integra refertur ad Patres. Illi victi irà vetuere reddi, vetuere in publicam redigi. Diripienda plebi sunt data; ut, contacta regiâ praedâ, spem in perpetuum cum his pacis amitteret. Ager Tarquiniorum, qui inter urbem ac Tiberim fuit, consecratus Marti, Martius deinde campus fuit. Fortè ibi tum seges farris dicitur fuisse matura messi. Quem campi fructum quia religiosum erat consumere¹, desectam cum stramento segetem magna vis hominum simul immissa² corbibus fudere in Tiberim, tenui fluentem aquâ, ut mediis caloribus solet. 'Ita³ in vadis haesitantis frumenti acervos sedisse illitos limo. 'Insulam inde paullatim, et aliis,' (quae fert temerè flumen,) 'eòdem invectis, factam.' Postea credo additas moles, manuque adjutum, ut tam eminens area, firmaque templis quòque ac porticibus sustinendis esset. Direptis bonis regum, dam-

¹ Quem, &c. As it was considered sacrilegious to employ, in secular purposes, this crop of the field.

² Immissa, agreeing with *vis*. Being sent into the Campus Martius. Doering thinks that it agrees rather with *segetem et stramentum*.

³ By passing thus abruptly to the indirect mode of narrating the formation of the island, Livy indicates his disinclination to lay much stress on the truth of the account.

nati proditores, sumptumque supplicium, conspectus eo, quòd poenae capiendae ministerium patri de liberis consulatus imposuit, et, qui spectator erat amovendus, eum ipsum fortuna exactorem supplicii dedit. Stabant deligati ad palam nobilissimi juvenes. Sed a ceteris, velut ab ignotis capitibus, consulis liberi omnium in se averterant oculos, miserebatque non poenae magis homines, quàm sceleris, 'quo poenam meriti essent; illos, eo potissimum anno patriam liberatam, patrem liberatorem, consulatum ortum ex domo Junia, Patres, plebem, quicquid Deorum hominumque Romanorum esset, induxisse in animum, ut superbo quondam regi, tum infesto exsuli proderent.' Consules in sedem processere suam; missique lictores ad sumendum supplicium nudatos virgis caedunt, securique feriunt: quum inter omne tempus pater, vultusque, et os ejus, spectaculo esset, eminente animo patrio 'inter publicae poenae ministerium. Secundum poenam nocentium, ut in utramque partem arcendis sceleribus exemplum nobile esset, praemium iudici, pecunia ex aerario, libertas et civitas, data. Ille primum dicitur vindictâ liberatus. Quidam 'vindictae' quòque nomen tractum ab illo' putant; 'Vindicio ipsi nomen fuisse.' Post illum observatum, 'ut, qui ita liberati essent, in civitatem accepti viderentur.'

VI. His, sicut acta erant, nunciatis, incensus Tarquinius non dolore solum tantae ad irritum cadentis spei, sed etiam odio irâque, postquam dolo viam obseptam vidit, bellam aperte moliendum ratus, circumire supplex Etruriae urbes; orare

¹ *Animo patrio*, the affection of a father. Others, with less force, and perception of the sublimity of the picture suggested by the struggle between the contending emotions of the first consul, translate it, affection for his country.

² A slave was said to be freed *per vindictam*, 'when a master, going with his slave in his hand to the praetor or consul, and in the provinces to the proconsul or proprætor, said, "I desire that this man be free, according to the custom of the Romans;" *Hunc hominem liberum esse more vel jure quirittum*; and the praetor, if he approved, putting a rod on the head of the slave, pronounced, "I say that this man is free, after the manner of the Romans." Whereupon, the lictor or the master, turning him round in a circle, (which was called *vertigo*,) and giving him a blow on the cheek, (*alapa*,) let him go, signifying, that leave was granted him to go where he pleased. The rod with which the slave was struck was called *vindicta*.' Dr ADAM. There were other modes of bestowing freedom upon slaves, most of which did not entitle the freedman, as this form did, to obtain the rights of citizenship.

maximè Vejentes Tarquiniensesque, 'ne se ortum¹, ejusdem sanguinis, extorrem egentem ex tanto modò regno, cum liberis adolescentibus ante oculos suos perire sinerent. Alios peregrè in regnum Romam accitos: se regem, augmentem bello Romanum imperium, a proximis sceleratâ conjuratione pulsum. Eos inter se, quia nemo unus satis dignus regno visus sit, partes regni rapuisse; bona sua diripienda populo dedisse, ne quis expers sceleris esset. Patriam se regnumque suum repetere, et persequi ingratos cives velle. Ferrent opem, adjuvarent; suas quòque veteres injurias ultum irent, toties caesas legiones, agrum ademptum.' Haec moverunt Vejentes: ac pro se quisque, 'Romano saltem² duce, ignominias demendas, belloque amissa repetenda,' minaciter fremunt. Tarquinienses nomen ac cognatio movet. Pulchrum videbatur, suos Romae regnare. Ita duo duarum civitatum exercitus, ad repetendum regnum belloque persequendos Romanos, secuti Tarquinium. Postquam in agrum Romanum ventum est, obviàm hosti consules eunt. Valerius quadrato agmine peditem ducit: Brutus ad explorandum cum equitatu antecessit. Eodem modo primus eques hostium agminis fuit, (præerat Aruns 'Tarquinius, filius regis,) rex ipse cum legionibus sequebatur. Aruns, ubi ex lictoribus procul consulem esse; deinde jam propiùs ac certiùs facie quòque Brutum cognovit, inflammatus irâ, 'Ille est vir,' inquit, 'qui nos ex torres expulit patriâ. Ipse, en, ille, nostris decoratus insignibus, magnificè incedit. Dii regum ultores adeste.' Concitât calcaribus equum, atque in ipsum infestus consulem dirigit. Sensit in se iri Brutus. Decorum erat tum ipsis capessere pugnam ducibus: avidè itaque se certamini offert. Adèdque infestis animis concurrerunt, neuter, dum hostem vulneraret, sui protegendî corporis memor, ut, contrario ictu per parmam uterque transfixus, duabus haerentes hastis moribundi ex equis lapsi sint. Simul et cetera equestris pugna coepit; neque ita multò post et pedites superveniunt. Ibi

¹ *Se ortum.* See p. 61, note 3. *Se* used with a reference to *sinerent*; that they should not permit a man descended from them, (qui non sinerent). ² *Saltem.* The position of this word clearly shews, that the meaning of the passage is, since success had not attended them under their own leaders, That, headed by a Roman at least. Others refer it to *ignominias*, if not for the purpose of assisting the Roman king, That their disgraces at least.

variâ victoriâ, et velut aequo Marte pugnatum est. Dextra utrinque cornua vicere, laeva superata. Vejentes, vinci ab Romano milite assueti, fusi fugatique. Tarquiniensis, novus hostis, non stetit solùm, sed etiam ab suâ parte Romanum pepulit.

VII. Ita quum pugnatum esset, tantus terror Tarquinium atque Etruscos incessit, ut, omissâ irritâ re, nocte ambo exercitus, Vejens Tarquiniensisque, suas quisque abirent domos. Adjiciunt miracula huic pugnae: ' silentio proximae noctis ' ex silvâ Arsiê ingentem editam vocem; Silvani vocem eam ' creditam; haec dicta, " Uno plus¹ Etruscorum cecidisse in " acie; vincere bello Romanum." Ita certè inde abiêre Romani, ut victores; Etrusci pro victis. Nam, postquam illuxit, nec quisquam hostium in conspectu erat; P. Valerius consul spolia legit, triumphansque inde Romam rediit. Collegae funus, quanto tum potuit apparatu, fecit. Sed multo majus morti decus publica fuit moestitia, eò ante omnia insignis, quia matronae annum, ut parentem, eum luxerant, ' quòd tam ' acer ultor violatae pudicitiae fuisset.' Consuli deinde, qui superfuerat, ut sunt mutabiles vulgi animi, ex favore non invidia modò, sed suspicio etiam cum atroci crimine, orta. ' Regnum eum affectare,' fama ferebat; quia nec collegam subrogaverat in locum Bruti, et aedificabat in summâ Velîâ. ' Ibi alto atque munito loco arcem inexpugnabilem fore.' Haec dicta vulgò creditaque quum indignitate angerent consulis animum, vocato ad concilium populo summiseis fascibus in concionem escendit. Gratum id multitudini spectaculum fuit; summissa sibi esse imperii insignia; confessionemque factam, populi, quàm consulis, majestatem vimque majorem esse. Ubi audire jussi, consul laudare fortunam collegae, ' quòd, liberatâ patriâ, in summo honore, pro republicâ dimicans, maturâ gloriâ, nec dum se vertente in invidiam, mortem occubuisset. Se superstitem gloriae suae ad crimen ' atque invidiam superesse; ex liberatore patriae ad Aquilios se Vitelliosque² recidissee. Nunquamne³ ergo,' inquit, ' ulla adeò a vobis spectata virtus erit, ut suspicione violari ' nequeat? Ego me, illum acerrimum regum hostem, ipsum ' cupiditatis regni crimen subiturum timerem? Ego, si in ' ipsâ arce Capitolioque habitarem, metui me crederem posse

¹ Uno plus. More by one, note 1.

² See Chap. 4.

³ See p. 16,

'a civibus meis? tam levi momento mea apud vos fama pendet? adeòne est fundata leviter fides, ut, ubi sim, quàm qui sim, magis referat? Non obstabunt P. Valerii aedes libertati vestrae, Quirites; tuta erit vobis Velia. Deferam non in planum modò aedes, sed colli etiam subjiciam: ut vos supra suspectum me civem habitetis. In Velia aedificent, quibus meliùs, quàm P. Valerio, creditur libertas.' Delata confestim materia omnis infra Veliam; et, ubi nunc Vicaepotae¹ est, domus in infimo clivo aedificata.

VIII. Latae deinde leges, non solùm quae regni suspicione consulem absolverent, sed quae adeò in contrarium verterent, ut popularem etiam facerent. Inde cognomen factum Publicolae est. Ante omnes de provocatione adversus magistratus ad populum, sacrandoque cum bonis capite ejus, qui regni occupandi consilia inisset, gratae in vulgus leges fuere. Quas quum solus pertulisset, ut sua unius in his gratia esset, tam deinde comitia collegae subrogando² habuit. Creatus Sp. Lucretius Consul, qui magno natu, non sufficientibus jam viribus ad consularia munera obeunda, intra paucos dies moritur. Suffectus in Lucretii locum M. Horatius Pulvillus. Apud quosdam veteres auctores non invenio Lucretium consulem: Bruto statim Horatium suggerant. Credo, quia nulla gesta res insignem fecerit consulatum, memoriâ intercidissae. Nondum dedicata erat in Capitolio Jovis aedes. Valerius Horatiusque consules sortiti, uter dedicaret. Horatio sorte evenit. Publicola ad Vejentium bellum profectus. Aegrius, quàm dignum erat, tulere Valerii necessarii, dedicationem tam inclyti templi Horatio dari. Id omnibus modis impedire conati, postquam alia frustra tentata erant, postem jam tenenti consuli foedum inter precationem Deum nuncium incutiant: 'mortuum ejus filium esse, funestâque familiâ³ de dicare eum templum non posse.' Non crediderit factum, an tantum animo roboris fuerit, nec traditur certum, nec interpretatio est facilis. Nihil aliud ad eum nuncium a proposito averans, quàm ut cadaver efferri juberet, tenens postem,

¹ *Vicaepotae*, see p. 47, note 2. ² *Subrogare*, applied to the person presiding at the *comitia*, for the election of one magistrate in room of another; *sufficere*, two sentences below, to the people electing, in the same circumstances. ³ *Funestâ familiâ*. His family being polluted by an unburied corpse.

precationem peragit, et dedicat templum¹. Haec post exactos reges domi militiaeque gesta primo anno. Inde P. Valerius iterum, T. Lucretius consules facti.

IX. Jam Tarquini ad Lartem Porsenam, Clusinum regem, perfugerant. Ibi, miscendo consilium precesque, nunc orabant, 'ne se, oriundos ex Etruscis, ejusdem sanguinis nominisque, egentes exulare pateretur:' nunc monebant etiam, 'ne orientem morem pellendi reges inultum sineret. Satis libertatem ipsam habere dulcedinis. Nisi, quantâ vi civitates eam expetant, tantâ regna reges defendant, aequari summa infimis. Nihil excelsum, nihil, quod supra cetera emineat, in civitatibus fore. Adesse finem regnis, rei inter Deos hominesque pulcherrimae.' Porsena, tum regem esse Romae, tum Etruscae gentis regem, amplum Tuscis ratus, Romam infesto exercitu venit. Non unquam aliâs antè tantus terror senatum invasit. Adèò valida res tum Clusina erat, magnumque Porsenae nomen, nec hostes modò, timebant, sed suosmet ipsi cives, ne Romana plebs, metu percussa, receptis in urbem regibus, vel cum servitute pacem acciperet². Multa igitur blandimenta plebi per id tempus ab senatu data. Annonae in primis habita cura, et ad frumentum comparandum missi, alii in Volcos, alii Cumas. Salis quòque vendendi arbitrium, quia impenso pretio venibat, in publicum omni sumptu, ademptum privatis³. Portoriisque, et tributo plebes liberata, ut divites conferrent, qui oneri ferendo⁴ essent; 'pauperes satis stipendii pendere, si liberos educarent.' Itaque haec indulgentia Patrum, asperis post-

¹ Omens were of two kinds, *oblative*, and *impetrativa*. The first were presented by the gods unsought, and might be neglected; the latter were sought for, and were imperative. *Nihil aliud*, supply *secundum*, no farther. ² *Vel*, &c. Should receive peace even if purchased with slavery. ³ *Salis quoque*, &c. A passage of great obscurity, and one which has given rise to much annotation. The emendation and explanation of the younger Gronovius are the most happy. He reads, *omne sumptum*: the translation would consequently be, The whole privilege of selling salt also, in consequence of its being sold at an extravagant price, was transferred to the state, and taken away from private merchants. With the reading as it stands, we may supply *omni sumptu arbitrii translato in publicum*, The whole expense arising from the exercise of that privilege being laid upon the state, by whom the salt was afterwards sold, at a reasonable price.

⁴ *Oneri ferendo*, supply *pares*.

modum rebus in obsidione ac fame, aded concordem civitatem tenuit, ut regium nomen non summi magis, quàm infimi, horrerent: nec quisquam unus malis artibus postea tam popularis esset, quàm tum bene imperando universus senatus fuit.

X. Quam hostes adessent, pro se quisque in urbem ex agris demigrant: urbem ipsam sepiunt praesidiis. Alia muris, alia Tiberi objecto videbantur tuta. Pons sublicius¹ iter penè hostibus dedit: ni unus vir fuisset, Horatius Cocles, (id munimentum illo die fortuna urbis Romanae habuit,) qui, positus fortè in statione pontis, quum captum repentino impetu Janiculum, atque inde citatos decurrere hostes vidisset, trepidamque turbam suorum arma ordinesque relinquere, reprehensans singulos, obsistens, obtestansque Deum et hominum fidem, testabatur: 'nequicquam deserto praesidio eos fugere. Si transitum² pontem a tergo reliquissent, jam plus hostium in Palatio Capitolioque, quàm in Janiculo, fore. Itaque monere, praedicere, ut pontem ferro, igni, quacunque vi possent, interrumpant. Se impetum hostium, quantum corpore uno posset obsisti, excepturum.' Vadit inde in primum aditum pontis: insignisque inter conspecta ceden-
tium pugnae terga, obversis cominus ad ineundum proelium armis, ipso miraculo audaciae obstupescit hostes. Daos tamen cum eo pudor tenuit, Sp. Lartium ac T. Herminium, ambos claros genere factisque. Cum his primam periculi procellam, et quod tumultuosissimum pugnae erat, parumper sustinuit. Deinde eos quodque ipsos, exigua parte pontis relictâ, revocantibus, qui rescindebant, cedere in tutum coëgit³. Circumferens inde truces minaciter oculos ad proceres Etrus-

¹ This bridge is the one mentioned in the 33d Chapter of the 1st Book, as being built by Ancus to connect the *Janiculum* with the city. The possession of the *Janiculum*, we find immediately, had very nearly placed the bridge, and consequently an easy passage over the Tiber, in the power of the enemy. ² Though *eo*, from its *intransitive* sense, can have no passive participle, its compounds, which become *transitive*, may have, as in the present instance and many others,

O mihi praeteritos referat si Jupiter annos.

VIR. viii. 560.

Some, however, consider *transitum* as a noun, in apposition with *pontem*. The bridge as a passage to the enemy. ³ *Coëgit*, supply *Cocles*. The suggestion of Gronovius seems happy; *pars* instead of *parte*,—*pars* coëgit.

corum, nunc singulos provocare, nunc increpare omnes, 'Ser-
 ' vitia regum superborum, suae libertatis immemores, alienam
 ' oppugnatum venire.' Cunctati aliquamdiu sunt, dum alius
 alium, ut proelium incipiant, circumspectant. Pudor deinde
 commovit aciem, et, clamore sublato, undique in unum hos-
 tem tela conjiciunt. Quae quum in objecto cuncta scuto
 haesissent, neque ille minùs obstinatus ingenti pontem obti-
 neret gradu¹, jam impetu conabantur detrudere virum; quum
 simul fragor rupti pontis, simul clamor Romanorum, alacri-
 tate perfecti operis sublatus, pavore subito impetum susti-
 nuit. Tum Cocles, 'Tiberine² pater,' inquit, 'te sancte pre-
 ' cor, haec arma et hunc militem propitio flumine accipias.'
 Ita sic armatus³ in Tiberim desiluit; multisque super inci-
 dentibus telis incolumis ad suos tranavit, rem ausus plus famae
 habituram ad posteros, quàm fidei. Grata erga tantam vir-
 tutem civitas fuit: statua in comitio posita, agri quantum
 uno die circumaravit, datum. Privata quòque inter publicos
 honores studia eminebant. Nam in magnâ inopiâ pro do-
 mesticis copiis unusquisque ei aliquid, fraudans se ipse victu
 suo, contulit.

XI. Porsena, primo conatu repulsus, consiliis ab oppug-
 nandâ urbe ad obsidendam versis, praesidio in Janiculo loca-
 to, ipse in plano ripisque Tiberis castra posuit; navibus un-
 dique accitis, et ad custodiam, ne quid Romam frumenti sub-
 vehi sineret, et ut praedatum milites trans flumen per occa-
 siones aliis atque aliis locis trajiceret: brevique adeò infestum
 omnem Romanum agrum reddidit, ut non cetera solùm ex
 agris, sed pecus quòque omne in urbem compelleretur, neque
 quisquam extra portas propellere auderet. Hoc tantum li-
 centiae Etruscis, non metu magis, quàm consilio, concessum.
 Namque Valerius consul, intentus in occasionem multos simul
 et effusos improvisò adoriundi, in parvis rebus negligens ul-
 tor, gravem se ad majora vindicem servabat. Itaque, ut eli-
 ceret praedatores, edicit suis, postero die frequentes portâ
 Esquilinâ, quae aversissima ab hoste erat, expellerent pecus;
 'scituros id hostes' ratus, 'quòd in obsidione et fame servitia

¹ *Gradus*, a gladiatorial term signifying a position in fencing; a stride, as preparatory to stepping; a step:—*Ingenti gradu*, with extraordinary firmness of position or stride.

² *Tiberinus* or *Tybris*, the river god; Tiberis the river itself. ³ *Ita sic armatus*. Thus speaking, accoutred as he was.

'infida transfugerent.' Et sciêre perfugae indicio; multò-que plures, ut in spem universae praedae, flumen trajiciunt. P. Valerius inde T. Herminium cum modicis copiis 'ad secundum lapidem Gabinâ viâ occultum considerare' jubet: Sp. Lartium cum expeditâ juventute 'ad portam Collinam stare, donec hostis praetereat; deinde se objicere, ne sit ad flumen reditus.' Consulum alter T. Lucretius portâ Naevîâ cum aliquot manipulis militum egressus: ipse Valerius Coelio monte cohortes delectas educit. Hique primi apparuere hosti. Herminius, ubi tumultum sensit, concurrit ex insidiis, versisque in Valerium Etruscis terga caedit. Dextrâ laevâque, hinc a portâ Collinâ, illinc ab Naevîâ, redditus clamor. Ita caesi in medio praedatores, neque ad pugnam viribus pares, et ad fugam septis omnibus viis. Finisque ille tam effusè evagandi Etruscis fuit.

XII. Obsidio erat nihilominus, et frumenti cum summâ caritate inopia; sedendoque expugnaturum se urbem spem Porsena habebat: quum C. Mucius¹, adolescens nobilis, cui indignum videbatur, 'populum Romanum servientem, quum sub regibus esset, nullo bello nec ab hostibus ullis obsessum esse; liberum eundem populum ab iisdem Etruscis obsideri, quorum saepe exercitus fuderit; itaque, magno audacique aliquo facinore eam indignitatem vindicandam' ratus, primò suâ sponte penetrare in hostium castra constituit. Dein metuens, ne, si consulum injussu et ignaris omnibus iret, fortè deprehensus a custodibus Romanis retraheretur ut transfuga, fortunâ tum urbis crimen affirmante², senatum adiit: 'Transire Tiberim,' inquit, 'Patres, et intrare, si possum, castra hostium volo: non praedo, nec populationum in vicem ultor. Majus, si Dii juvant, in animo est facinus.' Approbant Patres: abdito intra vestem ferro, proficiscitur. Ubi eò venit, in confertissimâ turbâ prope regium tribunal constitit. Ibi quum stipendium fortè militibus daretur, et scribe, cum rege sedens pari fere ornatu, multa ageret, eum milites vulgò adirent, timens sciscitari, uter Porsena esset, ne ignorando regem semet ipse aperiret, quis esset, quò temerè traxit

¹ *Mucius*, the nominative to *constituit*. All difficulty is removed, by considering the words from *Mucius* to *magno* parenthetical. ² *Fortunâ*, &c. The existing condition of the city giving force to such a charge.

fortuna facinus, scribam pro rege obtruncat. Vadentem inde, quâ per trepidam turbam cruento mucrone sibi ipse fecerat viam, quum, concursu ad clamorem facto, comprehensum regii satellites retraxisse, ante tribunal regis destitutus¹, tum quæque, inter tantas fortunæ minas, metuendus magis, quàm metuens: 'Romanus sum,' inquit, 'civis. C. Mucium vocat. Hostis hostem occidere volui. Nec ad mortem minus animi est, quàm fuit ad caedem. Et facere et pati fortia², Romanum est. Nec unus in te ego hos animos gessi: longus post me ordo est idem petentium decus. Proinde in hoc discrimen, si juvat, accingere³, ut in singulas horas capite dimices tuo; ferrum hostemque in vestibulo habeas regiae. Hoc tibi juvenis Romana indicimus bellum. Nullam aciem, nullum proelium timueris. Uni tibi, et cum singulis, res erit.' Quum rex, simul irâ infensus, periculoque contritus, 'circumdari ignes' minitabundus juberet, 'nisi expromeret properè, quas insidiarum sibi minas per amages jaceret:' 'En tibi,' inquit, 'ut sentias, quàm vile corpus sit iis, qui magnam gloriam vident:' dextramque accenso ad sacrificium foculo injicit. Quam quum velut alienato ab sensu torreret animo; prope attonitus miraculo Rex, quum ab sede suâ prosilisset, amoverique ab altaribus juvenem jussisset, 'Tu verò abi,' inquit, 'in te magis, quàm in me, hostilia ausua. Juberem macte⁴ virtute esse, si pro meâ patriâ ista virtus staret. Nunc jure belli liberum⁵ te, intactum inviolatumque hinc dimitto.' Tum Mucius, quasi remunerans meritum, 'Quandoquidem,' inquit, 'est apud te virtuti honos, ut beneficio tuleris a me, quod minis nequisti; trecenti conjuravimus principes juventutis Romanae, ut in te hâc viâ graasaremur. Mea prima sors fuit. Ceteri, ut

¹ *Destitutus*, de *statutus*, being placed beneath. ² *Et, &c.* Not only to do, but to suffer, what may be seem a brave man. ³ From the loose habit of the Romans requiring to be girt closely round the body previously to their engaging in any active operations, *accingor*, used in the middle sense, signifies prepare myself. ⁴ *Macte*. We should here expect *mactum*, but this word (said to be compounded of *magis* and *auctus*) is found only in the vocative singular and plural. It was originally used in religious addresses, and hence perhaps acquired its fixed form. ⁵ *Jure belli liberum*. Free from the punishment which the right of war empowers me to inflict.

'cuique ceciderit primo, quoad te opportunum fortuna dederit, suo quisque tempore, aderunt¹.'

XIII. Mucium dimissum, cui postea Scaevolae² a clade dextrae manûs cognomen inditum, legati a Porsenâ Romam secuti sunt. Adeò moverat eum et primi periculi casus, 'quo nihil se praeter errorem insidiatoris texisset,' et subeunda dimicatio toties, quot conjurati superessent, ut pacis conditiones ultrò ferret Romanis. Jactatum in conditionibus nequicquam de Tarquiniis in regnum restituendis, magis quia, id negare ipse nequiverat Tarquiniis, quàm quòd negatum iri sibi ab Romanis ignoraret. De agro Vejentibus restituendo impetratum³: expressaque necessitas obsides dandi Romanis, si Janiculo praesidium deduci vellent. His conditionibus compositâ pace, exercitum ab Janiculo deduxit Porsena, et agro Romano excessit. Patres C. Mucio virtutis causâ trans Tiberim agrum dono dedere, quae postea sunt Mucia prata appellata. Ergo, ita honoratâ virtute, feminae quòque ad publica decora excitatae. Et Cloelia virgo, una ex obsidibus, quum castra Etruscorum fortè haud procul ripâ Tiberis locata essent, frustrata custodes, dux agminis virginum inter tela hostium Tiberim tranavit; sospitesque omnes Romam ad propinquos restituit. Quod ubi regi nunciatum est, primò incensus irâ, oratores Romam misit ad Cloeliam obsidem deposcendam; aliàs haud magni facere; deinde in admirationem versus, 'Supra Coclites Muciosque' dicere 'id facinus esse,' et prae se ferre, 'quemadmodum, si non dedatur obses, pro rupto se foedus habiturum: sic deditam, inviolatam ad suos remissurum.' Utrunque constitit fides: et Romani pignus pacis ex foedere restituerunt; et apud regem Etruscum non tuta solùm, sed honorata etiam, virtus fuit, laudatamque virginem 'parte obsidum se donare' dixit: 'ipsa, quos vellet, legeret.' Productis omnibus, elegisse impubes dicitur: quòd et virginitati decorum, et consensu obsidum ipsorum probabile erat³, eam aetatem potissimùm liberari ab hoste,

¹ *Ceteri, &c.* The rest, as the lot shall have fallen on each man first, each in his proper time, will assail thee, till fortune shall have rendered thee our victim. ² From *Σκαίος*, left handed. ³ See I. Chap. 15. Agri parte mulctatis, &c. ⁴ *Et, &c.* And deserved to be approved of by the consent of the hostages themselves. *Ipsorum* and *quos*, in the former sentence, masculine, as, according to Dionysius, there were twenty hostages of either sex.

‘ quae maximè opportuna injuriae esset.’ Pace redintegratâ, Romani novam in feminâ virtutem novo genere honoris, statuâ equestri, donavere. In summâ Sacrâ viâ fuit posita virgo insidens equo.

XIV. Huic tam pacatae profectioni ab urbe regis Etrusci abhorrens mos, traditus ab antiquis, usque ad nostram aetatem inter cetera solennia manet bonis vendendis, bona Porsenae regis vendendi¹. Cujus originem moris, necesse est, aut inter bellum natam esse, neque omissam in pace; aut a mitiore crevisse² principio, quàm hic prae se ferat titulus, bona hostiliter vendendi. Proximum verò est ex iis, quae traduntur³, ‘ Porsenam, discedentem ab Janiculo, castra opulenta, convecto ex propinquis ac fertilibus Etruriae arvis commeatu, Romanis dono dedisse, inopi tum urbe ab longinquâ obsidione. Ea deinde, ne populo immisso diriperentur hostiliter, venisse, bonaque Porsenae appellata, gratiam muneris magis significante titulo, quàm auctionem fortunae regiae, quae ne in potestatem⁴ quidem populi Romani esset.’ Omisso Romano bello, Porsena, ne frustra in ea loca exercitus adductus videretur, cum parte copiarum filium Aruntem Ariciam oppugnatum mittit. Primò Aricinos res nec opinata perculerat. Arcessita deinde auxilia, et a Latinis populis, et a Cumis, tantum spei fecere, ut acie decernere auderent. Proelio inito, adèd concitato impetu se intulerant Etrusci, ut funderent ipso incursu Aricinos. Cumanae cohortes, arte adversus vim usae, declinavere paululum; effusèque praelatos⁵ hostes conversis signis ab tergo adortae sunt. Ita in medio prope jam victores cassi Etrusci: pars perexigua, duce amisso, quia nullum propius perfugium erat, Romam inermes et fortunâ et specie supplicum delati sunt. Ibi benignè excepti divisique in hospitia. Curatis

¹ *Bona, &c.* Of announcing that the effects of King Porsena are for sale. ² *Originem*, the accusative to *omissam*, and *crevisse*, forms an incongruous connexion. Livy must either have lost sight of the word with which he set out, as in the words, *originem natam esse*, it signifies the *origin*, in the two following clauses, *the practice originated*.

³ *Proximum, &c.* But the most probable of the traditionary accounts is. ⁴ *Potestatem*, where we might expect *potestate*. So frequently in Livy, and other writers. ⁵ *Praelatos*. Prae with the force of *praeter*, past.

vulneribus, alii profecti demos, nuncii hospitalium beneficio-
rum. Multos Romae hospitum urbisque caritas ¹ tenuit. His
locus ad habitandum datus, quem deinde *Tusculum vicum* ap-
pellârunt.

U. C.
247. XV. P. Lucretius inde et P. Valerius Publicola con-
sules facti ². Eo anno postremùm legati a Porsenâ de
reducendo in regnum Tarquinio venerunt. Quibus
quum responsum esset, 'missurum ad regem senatum lega-
'tos; missi confestim honoratissimus quisque ex Patribus.
'Non, quin breviter reddi responsum potuerit, *non recipi*
'*reges*, ideo potiùs delectos Patrum ad eum missos, quàm le-
'gatis ejus Romae daretur responsum ³: sed ut in perpetuum
'mentio ejus rei finiretur, neu in tantis mutuis beneficiis in
'vicem animi sollicitarentur: quum ille peteret, quod con-
'tra libertatem populi Romani esset; Romani, nisi in perni-
'ciem suam faciles esse vellent, negarent, cui nihil negatum
'vellent. Non in regno populum Romanum, sed in libertate
'esse. Ita induxisse in animum, hostibus potiùs, quàm regi-
'bus, portas patefacere. Eam esse voluntatem omnium, ut,
'qui libertati erit ⁴ in illâ urbe finis, idem urbi sit. Proinde,
'si salvam esse vellet Romam, ut patiatur liberam esse, orare.'
Rex, verecundiâ victus, 'Quando id certum atque obstinatum
'est,' inquit, 'neque ego obtundam sæpiùs eadem nequic-
'quam agendo: nec Tarquinius spe auxilii, quod nullum in
'me est, frustrabor. Alium hinc, seu bello opus est, seu quiete,
'exsilio quaerant locum, ne quid meam vobiscum pacem des-
'tineat.' Dictis facta amicia adjecit: obsidum quod reli-

¹ *Caritas*, affection for, see p. 58, note 2. ² As Livy differs in these names from all other authorities, the passage is believed to be defective, and the supposed error is thus corrected: *M. Horatius, (Pulvillus iterum,) et Publius Valerius Publicola (tertium,) inde Sp. Lartius et T. Herminius consules facti.* ³ *Non quin, &c.* Delectos patrum missos ad eum, potius quam (ut) responsum daretur legatis ejus Romae, non ideo, quin (quia non) responsum potuerit breviter reddi *reges non recipi.* That a select number of the senators had been sent to him, rather than an answer given to his ambassadors at Rome, not on this account, because an answer could not have been briefly returned, that the return of the royal family was not agreed to. The passage seems to be faulty. Unless we reject the words *quam legatis ejus Romae daretur responsum*, as the explanatory interpolation of a transcriber, we must admit Rupert's emendation of *datum* for *daretur*. Potuerit reddi. See p. 38, note 1. ⁴ *Erit.* Against all usage. Rupert's suggests *foret*.

quum erat, reddidit. Agrum Vejentem, foedere ad Janiculum icto ademptum¹, restituit. Tarquinius, spe omni reditûs incisâ, exsulatum ad generum Mamilium Octavium² Tusculum abiit. Romanis pax fida ita cum Porsenâ fuit.

XVI. Consules M. Valerius, P. Postumius. Eo
 v. c. anno bene pugnatum cum Sabinis. Consules triumphâ-
 249. runt. Majore inde mole Sabini bellum parabant. Adversus eos, et ne quid simul ab Tusculo, (unde, etsi non apertum, suspectum tamen bellum erat.) repentini periculi oriretur, P. Valerius quartum, T. Lucretius iterum consules
 v. c. facti. Seditio, inter belli pacisque auctores orta in Sa-
 250. binis, aliquantum inde virium transtulit ad Romanos.

Namque Attus Clausus, cui postea Ap. Claudio fuit Romae nomen, cum pacis ipse auctor a turbatoribus belli³ premere-
 tur, nec par factioni esset, ab Regillo, magnâ⁴ clientium comitatus manu, Romam transfugit. His civitas data agerque trans Anienem. Vetus Claudia tribus, additis postea novis tribulibus, qui ex eo venirent agro, appellata. Appius, inter Patres lectus, haud ita multo post in principum dignationem⁵ pervenit. Consules, infesto exercitu in agrum Sabinum profecti, quum ita vastatione, dein proelio, afflissent opes hostium, ut diu nihil inde rebellionis timere possent, triumphantes Romam redierunt. P. Valerius, omnium consensu princeps belli pacisque artibus, anno post, Agrippâ Mennio, P. Postumio Consulibus, moritur, gloriâ ingenti, copiis familiaribus adeo exiguis, ut funeri sumptus deesset; de publico est elatus. Luxere matronae, ut Brutum⁶. Eodem anno duae coloniae Latinae, Pometia et Cora, ad Auruncos deficiunt. Cum Auruncis bellum initum: fusoque ingenti exercitu, qui se ingredientibus fines consulibus ferociter obtulerat, omne Auruncum bellum Pometiam compulsus est. Nec magis post proelium, quam in proelio, caedibus temperatum est. Et caesi aliquanto plures erant, quam capti; et captos passim trucidaverunt. Ne ab obsidibus quidem, qui trecenti accepti numero erant, iram belli hostis abstinuit. Et hoc anno Romae triumphatum⁷.

¹ See Chap. 13. ² See I. 49. ³ *A turbatoribus belli*, by the agitators of war. ⁴ According to Dionysius, 5000 men able to bear arms. ⁵ *In principum dignationem*. To a rank equal with that of the leading men of the senate. ⁶ See Chap. 7. ⁷ *Et hoc anno*, in this year also, (as well as in the two former years,) triumph-

XVII. Secuti consules, Opiter Virginius et Sp. Cassius, Pometiam primò vi, deinde vineis aliisque operibus, oppugnaverunt. In quos Aurunci, magis jam in-expiabili odio, quàm spe aliquâ aut occasione, coörti, quum plures igni, quàm ferro, armati excucurrissent, caede incendio-que cuncta complent. Vineis incensis, multis hostium vulneratis et occisis, consulum quòque alterum, (sed utrum, nomen auctores non adjiciunt,) gravi vulnere ex equo dejectum, prope interfecerunt. Romam inde, malè gestâ re, reditum. Inter multos saucios consul spe incertâ vitæ relictus¹. Interjecto deinde haud magno spatio, quod vulneribus curandis supplendoque exercitui satis esset, tum irâ majore belli, tum viribus etiam auctis, Pometiæ arma illata. Et quum, vineis reffectis aliâque mole belli, jam in eo esset, ut in muros evaderet miles, deditio est facta. Ceterum nihilo minùs foedè, deditâ urbe, quàm si capta foret, Aurunci passim principes securi percussi, sub coronâ venierant² coloni alii; oppidum dirutum³, ager veniit. Consules magis ob iras graviter ultas, quàm ob magnitudinem perfecti belli, triumphârunt.

XVIII. Insequens annus Postumum Cominium et T. Lartium consules habuit. Eo anno Romæ, quum per ludos ab Sabinorum juventute per lasciviam scorta-

phatum. According to Dionysius, the honour of a triumph was given to Postumius only, an *ovation* being awarded to Menenius, in consequence of a check which his troops had received in the commencement of the war, which, according to him, was with the Sabines, not the Aurunci. ¹ It has been asked by some critics, where was the consul left? and *reatus* is proposed for *relictus*. The wounded consul was left at Rome, whilst his colleague returned to Pometia.

² *Sub coronâ venierunt*, were sold by auction. The phrase probably originates from prisoners thus sold wearing a crown. ³ Yet Livy, in the 25th chapter, states, that the Volsci took shelter in Pometia, seven years after this, and that it was then taken and plundered. Pometia was the capital of the Volscians, yet Livy, in the commencement of the 22d Chapter, says, *Cum Volscorum gente Latino bello neque par neque bellum fuerat*. 300 hostages are mentioned in the 16th chapter; they are likewise mentioned in the 22d. The *Aurunci*, whom surely the present discomfiture must have disabled for many years, send a threatening message, and are totally defeated, in the 26th chapter.

Lastly, Dionysius makes no mention of any such war at this time, but narrates two victories in this consulship, one gained by Cassius over the Sabines, the other by Virginius, when the town *Cameria* was taken. We may therefore look with great suspicion on this account of the two consulships, 251 and 252 u. c.

raperentur, concursu hominum rixa ac prope proelium fuit; parvâque ex re ad rebellionem spectare res videbatur. Supra belli Latini metum id quodque accesserat, quod triginta jam conjurâsse populos, concitante Octavio Mamilio satis constabat. In hâc tantarum expectatione rerum sollicitâ civitate dictatoris primùm creandi mentio orta. Sed nec quo anno, nec quibus consulibus, 'quia ex factione Tarquiniâ essent,' (id quodque enim traditur,) partum creditum sit¹, nec quis primùm dictator creatus sit, satis constat. Apud veterrimos tamen auctores T. Lartium dictatorem primum, Sp. Cassium magistrum equitum, creatos invenio. Consulares² legere: ita lex jubebat, de dictatore creando lata. (Eò magis adducor, ut credam, Lartium, qui consularis³ erat, potiùs, quàm Manium Valerium, M. filium, Volesi nepotem, qui nondum consul fuerat, moderatorem et magistrum consulibus appositum.) Qui, si maximè ex eâ familiâ legi dictatorem vellent, patrem multò potiùs M. Valerium, spectatae virtutis et consularem virum, legissent. Creato dictatore primùm Romae, postquam praeferi secures viderunt, magnus plebem metus incessit, ut intentiores essent ad dicto parendum. Neque enim, ut in consulibus, qui pari potestate essent, alterius auxilium, neque provocatio erat; neque ullum usquam nisi in curâ parendi, auxilium. Sabinis etiam creatus Romae dictator, (eo magis quod propter se creatum crediderant,) metum incussit. Itaque legatos de pace mittunt. Quibus, orantibus dictatorem senatumque, 'ut veniam erroris hominibus adolescentibus darent,' responsum; 'ignosci adolescentibus posse, senibus non posse, qui bella ex bellis sererent.' Actum tamen est de pace; impetrataque foret, si, quod impensae factum in bellum erat, praestare Sabini, (id enim postulatum erat,) in animum

¹ *Nec quibus.* Nor who were the consuls in whom confidence was not reposed, 'because,' (for that also is asserted,) 'they belonged to the faction which favoured the Tarquins.' ² *Consulares.* According to Drakenborch and Dr Hunter, the nominative to *legere*, and antecedent to *Qui*, in the second sentence below. Other editions make it the accusative governed by *legere*, but they are triumphantly refuted by Dr Hunter. ³ A singular use of *consularis*, a man who had been consul, applied to Lartius, who was consul, unless we suppose that he was denuded of the consulship as a preliminary step to the appointment of a dictator. It may here be noticed, that Dionysius places the appointment of a dictator three years later, in the consulship of Cloelius and Lartius.

induxissent. Bellum indictum; tacitae induciae quietum annum tenere.

XIX. Consules Ser. Sulpicius, Manius Tullius. Nihil dignum memoriâ actum¹. T. Aebutius deinde et C. Vetusius. His consulibus Fidenae obsessae, Crustumeria capta, Praeneste ab Latinis ad Romanos devicit. Nec ultra bellum Latinum, gliscens jam per aliquot annos, dilatum. A. Postumius dictator, T. Aebutius magister equitum, magnis copiis peditum equitumque profecti, ad lacum Regillum in agro Tusculano agmini hostium occurrerunt². Et, quia Tarquinius esse in exercitu Latinorum auditum est, sustineri ira non potuit, quin ex templo configerent. Ergo etiam proelium aliquanto, quàm cetera, gravius atque atrocius fuit. Non enim duces ad regendam modò consilio rem affuere, sed, suismet ipsis³ corporibus dimicantes, miscuere certamina. Nec quisquam procerum ferme hâc aut illâ ex acie sine vulnere, praeter dictatorem Romanum, excessit. In Postumium, primâ in acie suos adhortantem instruenteque, Tarquinius Superbus⁴, quamquam jam aetate et viribus erat gravior, equum infestus admisit: ictusque ab latere, concursu suorum receptus in tutum est. Et ad alterum cornu Aebutius magister equitum in Octavium Mamilium impetum dederat. Nec fefellit⁵ veniens Tusculanum ducem; contra quem et ille concitat equum. Tantaque vis infestis venientium hastis fuit, ut brachium Aebutio trajectum sit, Mamilio pectus percussum. Hunc quidem in secundam aciem Latini recepêre. Aebutius, quum saucio brachio tenere telum non posset, pugna excessit. Latinus dux, nihil deterritus vulnere, proelium ciet; et, quia suos percussos videbat, arcessit cohortem exsulum Romanorum, cui L. Tarquinii filius praeerat. Ea, quòd majore pugnabat irâ ob erepta bona patriamque ademptam, pugnam parumper restituit.

XX. Referentibus jam pedem ab eâ parte Romanis, M. Valerius, Publicolae frater, conspicatus ferocem juvenem Tar-

¹ According to Dionysius, a plot was this year detected to give up the city to the Tarquins.

² In the 22d chapter, Livy doubts whether this battle was not fought three years later.

³ Gronovius, with great plausibility, suggests *ipsi*.

⁴ Probability seems to be on the side of Dionysius, who ascribes the combat with the dictator to Titus, the son of Tarquin.

⁵ *Fallere* is often used in this sense, to escape notice. Thus Horace, *Castra fefellit*. Od. I. 11. 16.

quinium, ostentantem se in primâ exsulam acie, domesticâ etiam gloriâ accensus, ut, cujus familiae decus ejecti reges erant, ejusdem interfecti forent¹, subdit calcaria equo, et Tarquinium infesto spiculo petit. Tarquinius retrò in agmen suorum infenso cessit hosti. Valerium, temere invectum in exsulam aciem, ex transverso quidam adortus transfigit: nec quicquam equitis vulnere equo retardato, moribundus Romanus labentibus super corpus armis, ad terram defluxit. Dictator Postumius, postquam cecidisse talem virum, exsules ferociter citato agmine invehit, suos perculosos cedere animadvertit; cohorti suae, quam delectam manum praesidii causâ circa se habebat, dat signum, 'ut, quem suorum fugientem viderint, pro hoste habeant.' Ita metu ancipiti versi a fugâ Romani in hostem, et restituta acies. Cohors dictatoris tum primum proelium iniit. Integris corporibus animisque, fessos adorti exsules, caedunt. Ibi alia inter procures còrta pugna. Imperator Latinus, ubi cohortem exsulum a dictatore Romano prope circumventam vidit, ex subsidiariis manipulos aliquot in primam aciem secum rapit. Hos agmine venientes T. Herminius legatus conspicatus, interque eos insignem veste armisque Mamilium noscitans, tantò vi majore, quàm paullo antè magister equitum, cum hostium duce proelium iniit, ut et uno ictu transfixum per latus occiderit Mamilium, et ipse inter spoliandum corpus hostis veruto percussus, quam victor in castra esset relatus, inter primam curationem exspiraverit. Tum ad equites dictator advolat, obtestans, ut fesso jam pedite, descendant ex equis, et pugnam capessant. Dicto paruerunt: desiliunt ex equis, provolant in primum, et pro antesignanis² parmas objiciunt. Recipit extemplo animum pedestris acies, postquam juventutis procures³ aequato genere pugnae secum partem periculi sustinentes vidit. Tum demum impulsus Latini, perculsaque inclinavit acies. Equiti admoti equi, ut persequi hostem posset. Secuta et pedestris acies. Ibi, nihil nec divinae nec humanae opis dictator prae-

¹ *Ut, cujus.* Ut interfecti reges forent decus ejusdem familiae, cujus familiae decus ejecti reges erant, that the glory of having slain the royal family should belong to the same race to which the glory of having expelled them belonged, viz. to the Valerii, who had assisted in expelling the Tarquins.

² *Pro antesignanis.* Taking the place of the front line, viz. of those who stood before the standards, which were placed behind for safety.

³ *Juventutis procures.* The young noblemen, the knights. See I. 43.

termittens, aedem Castori vovisse fertur: ac pronuciâsse militi praemia, qui primus, qui secundus, castra hostium intrâset. Tantusque ardor fuit, ut eodem impetu, quo fuderant hostem, Romani castra caperent. Hoc modo ad lacum Regillum pugnatum est. Dictator et magister equitum triumphantes in urbem rediêre.

XXI. Triennio deinde nec certa pax, nec bellum fuit. E. C. 256. Consules Q. Cloelius et T. Lartius¹. Inde A. Sempronius et M. Minutius. His consulibus aedes Saturno dedicata: Saturnalia institutus festus dies. A. 257. deinde Postumius et T. Virginus consules facti. 'Hoc 258. 'demum anno ad Regillum lacum pugnatum,' apud quosdam invenio; 'A. Postumium, quia collega dubiae fidei 'fuerit, se consulatu abdicâsse; dictatorem inde factum.' Tanti errores implicant² temporum, aliter apud alios ordinatis magistratibus, ut, nec qui consules secundum³ quosdam, nec quid quoque anno actum sit, in tantâ vetustate, non rerum modò, sed etiam auctorum, digerere possis. Ap. Claudius deinde et P. Servilius consules facti. Insignis hic annus est nuncio Tarquinii mortis. Mortuus est Cumis, quò se, post fractas opes Latinorum, ad Aristodemum tyrannum contulerat. Eo nuncio erecti Patres, erecta plebes. Sed Patribus nimis luxuriosa ea fuit laetitia: plebi, cui ad eam diem summâ ope inservitum erat⁴, injuriae a primoribus fieri coepere. Eodem anno Signia⁵ colonia, quam rex Tarquinius deduxerat, suppleto numero colonorum, iterum deducta est. Romae tribus una et viginti factae. Aedes Mercarii dedicata est Idibus Maiis.

XXII. Cum Volscorum gente Latino bello neque pax, neque bellum fuerat. Nam et Volsci comparaverant auxilia, quae mitterent Latinis, ni maturatum ab dictatore Romano esset; et maturavit Romanus, ne proelio uno cum Latino Volscosque contenderet. Hâc irâ consules in Volscum agrum legiones duxere. Volscos, consilii poenam non metuentes,

¹ See p. 90, note 3. ² *Implicant*, supply scriptorem, entangle an historian. ³ *Secundum*, after. ⁴ Dionysius narrates many

causes of discontent, on the part of the plebeians, as having occurred before this period. It is probable, however, that Livy is more correct in his statement. During the lifetime of the king, those political storms could hardly have occurred, which afterwards raged, as it was the undoubted interest of the aristocratic party to remove all desire of a restoration of the kingly power. ⁵ See I. 56.

nec opinata res perculit. Armorum inamemores obsides dant trecentos principum a Corâ atque Pometiâ liberos¹. Ita sine certamine inde abductae legiones. Nec ita multò post Volscis levatis metu suum rediit ingenium: rursus occultum parant bellum, Hernicis in societatem armorum assumptis. Legatos quodque ad sollicitandum Latium passim dimittunt. Sed recens ad Regillum lacum accepta elades Latinos, ira odioque ejus, quicumque arma suaderet, ne ab legatis quidem violandis abstinuit². Comprehensos Volcos Romam duxere. Ibi traditi consulibus: indicatumque est, 'Volcos Hernicosque parare bellum Romanis.' Relatâ re ad senatum, aded fuit gratum Patribus, ut et captivorum sex millia Latinis remitterent, et de foedere, quod prope in perpetuum negatum fuerat, rem ad novos magistratus rejicerent. Enimvero tum Latini gaudere facto, pacis auctores in ingenti gloriâ esse. Coronam auream Jovi donam in Capitolium mittunt. Cum legatis donoque, qui captivorum remissi ad suos fuerant, magna circumfusa multitudo venit³. Pergunt domos eorum, apud quem quisque servierant: gratias agunt, liberaliter habiti cultique in calamitate suâ. Inde hospitia jungunt. Nunquam aliâ antè publicè privatimque Latinum nomen Romano imperio conjunctus fuit.

XXIII. Sed et bellum Volscum imminebat, et civitas, secum ipsa discors, intestino inter Patres plebemque flagrabat odio, maximè propter nexos ob aes alienum⁴. Fremebant, 'se, foris pro libertate et imperio dimicantes, domi a civibus captos et oppressos esse: tutioremque in bello, quàm in pace, inter hostes, quàm inter cives, libertatem plebis esse.' Invidiamque eam, suâ sponte gliscentem, insignis unius calamitas accendit. Magno natu quidam cum omnium malorum suorum insignibus se in forum projecit. Obsita erat squalore vestis, foedior corporis habitus pallore ac macie perempti. Ad hoc, promissa barba et capilli efferaverant speciem oris. Noscitabatur tamen in tantâ deformitate, et 'or-

¹ See p. 89, note 3. ² *Sed recens*, &c. But the remembrance of their late defeat sustained at the lake Regillus, from anger and hatred at any man who should advise hostilities, made them abstain not even from the violation of the ambassadors. ³ Magna circumfusa multitudo captivorum, qui remissi fuerant ad suos, venit.

⁴ The meaning of the expression, *nexos ob aes alienum*, will be best learned from the definition of Varro, Liber, qui suas operas praestat in servitute pro pecunia quam debeat, dum solverit, *nexus* vocatur.

'dines duxisse' aiebant, aliaque militiæ decora vulgò, miserantes eum, jactabant. Ipse, testes honestarum aliquot locis pugnarum, cicatrices adverso pectore ostentabat. Sciscitantibus, 'unde ille habitus? unde deformitas?' quum circumfusa turba esset prope in concionis modum, 'Sabino bello,' ait, 'se militantem, quia propter populationes agri non fructu modò caruerit, sed villa incensa fuerit, direpta omnia, pecora abacta, tributum iniquo suo tempore² imperatum, aes alienum fecisse: id, cumulatam usuris, primò se agro paterno avitoeque exuisse, deinde fortunis aliis: postremò, velut tabem, pervenisse ad corpus. Ductum se ab creditore, non in servitium, sed in ergastulum et carnificinam, esse.' Inde ostentare tergum foedum recentibus vestigiis³ verberum. Ad hæc visa auditaque clamor ingens oritur. Non jam foro se tumultus continet, sed passim totam urbem pervadit. Nexu vincti solutique⁴ se undique in publicum proripiunt, implorant Quiritium fidem. Nullo loco deest seditionis voluntarius comes. Multis passim agminibus per omnes vias cum clamore in forum curritur. Magno cum periculo suo, qui fortè Patrum in foro erant, in eam turbam inciderant. Nec temperatum manibus foret: ni propere consules, P. Servilius et Ap. Claudius, ad comprimendam seditionem intervenissent. In eos multitudo versa, ostentare vincula sua deformitatemque aliam. 'Hæc se meritos' dicere, exprobrantes etiam quisque alius alibi militiam⁵. Postulare multò minaciter magis, quàm suppliciter, 'ut senatum vocarent:' curiamque ipsi, futuri arbitri moderatoresque publici consilii, circumstant. Pauci admodum Patrum, quos casus obtulerat, contracti ad consules: ceteros metus non curiæ modò, sed etiam foro arcebat. Nec agi quicquam per infrequentiam⁶ poterat senatus.

¹ *Ordines durisse*, that he had been a centurion. *Ordo* sexagenos milites duos, *centurionem* et *vexillarium* unum habebat; viii. 8.

² *Iniquo suo tempore*, at a time when he was involved in these difficulties. ³ So in Greek, ἰχθυήματα. ⁴ *Nexu vincti solutique*.

Those who were then in bondage to their creditors, and those who had been released from that bondage. Others, with less probability, translate *soluti*, simply, those who were not in bondage. ⁵ *Exprobrantes*, &c. Taunting the consuls, each with the military service which he himself had performed, one man in one place, and another in another.

⁶ *Per infrequentiam*, through want of a quorum. Probably the quorum at this time was 100; afterwards it seems to have been considerably increased.

Tum verò 'eludi atque extrahi se' multitudo putare; 'et, Patrum qui abessent, non casu, non metu, sed impediendae rei causâ abesse, et consules ipsos tergiversari; nec dubiè ludibrio esse miseras suas.' Jam prope erat, ut ne consulum quidem majestas coërceret iras hominum. Quum, incerti, morando, an veniendo, plus periculi contraherent, tandem in senatum veniunt: frequentique tandem curiâ, non modò inter Patres, sed ne inter consules quidem ipsos, satis conveniebat¹. Appius, vehementis ingenii vir, 'imperio consulari rem agendam' censebat: 'uno aut altero arrepto, quieturos alios.' Servilius, lenibus remediis aptior, 'concitatos animos flecti, quàm frangi,' putabat 'quum tutius, tum facilius, esse.'

XXIV. Inter haec major alius terror. Latini equites cum tumultuoso advolant nuncio: 'Volscos infesto exercitu ad urbem oppugnandam venire.' Quae audita, (adeò duas ex unâ civitate discordia fecerat,) longè aliter Patres ac plebem affecere. Exsultare gaudio plebes; 'ultores superbiae Patrum adesse' dicere- 'Deos.' Alius alium confirmare, 'ne nomina darent: cum omnibus potiùs, quàm solos, perituros. Patres militarent, Patres arma caperent, ut penes eosdem pericula belli, penes quos praemia, essent.' At verò curia, moesta ac trepida ancipiti metu et ab cive et ab hoste, Servilium consulem, cui ingenium magis populare erat, orare, 'ut tantis circumventam terroribus expediret rempublicam.' Tum consul, misso senatu, in concionem prodit. Ibi, 'curae esse Patribus,' ostendit, 'ut consulatur plebi. Ceterum deliberationi de maximâ quidem illâ, sed tamen parte civitatis², metum pro universâ republicâ intervenisse. Nec posse, quum hostes prope ad portas essent, bello praevertisse quicquam: nec, si sit laxamenti aliquid³, aut plebi honestum esse, nisi mercede priùs acceptâ, arma pro patriâ non cepisse; neque Patribus satis decorum, per metum potiùs, quàm postmodo voluntate, afflictis civium suorum fortunis

¹ See p. 46, note 1. In this sentence the *ne* of *ne quidem*, denies the circumstance, *satis conveniebat*, common to both clauses, coming under the 1st canon, thus: *Not only* among the senators, but between the consuls themselves *even*, there was *no* agreement in opinion.

² *De maximâ*, &c. With regard to that, certainly a very great portion, but still only a portion of the state.

³ *Nec*, &c. Nor even though there were any breathing time, *i. e.* sufficient to allow the senate to consider the affairs of the Plebeians, before marching to the war.

'consuluisse.' Concioni deinde edicto addidit fidem, quo edixit, 'Ne quis civem Romanum vinctum aut clausum teneret, quo minus ei meminisse edendi apud consules potestas fieret. Ne quis militis, donec in castris esset, bona possideret, aut venderet: liberos nepotesve ejus moraretur¹.' Hoc proposito edicto, et, qui aderant, nexi profiteri extemplo nomina; et undique ex totâ urbe proripientium se ex privato, quum retinendi jus creditori non esset, concursus in forum, ut sacramento dicerent², fieri. Magna ea manus fuit; neque aliorum magis in Volscis bello virtus atque opera enituit. Consul copias contra hostem educit. Parvo dirimente intervallo castra ponit.

XXV. Proximâ inde nocte Volsci, discordiâ Romanâ freti, si qua nocturna transitio preditione fieri possit, tentant castra. Sensere vigiles: excitatus exercitus, signo dato: concursus est ad arma. Ita frustra id inceptum Volscis fuit. Reliquum noctis utrinque quieti datum. Postero die primâ luce Volsci, fossis repletis, vallum invadunt. Jamque ab omni parte munimenta vellebantur, quum consul, quanquam cuncti undique, et nexi ante omnes, 'ut signum daret,' clamabant, experiendi animos militum causâ parumper moratus, postquam satis apparebat ingens ardor, dato tandem ad erumpendum signo, militem avidum certaminis emittit. Primo statim incursu pulsi hostes: fugientibus, quoad insequi pedes potuit, terga caesa: eques usque ad castra pavidos egit. Mox ipsa castra, legionibus circumdatis, quum Volscos inde etiam pavor expulisset, capta direptaque. Postero die ad Suessam Pometiam³, quò confugerant hostes, legionibus ductis, intra paucos dies oppidum capitur: captam praedae datum. Inde paullum recreatus egens miles. Consul cum maximâ gloriâ suâ victorem exercitum Romanum reducit. Decedentem Romanam, Ecetranorum Volscorum legati, rebus suis timentes post Pometiam captam, adeunt. His ex senatusconsulto data pax, ager ademptus.

XXVI. Confestim et Sabini Romanos territavere: tumultus enim fuit veriùs, quàm bellum⁴. Nocte in urbe nuncia-

¹ *Moraretur*, should molest. ² *Dicere sacramento*, to promise, by a military oath, to perform the duties of a soldier. *Sacramento*, in the ablative. ³ See p. 89, note 3. ⁴ *Tumultus*, a sudden foray; *bellum*, a regular war. The ordinary distinction between these two words is thus given by Cicero, Phil. viii. 1. *Majores nostri*

tum est, 'exercitum Sabinum praedabundum ad Anienem, amnem pervenisse. Ibi passim diripi atque incendi villas.' Missus extemplo eò cum omnibus copiis equitum A. Postumius, qui dictator bello Latino fuerat. Secutus consul Servilius cum delectâ peditum manu. Plerosque palantes eques circumvenit. Nec advenienti peditum agmini restitit Sabina legio. Fessi, tum itinere, tum populatione nocturnâ, magna pars in villis repleti cibo vinoque, vix fugae quod satis esset virium habuere. Nocte unâ audito perfectoque bello Sabino, postero die, in magnâ jam spe undique partae pacis, legati Aurunci¹ senatum adeunt, ni decedatur Volsco agro, bellum indicentes. Cum legatis simul exercitus Auruncorum domo profectus erat. Cujus fama, haud procul jam ab Ariciâ visi, tanto tumultu concivit Romanos, ut nec consuli ordine Patres, nec pacatum responsum arma inferentibus, arma ipsi capientes, dare possent. Ariciam infesto agmine itur: nec procul inde cum Auruncis signa collata, proelioque uno debellatum est².

XXVII. Fusis Auruncis, victor tot intra paucos dies bellis Romanus promissa consulis fidemque senatûs expectabat: quum Appius, et insitâ superbiâ animo, et ut collegae vanam faceret fidem, quàm asperrimè poterat, jus de creditis pecuniis dicere. Deinceps et, qui antè nexi³ fuerant, creditoribus tradebantur, et nectebantur alii. Quod ubi cui militi inciderat, collegam appellabat⁴: concursus ad Servilium fiebat, illius promissa jactabant, illi exprobrabant sua quisque belli merita cicatricesque acceptas. Postulabant, ut aut referret ad senatum, aut ut auxilio esset consul civibus suis, imperator militibus. Movebant consulem haec; sed tergiversari res coge-
bat. Adeò in alteram causam non collega solùm praeceps ierat⁵, sed omnis factio nobilium. Ita, medium se gerendo, nec plebis vitavit odium, nec apud Patres gratiam iniit. Patres mollem consulem et ambitiosum rati; plebes fallacem. Brevique apparuit, aequâsse eum Appii odium. Certamen consulibus inciderat, uter dedicaret Mercurii aedem⁶. Senatus a se rem ad populum rejecit: utri eorum dedicatio jussu

tumultum Italicum, quod erat domesticus, Gallicum, quod erat Italiae finitimus, praeterea nullum tumultum nominabant. ¹ See p. 89, note 3.

² *Debellatum est*, the war was brought to an end. ³ See

p. 94, note 4. ⁴ *Appellabat*, he appealed to. ⁵ See p. 36, note 4.

⁶ See end of Chap. 21.

populi data esset, eum praeesse annonae, mercatorum collegium instituere, solennia pro pontifice jussit suscipere. Populus dedicationem aedis dat M. Laetorio, primi pili¹ centurioni: quod faciliè appareret, non tam ad honorem ejus, cui curatio altior fastigio suo data esset², factum, quàm ad consulum ignominiam. Saevire inde utique consulum alter, Patresque: sed plebi creverant animi; et longè alià, quàm primò instituerant, viâ grassabantur. Desperato enim consulum senatûsque auxilio, quum in jus duci debitorem vidissent, undique convolabant. Neque decretum exaudiri consulis prae strepitu et clamore poterat: neque, quum decrêssset, quisquam obtemperabat. Vi agebatur, metusque omnis et periculum libertatis, quum in conspectu consulis singuli a pluribus violarentur, in creditores a debitoribus verterant³. Super haec timor iucessit Sabini belli; delectuque decreto, nemo nomen dedit, furente Appio, et insectante ambitionem collegae; 'qui populari silentio rempublicam proderet, et ad id, quòd de creditâ pecuniâ jus non dixisset, adjiceret, ut ne delectum quidem ex senatûs consulto haberet. Non esse tamen desertam omnino rempublicam, neque projectum consulare imperium. Se unum et suae et patrûm majestatis, vindicem fore.' Quum circumstaret quotidiana multitudo, licentiâ accensa, arripi unum insignem ducem seditionum jussit. Ille, quum a lictoribus jam traheretur, provocavit: nec cessasset provocationi consul, quia non dubium erat populi judicium, nisi aegrè victa pertinacia foret, consilio magis et auctoritate principum, quàm populi clamore. Adeò superebant animi ad sustinendam invidiam⁴. Crescere inde malum in dies, non clamoribus modò apertis, sed, quod multo per-

¹ *Primus pilus* was either the term applied to a man of a certain rank in the army, or, as here, the rank itself. 'The centurion of the first century of the first maniple of the *Triarii* was called *Centurio primi pili* vel *primi ordinis*, or *Primus Pilus*, *primipilus*, or *primopilus*, also *primus centurio*, qui *primum pilum* ducebat, *dux legionis*. He presided over all the other centurions, and had the charge of the eagle, or chief standard of the legion, whereby he obtained both profit and dignity, being ranked among the *equites*. He had a place in the council of war with the consul and tribunes.' Dr ADAM.

² *Cui*, &c. *Cui* for quippe ei. Since a charge had been committed to him of greater dignity than was proportioned to his rank. ³ *Verterant*, supply *se*. See p. 32, note 2. ⁴ *Adeo*, &c. So excessive was the resolution with which he (Appius) withstood the public odium.

niciosius erat, secessione occultisque colloquiis. Tandem in-
visi plebi consules magistratu abeunt, Servilius neutris, Ap-
pius Patribus mirè gratus.

XXVIII. A. Virginius inde et T. Vetusius consula-
u. c. tum ineunt. Tum verò plebes, incerta quales habitura
260. consules esset, coetus nocturnos, pars Esquiliis, pars
in Aventino, facere; ne in foro subitis trepidaret consiliis, et
omnia temere ac fortuitò ageret. Eam rem consules rati, ut
erat, perniciosam, ad Patres deferunt: sed delatam consulere¹
ordine non licuit. Adèò tumultuosè excepta est clamori-
bus undique et indignatione Patrum, 'si, quod imperio con-
'sulari exsequendum esset, invidiam ejus consules ad senatum
'rejicerent. Profectò si essent in republicâ magistratus,
'nullum futurum fuisse Romae, nisi publicum, concilium.
'Nunc in mille curias concionesque, (quum alia in Esquiliis,
'alia in Aventino fiant concilia,) dispersam et dissipatam
'esse rempublicam. Unum, Hercule, virum, (id enim plus
'esse, quàm consulem,) qualis Ap. Claudius fuerit, momen-
'to temporis dicissurum illos coetus fuisse.' Corrupti con-
sules quum, 'quid ergo se facere vellent, (nihil enim segnius
'molliusve, quàm Patribus placeat, acturos,)' percunctaren-
tur, decernunt, 'ut delectum quàm acerrimum habeant. Otio
'lascivire plebem.' Dimisso senatu, consules in tribunal
ascendunt. Citant nominatim juniores². Quum ad nomen
nemo responderet, circumfusa multitudo in concionis modum
negare, 'Ultrà decipi plebem posse. Nunquam unum mi-
'litem habituros, ni praestaretur fides publica. Libertatem
'unicuique priùs reddendam esse, quàm arma danda: ut pro
'patriâ civibusque, non pro dominis, pugnent.' Consules,
quid mandatum esset a senatu, videbant: sed eorum, qui
intra parietes curiae ferociter loquerentur, neminem adesse,
invidiae suae participem: et apparebat atrox cum plebe cer-
tamen. Priùs itaque, quàm ultima experirentur, senatum
iterum consulere placuit. Tum verò ad sellas consulum pro-
pere convolvare minimus quisque natu Patrum, 'abdicare
'consulatum' jubentes, 'et deponere imperium, ad quod
'tuendum animus deesset.'

¹ *Consulere*, governing two accusatives, *senatum*, and *rem*, under-
stood.

² To the *juniores* was assigned the duty of serving in war
abroad, I. 43.

XXIX. Utrâque re satis expertâ¹, tum demum consules: 'Ne praedictum negetis, Patres conscripti, adest ingens seditio. Postulamus, ut ii, qui maximè ignaviam increpant, adsint nobis habentibus delectum. Acerrimi cujusque arbitrio, quando ita placet, rem agemus.' Redeunt in tribunal; citari nominatim unum ex iis, qui in conspectu erant, deditâ operâ jubent. Quum staret tacitus, et circa eum aliquot hominum, ne fortè violaretur, constitisset globus, lictorem ad eum consules mittunt. Quo repulso, tum verò, 'indignum facinus esse,' clamitantes, qui Patrum consulibus aderant, devolant de tribunali, ut lictori auxilio essent. Sed ab lictore, nihil aliud quàmprehendere prohibito, quum conversus in Patres impetus esset, consulum intercurso rixa sedata est²: in quâ tamen, sine lapide, sine telo, plus clamoris atque irarum, quàm injuriae, fuerat. Senatus, tumultuosè vocatus, tumultuosius consulitur, quaestionem postulantibus iis, qui pulsati fuerant, decernente ferocissimo quoque, non sententiis magis, quàm clamore et strepitu. Tandem, quum irae resedissent, exprobrantibus consulibus, 'nihil plus sanitatis in curiâ, quàm in foro, esse,' ordine consuli coepit. Tres fuere sententiae. P. Virginius rem non vulgabat³: 'de iis tantum, qui, fidem secuti P. Servilii consulis, Volsco, Aurunco, Sabinoque militassent bello, agendum' censebat. T. Lartius, 'Non id tempus esse, ut merita tantummodo exsolverentur. Totam plebem aere alieno demersam esse: nec sisti posse⁴, ni omnibus consulatur. Quin, si alia aliorum sit conditio, accendi magis discordiam, quàm sedari.' Ap. Claudius, et naturâ immitis, et efferatus hinc plebis odio, illinc Patrum laudibus, 'Non miseriis,' ait, 'sed licentiâ, tantum concitum barbarum; et lascivire magis plebem, quàm saevire. Id adèd malum ex provocatione natum. Quippe minas esse consulum, non imperium⁵; ubi ad eos, qui unâ peccaverint, provocare liceat. Agedum,' inquit, 'dictato-

¹ *Utrâque*, &c. The sentiments of both parties having been sufficiently tried. *Expertus*, passive, see p. 41, note 5. ² *Sed ab*, &c. But, when their fury had been diverted against the senators, from the lictor, who was only prevented from seizing the man, the riot was quelled by the interference of the consuls. ³ *Vulgabat*, non vulgarem faciebat; did not extend his motion to all indiscriminately. ⁴ *Nec civitatem sisti posse*, nor could the state be maintained in safety. ⁵ *Quippe*, &c. since threats, not power, were all that belonged to the consuls.

‘rem, a quo provocatio non est, creemus’. Jam hic, quo
 ‘nunc omnia ardent, conticescet furor. Pulset tum mihi lic-
 ‘torem, qui sciet, jus de tergo vitæque suæ penes unum illum
 ‘esse, cujus majestatem violavit.’

XXX. Multis, ut erat, horrida et atrox videbatur Appii
 sententia: rursus Virginii Lartiique exemplo haud salabres;
 utique Lartii putabant sententiam, quæ totam fidem tolleret².
 Medium maximè et moderatum utroque consilium Virginii
 habebatur. Sed factione respectuque rerum privatarum³,
 quæ semper offecere officientque publicis consiliis, Appius
 vicit: ac prope fuit, ut dictator ille idem crearetur. Quæ
 res utique alienâset plebem periculosissimo tempore, quum
 Volsci Aequique et Sabini fortè unâ omnes in armis essent.
 Sed curæ fuit consulibus et senioribus Patrum, ut imperium,
 suo⁴ vehemens, mansueto permitteretur ingenio. Manium
 Valerium dictatorem Volesi filium creant. Plebes, etsi ad-
 versus se creatum dictatorem videbat, tamen, quum provoca-
 tionem fratris⁵ lege haberet, nihil ex eâ familiâ triste nec su-
 perbum timebat. Edictum deinde, a dictatore propositum,
 confirmavit animos, Servilii fere consulis edicto⁶ conveniens.
 Sed et homini et potestati meliùs rati credi, omisso certamine
 nomina dedere. Quantus nunquam antè exercitus, legiones
 decem effectæ: ternæ inde datæ consulibus, quatuor dicta-
 tor usus. Nec poterat jam bellum differri. Aequi Latinum
 agrum invaserant. Oratores Latinorum a senatu petebant
 ‘ut aut mitterent subsidium, aut se ipsos tuendorum finium
 ‘causâ capere arma sinerent.’ Tutius visum est, defendi iner-
 mes Latinos, quàm pati retractare arma. Vetusius consul
 missus est. Is finis populationibus fuit. Cessere Aequi cam-
 pis: locoque magis, quàm armis, freti, summis se jugis mon-
 tium tutabantur. Alter consul, in Volscos profectus, ne et
 ipse tereret tempus, vastandis maximè agris hostem ad con-
 ferenda propriùs castra dimicandumque acie excivit. Medio
 inter castra campo, ante suum quisque vallum, infestis signis

¹ See p. 16, note 1. ² *Rursus*, &c. On the other hand, they re-
 garded as dangerous, from the precedents they furnished, the opinions
 of Virginii and Lartius, especially that of Lartius, (*quæ*, quippe *ea*,)
 since it subverted all credit. ³ The senators were the principal cre-
 ditors, and therefore averse to any measure which tended to bring

about a composition of the debts due them. ⁴ *Suo*, supply *ingenio*,
 in its own nature. ⁵ *Manius Valerius* was the brother of P. Vale-
 rius Poplicola. ⁶ See Chap. 24.

constitere. Multitudine aliquantùm Volsci superabant. Itaque effusi et contemptim pugnam inière. Consul Romanus nec promovit aciem, nec clamorem reddi passus, 'defixis pilis stare suos' jussit: 'ubi ad manum venisset hostis, tum coörto totâ vi gladiis rem gerere.' Volsci, cursu et clamore fessi, quum se velut stupentibus metu intulissent Romanis, postquam impressionem sensere ex adverso factam, et ante oculos micare gladios, haud secus, quàm si in insidias incidissent, turbati vertunt terga; et ne ad fugam quidem satis virium fuit, quia cursu in proelium ierant. Romani contrà, quia principio pugnae quieti steterant, vigentes corporibus, facilè adepti fessos, et castra impetu ceperunt, et, castris exutum hostem Velitras persecuti, uno agmine victores cum victis in urbem irrupere. Plusque ibi sanguinis, promiscuâ omnium generum caede, quàm in ipsâ dimicatione, factum. Paucis data venia, qui inermes in deditionem venerunt.

XXXI. Dum haec in Volscis geruntur, dictator Sabinos, ubi longè plurimum belli fuerat, fundit, fugatque, exiitque castris. Equitatu immisso mediam turbaverat hostium aciem, quâ, dum se cornua latiùs pandunt, parum aptè introrsam ordinibus aciem firmaverant¹. Turbatos pedes invasit. Eodem impetu castra capta, debellatumque est². Post pugnam ad Regillum lacum non alia illis annis pugna clarior fuit. Dictator triumphans urbem invehitur. Super solitos honores locus in circo ipsi posterisque ad spectaculum datus; sella in eo loco curulis posita. Volscis devictis Veliternus ager ademptus: Velitras coloni ab urbe missi et colonia deducta. Cum Aequis pòst aliquanto pugnatum est, invito quidem consule, quia loco iniquo subeundum erat ad hostes; sed milites, 'extrahi rem' criminantes, 'ut dictator, priùs quàm ipsi redirent in urbem, magistratu abiret, irritaque, sicut antè consulis, promissa ejus caderent,' perpulere, ut fortè temere³

¹ *Qua, &c.* Where, whilst the wings are too much extended, they had not proportionately strengthened the line, with ranks inwards, i. e. by deepening their ranks. Such seems to be the meaning of *introrsum*, from another passage, xxv. 21. In longitudinem porrecta acies. Clamantibus tribunis nihil *introrsus* roboris ac virium esse, et *quacumque* impetum fecisset hostis, perrupturos. The word *quacumque* is evidently inconsistent with Stroth's explanation, *mediam inter duo cornua aciem.*

² *Debellatumque est.* See p. 98, note. 2. ³ *Fortè,* by chance, without any regard to rule; *temere,* rashly, without any regard to prudence.

in adversos montes agmen erigeret. Id malè commissum ignaviâ hostium in bonum vertit¹: qui, priùs quàm ad coniectum teli veniretur, obstupefacti audaciâ Romanorum, relictis castris, quae munitissimis tenuerant locis, in adversas² valles desiluere: ubi satis praedae et victoria incruenta fuit. Ita trifariam re bello bene gestâ, de domesticarum rerum eventu nec Patribus nec plebi cura decesserat. Tantâ quum gratiâ, tum arte praeparaverant foeneratores, quae non modò plebem, sed ipsum etiam dictatorem frustrarentur. Namque Valerius, post Vetusii consulis reditum, omnium actionum in senatu primam habuit pro victore populo, retulitque, quid nexis fieri placeret. Quae quum rejecta relatio esset³, ‘Non placeo,’ inquit, ‘concordiae auctor. Optabitis, me Dius Fidius⁴, prope diem, ut mei similes Romana plebes patros nos habeat. Quod ad me attinet, neque frustrabor ultrâ cives meos, neque ipse frustrâ dictator ero. Discordiae institinae, bellum externum fecere, ut hoc magistratu egeret respublica. Pax foris parta est, domi impeditur. Privatus potius, quàm dictator, seditioni interero.’ Ita, curiâ egressus, dictaturâ se abdicavit. Apparuit causa plebi, suam vicem indignantem magistratu abisse⁵. Itaque, velut persolutâ fide, ‘quoniam per eum non stetisset, quin praestaretur,’ decedentem domum cum favore ac laudibus prosecuti sunt.

XXXII. Timor inde Patres incessit, ne, si dimissus exercitus foret, rursus coetus occulti conjurationesque fierent.

¹ *Vertit*, supply *se* with *id male commissum* for the nominative, and *ignaviâ* the ablative: or *ignavia* hostium *vertit* in bonum *id male commissum*.

² In the preceding sentence the mountains possessed by the Aequi are called *adversi* with regard to the Romans; the valleys occupied by the Romans must therefore have been *adversae* with regard to the Aequi. Why then should the Aequi have abandoned their camp in terror, and yet descended in *adversas* valles? Gronovius, with the greatest probability, reads *aversas* valles, the valleys in their rear. *Ubi*, in the next clause, evidently refers to *castris*.

³ *Referre*, to propose for consideration; *rejicere relationem*, to reject the proposal for consideration; *accipere relationem*, to grant the proposal.

⁴ *Me* (juvet) *Dius Fidius*, so help me the God of Truth. According to some this deity was *Hercules*, Διὸς filius; according to others, *Fidius*, a god worshipped by the Sabines, and referred to by Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 213.

Quaerebam nonas Sanco *Fidione* referrem, &c.

⁵ *Apparuit*. &c. It was evident to the common people, that the cause of his having retired from office was his indignation at the treatment to which they were exposed.

Itaque 'quanquam per dictatorem delectus habitus esset, 'tamen, quoniam in consulum verba jurâssent', sacramento 'teneri militem' rati, per causam renovati ab Aequis belli 'educi ex urbe legiones' jussere. Quo facto maturata est seditio. Et 'primò agitatum' dicitur 'de consulum caede, 'ut solverentur sacramento: doctos deinde, nullam scelere 'religionem exsolvi, Sicinio quodam auctore, injussu consulum in Sacrum montem secessisse,' (trans Anienem amnem est,) 'tria ab urbe millia passuum.' Ea frequentior fama est, quàm, cujus Piso auctor est, 'in Aventinum secessionem 'factam esse.' Ibi sine ullo duce, vallo fossâque communitis castris, quieti, rem nullam, nisi necessariam ad victum, sumendo, per aliquot dies, neque lacessiti, neque lacessentes, sese tenere. Pavor ingens in urbe, metuque mutuo suspensa erant omnia. Timere relictâ ab suis plebes violentiam Patrum, timere Patres residem in urbe plebem, incerti, manere eam, an abire mallent. 'Quam diu autem tranquillam, 'quae secesserit, multitudinem fore? quid futurum deinde, 'ei quod externum interim bellum existat? nullam profectò, 'nisi in concordia civium, spem reliquam ducere. Eam per 'aequa, per iniqua, reconciliandam civitati esse.' Placuit igitur oratorem ad plebem mitti Menenium Agrippam, facundum virum et, quòd inde oriundus erat², plebi carum. Is, intromissus in castra, prisco illo dicendi et horrido modo nihil aliud, quàm³ hoc, narrâsse fertur: 'Tempore, quo in

¹ *Quoniam, &c.* Since they had sworn to obey the consuls. 'After the levy was completed, one soldier was chosen to repeat over the words of the military oath, and the rest swore after him. Every one as he passed along said, *Idem in me*. The form of the oath does not seem to have been always the same. The substance of it was, that they would obey their commander, and not desert their standards,' &c. Dr ADAM. ² *Quòd inde, &c.* Because his family had originally been plebeian. He himself was of consular dignity. See Chap. 16. ³ As a practical rule, *nihil aliud quam* may be considered equivalent to *tantummodo*. Dr Hunter, with great ingenuity, analyses this form of expression, and argues, that an accurate resolution of the words would lead to *fertur -âsse nihil aliud quam narr- hoc*, is said to have done nothing else than tell this. So in a clause immediately below, we should of course have, -i nihil aliud, quam fru- datis voluptatibus, did nothing else than enjoy the pleasures furnished it by others. The continental editors supply the different parts of *agere* in such cases, *egisse nihil aliud quam hoc narrâsse fertur—nihil aliud agere, qua datis voluptatibus frui*.

‘homine, non, ut nunc, omnia in unum consentiebant, sed
 ‘singulis membris suum cuique consilium, suus sermo fuerat,
 ‘indignatas reliquas partes, suâ curâ, suo labore ac ministe-
 ‘rio ventri omnia quaeri: ventrem, in medio quietum, nihil
 ‘aliud, quàm datis voluptatibus frui: conspirâsse inde, ne
 ‘manus ad os cibum ferrent, nec os acciperet datum, nec
 ‘dentes conficerent. Hâc irâ, dum ventrem fame domare
 ‘vellent, ipsa unâ membra totumque corpus ad extremam
 ‘tabem venisse. Inde apparuisse, ventris quòque haud seg-
 ‘ne ministerium esse: nec magis ali, quàm alere eum, red-
 ‘dentem in omnes corporis partes hunc, quo vivimus vige-
 ‘musque¹, divisum pariter in venas maturum, confecto cibo,
 ‘sanguinem.’ ‘Comparando hinc, quàm intestina corporis
 ‘seditio similis esset irae plebis in Patres, flexisse mentes
 ‘hominum².’

XXXIII. Agi deinde de concordîâ coeptum³, concessum-
 que in conditiones, ut plebi sui magistratus essent sacro-
 sancti⁴, quibus auxilii latio adversus consules esset; neve
 cui Patrum capere eum magistratum liceret. Ita tribuni
 plebei creati duo, C. Licinius et L. Albinus. Hi tres col-

¹ The rule, so universal in its application, that speeches, sentiments and reports, related indirectly, admit only of the infinitive in the leading, and the subjunctive in the subsidiary clauses, is violated by the indicative in these two words, *vivimus vigemusque*. When, however, a sentiment applies as well to the time in which the author is writing, as to that to which the reported speaker refers, he may occasionally imagine himself speaking and vouching for the fact in his own person. Hence, whilst we have *dum vellent* in the subjunctive, indicating that this was an assertion not made by Livy, nor supported by him, but by Menenius, the life and vigour derived from the blood are both conceivable as a part of the address of Menenius, and yet expressed by Livy, as a fact vouched for by himself, as applicable at all times. This reasoning does not seem applicable to the anomalous *consentiebant*, and *fuerat*, in the beginning of the apologue, otherwise Livy must be understood to relate historically, what Menenius applies allegorically. We should expect *consentirent*, and *fuerit*; and this is the reading in the old edition of Sigonius, others reading *consentiant*. ² Supply *fertur*. ³ See p. 45, note 3. ⁴ The law by which the tribunes were made inviolable was to the following effect: ‘Let no one offer violence to the person of a tribune; neither kill him, nor procure him to be killed. Let the person who offends against this law be accused; let his effects be made sacred to pious uses, and let every one pursue him to death.’

legas sibi creaverunt. In his 'Sicinium fuisse¹, seditionis 'auctorem'; de duobus, qui fuerint, minùs convenit. Sunt, qui 'duos tantùm in Sacro monte creatos tribunos esse' dicant, 'ibique sacram legem latam².' Per secessionem plebis Sp. Cassius et Postumus Cominius consulum inièrunt. His consulibus cum Latinis populis ictum foedus. Ad id feriendum consul alter Romae mansit; alter, ad Volscum bellum missus, Antiates Volscos fundit fugatque: compulsos in oppidum Longulam persecutus, moenibus potitur. Inde Poluscam, item Volscorum, cepit: tum magnâ vi adortus est Coriolos. Erat tum in castris inter primores juvenum C. Marcius, adolescens et consilio et manu promptus, cui cognomen postea Coriolano fuit. Quum subito exercitum Romanum, Coriolos obsidentem, atque in oppidanos, quos intus clausos habebat, intentum sine ullo metu extrinsecus imminenti belli, Volscæ legiones, profectæ ab Antio, invasissent, eodemque tempore ex oppido erupissent hostes, fortè in statione Marcius fuit. Is, cum delectâ militum manu, non modò impetum erumpentium retudit, sed per patientem portam ferox irrupit: caedeque in proxima³ urbis factâ, ignem, temere arreptum, imminenti muro aedificiis iniecit. Clamor inde oppidanorum, mixtus muliebri puerili-que ploratu, ad terrorem, ut solet, primo ortu et Romanis auxit animum, et turbavit Volscos, utpote captâ urbe, cui ad ferendam opem venerant. Ita fusi Volsci Antiates, Corioli oppidum captum. Tantumque suâ laude obstitit famae consulis Marcius, ut, nisi foedus cum Latinis, columnâ aeneâ insculptum, monumento esset, ab Sp. Cassio uno, quia collega abfuerat, ictum, Postumum Cominium bellum gessisse cum Volscis, memoriâ cessisset. Eodem anno Agrippa Menenius moritur, vir omni vitâ pariter Patribus ac plebi carus; post secessionem carior plebi factus. Huic interpreti arbitroque concordiae civium, legato Patrum ad plebem, reductori plebis Romanae in urbem sumptus funeri defuit. Extulit eum plebs sextantibus collatis in capita.

¹ *Sicinium fuisse*, supply *convenit*.

² Dionysius gives us the names of the five tribunes, L. Junius Brutus, (who, according to him, was most active in the secession, and the orator of the people in demanding the creation of tribunes,) C. Sicinius Bellutus, C. and P. Licinius, and Sp. Icilius Ruga. The election took place in the Comitia Curiata on the 10th December.

³ Supply *loca*.

XXXIV. Consules deinde T. Geganius, P. Minucius facti. U. C. 262. Eo anno, quum et foris quieta omnia a bello essent, et domi sanata discordia, aliud multo gravius malum civitatem invasit: caritas primùm annonae, ex incultis per secessionem plebis agris; fames deinde, qualis clausis solet. Ventumque ad interitum servitiorum utique et plebis esset, ni consules providissent, dimissis passim ad frumentum coëmendum, non in Etruriam modò dextris ab Ostiâ litoribus, laevoque per Volcos mari usque ad Cumas, sed quaesitum¹ in Siciliam quòque, adeò finitimorum odia longinquis coëgerant indigere auxiliis. Frumentum Cumis quum coëmptum esset, naves pro bonis Tarquiniorum, ab Aristodem² tyranno, qui haeres erat, retentae sunt. In Volscis Pomptinoque ne emi quidem potuit: periculum quòque ab impetu hominum ipsis frumentatoribus fuit. Ex Tuscis frumentum Tiberi venit: eo sustentata est plebs. Incommodo bello in tam arctis commeatibus vexati forent, ni Volcos, jam moventes arma, pestilentia ingens invasisset. Eâ clade contreritis hostium animis, ut etiam, ubi ea remisisset, terrore aliquo tenerentur, et Velitris auxere numerum colonorum Romani, et Norbae in montes novam coloniam, quae arx in Pomptino esset, miserunt. U. C. 263. M. Minucio deinde et A. Sempronio consulibus, magna vis frumenti ex Siciliâ advecta: agitatumque in senatu, quanti plebi daretur. Multi 'venisse tempus premendae plebis' putabant, 'recuperandique jura, quae extorta secessionem ac vi Patribus essent:' in primis Marcius Coriolanus, hostis tribuniciae potestatis, 'Si annonam³, inquit, 'veterem volunt, jus pristinum reddant Patribus. Cur ego plebeios magistratus, cur 'Sicinium potentem video, sub jugum missus, tanquam a 'latronibus redemptus? Egone has indignitates diutius patiar, quàm necesse est? Tarquinium regem qui non tulerim, 'Sicinium feram? Secedat nunc, avocet plebem: patet via 'in Sacrum montem aliosque colles: rapiant frumenta ex 'agris nostris, quemadmodum tertio anno rapuere. Utantur 'annonâ, quam furore suo fecere. Audeo dicere, hoc malo 'domitos ipsos potiùs cultores agrorum fore, quàm ut armati 'per secessionem coli prohibeant.' Haud tam facile dictu

¹ *Quaesitum*, the supine. ² See Chap. 21. ³ *Annona*, either corn, as in the second sentence of the chapter, or the price of corn, as here, and in a sentence below.

est, faciendumne fuerit, quàm potuisse arbitror fieri, ut, conditionibus laxandi annonam, et tribuniciam potestatem, et omnia invitis jura imposita Patres demerent sibi¹.

XXXV. Et senatui nimis atrox visa sententia est, et plebem ira prope armavit. 'Fame se jam, sicut hostes, peti; 'cibo victuque fraudari: peregrinum frumentum, quae sola 'alimenta ex insperato fortuna dederit, ab ore rapi, nisi C. 'Marcio victi dedantur tribuni, nisi de tergo plebis Roma- 'nae satisfiat. Eum sibi carnificem novum exortum, qui 'aut mori, aut servire jubeat.' In exeuntem e curiâ impe- tus factus esset, ni peropportunè tribuni diem dixissent². Ibi ira est suppressa. Se judicem quisque, se dominam vitae necisque inimici factum videbat. Contemptim primò Mar- cius audiebat minas tribunicias: 'auxilii, non poenae, jus 'datum illi potestati: plebisque, non Patrum, tribunos esse.' Sed adedò infensa erat coërta plebs, ut unius poenâ defun- gendum esset Patribus³. Restiterunt tamen adversâ invidiâ, usque sunt, quâ suis quisque, quâ⁴ totius ordinis viribus. Ac primò tentata res est, si, dispositis clientibus, absterrendo singulos a ^{motibus} ~~collationibus~~ consiliisque, disjicere rem possent. Universi deinde processere, (quicquid erat Patrum, reos di- ceres,) precibus plebem exposcentes; 'unum sibi civem, 'unum senatorem, si innocentem absolvere nollent, pro no- cente donarent.^{beneficent} Ipse quum die dictâ⁵ non adesset, per- severatum in irâ est. Damnatus absens in Volcos exula- tum abiit, minitans patriae, hostilesque jam tum spiritus ge-rens. Venientem Volsci benignè excepere: benigniùsque in dies colebant, quo major ira in suos eminebat, crebraeque nunc querelae, nunc minae percipiebantur. Hospitio utebatur Attii Tulli. ✕ Longè is tum princeps Volsci nominis erat, Romanisque semper infestus. Ita quum alterum vetus

¹ *Haud, &c.* It is not so easy to say, whether his advice should have been followed, as, in my opinion, it was a possible event for the senators, by offering to lower the price of corn, to free themselves, not only from the tribunician power, but all the laws to which they had been unwillingly subjected. ² *Dicere diem*, to fix a day for trial.

³ Ut defungendum *in* *infensâ* plebe esset, &c. that the fathers were obliged to exhaust the wrath of the people by giving up one of their body for punishment. ⁴ *Quâ-quâ*, both—and. ⁵ The whole

body for punishment. ⁴ *Quæ—quæ*, both—and. ⁵ The whole affair is differently narrated, and at much greater length, by Dionysius, who states, that it was on this occasion that the Roman people first met in the *Comitia Tributa*.

odium, alterum ira recens stimularet, consilia conferunt de Romano bello. Haud faciliè credebant, 'plebem suam impelli posse, ut toties infelicitè tentata arma caperent. Multis saepe bellis, pestilentia postremo amissa iuventute, fractos spiritus esse: arte agendum in exoleto jam vetustate odio, ut recenti aliquà irà exacerbarentur animi.'

XXXVI. Ludi fortè ex instauratione magni Romae parabantur¹. Instaurandi haec causa fuerat. Ludis manè servum quidam paterfamiliae, nondum commisso spectaculo, sub furcà caesum medio egerat circo². Coepti inde ludi, velut ea res nihil ad religionem pertinuisset. Haud ita multò post, Ti. Atinio, de plebe homini, somnium fuit. Visus Jupiter dicere, 'Sibi ludis praesultatorem³ displicuisse: nisi magnificè instaurarentur hi ludi, periculum urbi fore. Iret, ea consulibus nunciaret.' Quanquam haud sanè liber erat religione animus, verecundia tamen majestatis magistratum timorem vicit, ne in ora hominum pro ludibrio abiret⁴. Magno illi ea cunctatio stetit⁵. Filium namque intra paucos dies amisit. Cujus repentine cladis ne causa dubia esset, aegro animi eadem illa in somnis obversata species visa est rogitare, 'Satin' magnam spreti numinis haberet mercedem? majorem instare, ni eat propere, ac nunciet consulibus.' Jam praesentior res erat: cunctantem tamen ac prolatantem ingens vis morbi adorta est debilitate subitâ. Tum enimverò Deorum ira admonuit. Fessus igitur malis praeteritis instantibusque, consilio propinquorum adhibito quum visa atque audita, et obversatum toties somno Jovem, minas irasque coelestes, repraesentatas⁶ casibus suis, exposuisset; consensu inde haud dubio omnium, qui aderant, in forum ad consules

¹ *Ludi*, &c. It chanced that a repetition of the great games was preparing at Rome. The *ludi magni* were games celebrated in the Circus Maximus, beginning on the 4th September, in honour of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva.

² *Sub*, &c. had lashed his slave, and driven him, wearing the *furca*, through the middle of the circus. The *furca* was a piece of wood, worn by slaves round their neck, for a punishment.

³ *Ludis praesultatorem*, that the dancer who had exhibited previous to the games, i. e. the slave. From *prae* and *salio* come *praesul*, *praesultor* and *praesultator*.

⁴ *Verecundia*, &c. yet his religious terror was overcome by his respect for the dignity of the magistrates, lest he should become an object of public ridicule, viz. for narrating a dream to men of such dignity.

⁵ *Magno*, &c. His hesitation cost him dear. *Stetit*, as in our English colloquial expression, How much did that stand you? ⁶ *Praesens*, being before, pre-

lecticâ adfertur. Inde in curiam jussu consulum delatus, eadem illa quum Patribus ingenti omnium admiratione enarrasset; ecce aliud miraculum: 'qui captus omnibus membris delatus in curiam esset, eum functum officio pedibus suis domum redisse,' traditum memoriae est.

XXXVII. Ludi quàm amplissimi ut fierent, senatus decrevit. Ad eos ludos, auctore Attio Tullo¹, vis magna Volscorum venit. Priùs quàm committerentur ludi, Tullus, ut domi compositum cum Marcio fuerat, ad consules venit. Dicit 'esse, quae secretò agere de republicâ velit.' Arbitris remotis, 'Invitus,' inquit, 'quod sequius sit², de meis civibus loquor. Non tamen admissum quicquam ab iis criminatum venio, sed tantum, ne admittant. Nimio plùs, quàm velim, nostrorum ingenia sunt mobilia. Multis id cladibus sensimus. Quippe qui non nostro merito, sed vestrà patientiâ, incolumes simus. Magna hìc nunc Volscorum multitudo est. Ludi sunt. Spectaculo intenta civitas erit. Memini, quid per eandem occasionem ab Sabinorum juventute in hâc urbe commissum sit. Horret animus, ne quid inconsultè ac temere fiat. Haec, nostrâ vestràque causâ, priùs dicenda vobis, consules, ratus sum. Quod ad me attinet, extemplo hinc domum abire in animo est, ne cujus facti dictive contagione praesens violer³. Haec locutus abiit. Consules quum ad Patres rem dubiam sub auctore certo detulissent, auctor magis, ut fit, quàm res, ad praecavendum vel ex supervacuò⁴ movit. Factoque senatusconsulto, ut urbem excederent⁵ Volsci, praecones dimittuntur, qui omnes eos proficisci ante noctem juberent. Ingens pavor primò discurrentes ad suas res tollendas in hospitia perculit⁶. Proficiscentibus deinde indignatio oborta: 'Se, ut

sent; hence, when applied to a god, propitious; to an event, as in the second sentence before, *praesentior*, coming nearer home, bringing greater conviction, requiring more instant attention; *praesento*, to bring before; *repraesento*, to bring before again, to bring home again, i. e. to realize.

¹ *Auctore Attio Tullo*, instigated by Attius Tullius. ² *Quod sequius sit*, what may involve them in disgrace.

³ *Ne*, &c. lest, by being present, I be exposed to danger, from supposed participation in any word or deed.

⁴ *Vel ex supervacuò*, even though such a precaution should be unnecessary. ⁵ *Excederent* with *urbem* in the accusative. So *egressis urbem Albanis*, I. 29.

⁶ *Ingens pavor primo perculit* (Volscos) discurrentes in hospitia ad suas res tollendas.

‘consecratos contaminatosque, ab ludis, festis diebus, coe-
tu quodammodo hominum Deorumque abactos esse.’

XXXVIII. Quum prope continuato agminis irent, prae-
gressus Tullus ad caput Ferentinum¹, ut quisque veniret,
primores eorum excipiens, quaerendo indignandoque, et eos
ipsos sedulo audientes secunda² irae verba, et per eos mul-
titudinem aliam in subjectum viae campum deduxit. Ibi in
concionis modum orationem exorsus, ‘Veteres populi Ro-
mani injurias³, cladesque gentis Volscorum, ut omnia,’ in-
quit, ‘obliviscamini alia, hodiernam hanc contumeliam quo
tandem animo fertis, quâ per nostram ignominiam ludos
commisere? An non sensitis, triumphatum hodie de vo-
bis esse? Vos omnibus, civibus, peregrinis, tot finitimis
populis, spectaculo abeuntes fuisse? Vestras conjuges, ves-
tros liberos traductos per ora hominum? Quid eos, qui au-
divere vocem praeconis? quid, qui vos videre abeuntes?
quid eos, qui huic ignominioso agmini fuere obvii, existi-
masse putatis? nisi aliquod profecto nefas esse, quo, si in-
tersimus spectaculo, violaturi simus ludos, piaculumque me-
rituri: ideo nos ab sede piorum, coetu, concilioque abigi.
Quid, deinde? illud non succurrit, vivere nos, quod ma-
turârimus proficisci? si hoc profectis, et non fuga est. Et
hanc urbem vos non hostium ducitis, ubi, si unum diem
morati essetis, moriendum omnibus fuit? Bellum vobis in-
dictum est: magno eorum malo, qui indixere, si viri estis.’
Ita et suâ sponte irarum pleni, et incitati, domos inde digressi
sunt; instigandoque suos quisque populos effecere, ut omne
Volscum nomen deficeret.

XXXIX. Imperatores ad id bellum de omnium populorum
sententiâ lecti Attius Tullus et C. Marcius exsul Romanus,
in quo aliquanto plus spei⁴ repositum. Quam spem nequa-
quam fefellit: ut facile appareret, ducibus validiorem, quàm
exercitu, rem Romanam esse. Circejos profectus, primùm
colonos inde Romanos⁵ expulit, liberamque eam urbem
Volscis tradidit. Inde, in Latinam viam transversis trami-
tibus transgressus, Satricum, Longulam, Poluscam, Coriolos,

¹ See p. 59, note 2. ² *Sequor*, I follow; *secundus*, following, second. Hence, *flumine secundo*, the river following, down the river; and in this passage, *verba secunda*, words following, favouring. ³ As the passage stands, supply *ut obliviscamini*. Gronovius begins the address of Tullus at *Ut omnia*. ⁴ Supply *quam in Tulla*. ⁵ Set-
tled there by Tarquin the Proud, I. 56.

novella haec Romanis oppida ademit¹. Inde Lavinium recepit: tunc deinceps Corbionem, Vitelliam, Trebiam, Lavicos, Pedum cepit. Postremum ad urbem a Peto ducit; et, ad fossas Cluilias² quinque ab urbe millia passuum castris positis, populatur inde agrum Romanum; custodibus inter populatores missis, qui patriciorum agros intactos servarent: sive infensus plebi magis, sive ut discordia inde inter Patres plebemque oriretur. Quae profecto orta esset, adeo tribuni jam ferocem per se plebem criminando in primores civitatis instigabant. Sed externus timor, maximum concordiae vinculum; quamvis suspectos infensosque inter se jungebat animos. Id modò non conveniebat; quòd³ senatus consulesque nusquam alibi spem, quàm in armis, ponebant: plebes

omnia, quàm bellum, malebat. Sp. Nautius jam et v. c. Sex. Furius consules erant⁴. Eos, recensentes legiones, 266.

praesidia per muros aliaque, in quibus stationes vigiliasque esse placuerat, loca distribuentes, multitudo ingens pacem poscentium primùm seditioso clamore conterruit. Deinde vocare senatum, referre de legatis ad C. Marcium mittendis coëgit. Acceperunt relationem⁵ Patres; postquam apparuit, labare plebis animos; missique de pace ad Marcium oratores atrox responsum retulerunt: 'Si Volscis ager redderetur, posse agi de pace: si praedâ belli per otium frui velint, memorem se et civium injuriae, et hospitum beneficii, adniscurum, ut appareat, exsilio sibi irritatos, non fractos, animos esse.' Iterum deinde iidem missi non recipiuntur in castra. 'Sacerdotes quòque, suis insignibus velatos, isse supplices ad castra hostium,' traditum est; 'nilo⁶ magis quàm legatos flexisse animum.'

XL. Tum matronae ad Veturiam, matrem Coriolani, Volumniamque uxorem frequentes coeunt. Id publicum consilium, an muliebris timor⁷ fuerit, parum invenio. Pervicere certè, ut et Veturia, magno natu mulier, et Volumnia, duos

¹ *Novella*, &c. he took from the Romans those towns which they had so lately acquired. See Chap. 33. ² See I. 23. ³ *Id*, &c. the only point of discordance was, that.

⁴ Livy omits two consulships as given by Dionysius, that of Q. Sulpicius Camerinus, and Sp. Lartius Flavius, 264 v. c. during which the vitiated games were celebrated, and that of Caius Julius, and P. Pinarius Rufus, 265 v. c. during which the games were renewed, Chap. 36. ⁵ See p. 104, note 3. ⁶ Supply 'et,' or 'sed.'

⁷ According to Dionysius, the expedient was suggested by Valeria, the sister of Poplicola.

parvos ex Marcio ferens filios, secum in castra hostium irent; et, quam armis viri defendere urbem non possent, mulieres precibus lacrimisque defenderent. Ubi ad castra ventum est, nunciatumque Coriolano, 'adesse ingens mulierum agmen,' in primo, (ut qui nec publicâ majestate in legatis, nec in sacerdotibus tantâ offusâ oculis animoque religione motus esset,) multò obstinatioꝝ adversus lacrimas muliebres erat. Dein familiarium quidam, qui insignem moestitiâ inter ceteras cognoverat Veturiam, inter natorum nepotesque stantem, 'Nisi me frustrantur,' inquit, 'oculi, mater tibi conjuxque et liberi adsunt.' Coriolanus, prope ut amens consternatus, ab sede suâ quum ferret matri obviam complexum, mulier in iram ex precibus versa, 'Sine, prius quàm complexum accipio, sciam,' inquit, 'ad hostem, an ad filium, venerim: captiva mater ne in castris tuis sim? In hoc me longa vita, et infelix senectas traxit, ut exulem te, deinde hostem viderem? Potuisti populari hanc terram, quae te genuit atque aluit? Non tibi, quamvis infesto animo et minaci perveneras, ingredienti fines ira cecidit? non, quum in conspectu Roma fuit, succurrit, *intra illa moenia domus ac penatus mei sunt, mater, conjux, liberique?* Ergo ego nisi peperissem, Roma non oppugnaretur; nisi filium haberem, libera in liberâ patriâ mortua essem. Sed ego nihil jam pati, nec tibi turpius quàm mihi miseriꝝ, possum: nec, ut sim miserrima, diu futura sum. De his videris¹: quos, si pergis, aut immatura mors, aut longa servitus manet². Uxor deinde ac liberi amplexi: fletusque ab omni turbâ mulierum ortus, et comploratio sui patriaeque, fregere tandem virum. Complexus inde suos dimittit: ipse retrò ab urbe castra movit. Abductis deinde legionibus ex agro Romano, 'invidiâ rei oppressum periisse' tradunt; alii alio leto³. Apud Fabium, longe antiquissimum auctorem, usque ad senectutem vixisse eundem invenio. Refert certè, hanc saepe eum exactâ aetate usurpasse vocem, 'Multo mi-

¹ Sed, &c. But, as it is, I can suffer nothing which will not bring greater disgrace on you, than misery on me; nor, however wretched I may be, shall I endure my misery long. Let these be the objects of your care, (pointing to his children). Observe the Latin idiom requiring two comparatives, *turpius, miseriꝝ*, when the English idiom admits only of one.

² *Maneo*, I remain; I remain till some one comes up; I await.

³ According to Dionysius and Plutarch, he was stoned to death by the Volscians; according to Cicero, he killed himself.

'serius seni exsilium esse.' Non inviderunt laudes suas mulieribus viri Romani¹. Aded sine obtreccatione gloriae alienae vivebatur². Monumento quodque quod esset, templum Fortunae muliebri aedificatum dedicatumque est. Rediëre deinde Volsci, adjunctis Aequis, in agrum Romanum. Sed Aequi Attium Tullum haud altrà tulere ducem. Hinc ex certamine, Volsci Aequine imperatorem conjuncto exercitui darent, seditio, deinde atrox proelium ortum. Ibi fortuna populi Romani duos hostium exercitus, laud minùs pernicioso quàm pertinaci certamine, confecit. Consules T. u. c. Sicinius et C. Aquillius. Sicinio Volsci, Aquillio Hernici, (nam ii quodque in armis erant,) provincia³ evenit. 267. Eo anno Hernici devicti: cum Volscis aequo Marte discessum est.

XLI. Sp. Cassius deinde et Proculus Virginius consules facti. Cum Hernicis foedus ietum: agri partes u. c. duae⁴ ademptae. 268. Inde dimidium Latinis, dimidium plebi divisurus consul Cassius erat. Adjiciebat huic muneri agri aliquantum, 'quem publicum possideri a privatis' criminabatur. Id multos quidem Patrum, ipsos possessores, periculo rerum suarum terrebat. Sed et publica Patribus sollicitudo inerat, 'largitione consulem periculosas libertati opes struere.' Tum primùm lex agraria promulgata est; nunquam deinde usque ad hanc memoriam sine maximis motibus rerum agitata. Consul alter largitioni resistebat, auctoribus Patribus, nec omni plebe adversante: quae primò coeperat fastidire, 'mutus vulgatum a civibus isse in socios.' Saepe deinde et Virginium consulem in concionibus velut vaticinantem audie-

¹ Non, &c. The men of Rome did not envy the women the praises due to them.

² According to Cujacius, the following sentence is omitted: Tunc enim primum sancitum fuit, ut mulieribus de viâ cederetur, ut inauribus aureis, ut purpureâ veste, ut aureis segmentis, ut novo vitae discrimine uterentur.

³ Provincia is used in three senses; it signifies a country already conquered, (hence, according to Festus, its derivation, pro and vinco,) and governed by a Roman magistrate; it signifies a country to be conquered; and, lastly, any public administration whatever. The first was probably the original meaning, and in this sense Sicily was the first province. Sicilia omnium prima provincia est appellata; CICERO, Verr. II. 1. The second is the sense in which the word is used here.

⁴ Partes duae, two-thirds. So partes tres, three-fourths, &c. Dimidium, in the next sentence, a half of the two-thirds, one-third.

bat, ' Pestilens collegae munus esse. Agros illos servitutem
 ' iis, qui acceperint, laturos. Regno viam fieri. Quid ita enim
 ' assumi socios et nomen Latinum? Quid attinuisse, Herni-
 ' cis, paullo antè hostibus, capti agri partem tertiam reddi,
 ' nisi ut hae gentes pro Coriolano duce Cassium habeant?'
 Popularis jam¹ esse dissuasor et intercessor legis agrariae
 coeperat. Uterque deinde consul certatim plebi indulgere.
 Virginius dicere, passurum se assignari agros, dum ne cui,
 nisi civi Romano, assignentur. Cassius, quia in agrariâ lar-
 gitione ambitiosus in socios, eoque civibus vilior erat, ut alio
 munere sibi reconciliaret civium animos, jubere, pro Siculo
 frumento pecuniam acceptam retribui populo. Id verò haud
 secus, quàm praesentem mercedem regni, aspernata plebes.
 Adeò propter suspicionem insitam regni², velut abundarent
 omnia, munera ejus in animis hominum respuebantur. Quem,
 ubi primùm magistratu abiit, damnatum necatumque con-
 stat. Sunt, qui ' patrem auctorem ejus supplicii ferant :
 ' eum, cognitâ domi causâ, verberâsse ac necâsse, peculium-
 ' que³ filii Cereri consecravisse. Signum inde factum esse, et
 ' inscriptum, EX CASSIA FAMILIA DATUM.' Invenio apud
 quosdam, idque propiùs fidem est, ' a quaestoribus K. Fabio
 ' et L. Valerio diem dictam perduellionis⁴, damnatumque
 ' populi judicio: dirutas publicè aedes.' Ea est area ante
 Telluris aedem. Ceterùm sive illud domesticum, sive
 u. c. publicum fuit judicium, damnatur Ser. Cornelio, Q.
 269. Fabio consulibus.

XLII. Haud diuturna ira populi in Cassium fuit. Dul-
 cedo agrariae legis ipsa per se, dempto auctore, subibat ani-
 mos: accensaque ea cupiditas est malignitate Patrum; qui,
 devictis eo anno Volscis Aequisque, militem praedâ fraudavere.
 Quicquid captum ex hostibus est, vendidit Fabius consul, ac
 redegit in publicum. Invisum erat Fabium nomen plebi prop-

¹ *Jam*, in those times. Livy draws the attention of the reader to the circumstances which made popular the consul who opposed the agrarian law, a popularity very different from the reception which those who afterwards opposed it met with. ² *Mercēs regni*, a price given for sovereign power; *insita suspicio regni*, the innate feelings of suspicion with which the Romans regarded every man who seemed to aspire to sovereign power. ³ As the father, with the Romans, had the same right over his children which he had over his slaves, the property which he allowed them to acquire was, as in the case of slaves, called their *peculium*. ⁴ See p. 29, note 2.

ter novissimum consulem : tenuere tamen Patres, ut cum L. Aemilio K. Fabius consul crearetur. Eo infestior facta plebes seditione domesticâ bellum externum excivit : bello deinde civiles discordiae intermissae. Uno animo Patres ac plebes rebellantes Volscos et Aequos, duce Aemilio, prosperâ pugnâ vicere. Plus tamen hostium fuga, quàm proelium, absumpsit. Aded pertinaciter fusos insecuti sunt equites. Castoris aedes eodem anno Idibus Quinctilibus dedicata est. Vota erat Latino bello, Postumio dictatore ¹. Filius ejus, duumvir ad id ipsum creatus, dedicavit. Sollicitati et eo anno sunt dulcedine agrariae legis animi plebis. Tribuni plebis popularem potestatem lege populari celebrabant ². Patres, satis superque gratuiti furoris in multitudine credentes esse, largitiones temeritatisque invitamenta horrebant. Acerrimi Patribus duces ad resistendum consules fuere. Ea igitur pars reipublicae vicit. Nec in

praeens modò, sed in venientem etiam annum M. Fabium Kaesonis fratrem, et magis invisum alterum plebi, accusatione Sp. Cassii ³, L. Valerium consules dedit. Certatum eo quòque anno cum tribunis est. Vana lex, vanique legis auctores, jactando irritum munus, facti ⁴. Fabium inde nomen ingens post tres continuos consulatus ⁵, unoque velut tenore omnes expertos tribuniciis certaminibus, habitum. Itaque, ut bene locatus, mansit in eâ familiâ aliquamdiu honos. Bellum inde Vejens initum ; et Volsci rebellârunt. Sed ad bella externa prope supererant vires ⁶ : abutebanturque iis inter semet ipsos certando. Accessere ad aegras jam omniùm mentes prodigia coelestia, prope quotidianas in urbe agrisque ostentantia minas, motique irâ numinis, causam nullam aliam vates canebant, publicè privatimque, nunc extis, nunc per aves, consulti, quàm haud ritè sacra fieri ⁷. Qui terrores tamen eò evasere, ut Oppia, virgo Vestalis, damnata incesti poenas dederit.

¹ See end of Chap. 20.

² *Celebrabant*, celebrem faciebant.

³ *Accusatione Sp. Cassii*, from his having been the accuser of Sp. Cassius. See the preceding chapter.

⁴ *Vana*, &c. The law, and its proposers, (from their boasting of a gift to the people which was utterly worthless,) were made ridiculous in the emptiness of the project.

⁵ Those of Quintus, Kaeso, and Marcus Fabius. ⁶ *Sed*, &c. But their strength was almost more than enough for foreign wars.

⁷ *Motique*, &c. and the priests announced that there was no other cause for the anger of the deity, (causam numinis moti

XLIII. Q. Fabius inde et C. Julius consules facti.
 u. c. 272. Eo anno non segnior discordia domi, et bellum foris
 atrocius fuit. Ab Aequis arma sumpta. Vejentes
 agrum quodque Romanorum populantes iniêrunt. Quorum
 bellorum crescente curâ, K. Fabius et Sp. Furius con-
 u. c. 273. sules fiunt. Ortonam, Latinam urbem, Aequi oppug-
 nabant. Vejentes, pleni jam populationum¹, Romanam
 ipsam se oppugnatos minabantur. Qui terrores, quum com-
 pescere debêrent, auxere insuper animos plebis: redibatque
 non suâ sponte plebi mos detrectandi militiam. Sed² Sp.
 Licinius tribunus plebis, 'venisse tempus' ratus 'per ultimam
 'necessitatem legis agrariae Patribus injungendae,' suscep-
 rat rem militarem impediendam. Ceterum tota invidia tri-
 buniciae potestatis versa in auctorem est: nec in eum con-
 sules acrius, quam ipsius ejus collegae, coorti sunt: auxilio-
 que eorum delectum consules habent. Ad duo simul bella
 exercitus scribitur. Ducendus Fabio in Aequos, in Vejentes
 Furio datur. Et in Vejentibus quidem nihil dignum memo-
 riâ gestum est. Fabio aliquanto plus negotii cum civibus,
 quam cum hostibus, fuit. Unus ille vir ipse consul rempub-
 licam sustinuit, quam exercitus odio consulis, quantum in se
 fuit, prodebat. Nam quum consul, praeter ceteras impera-
 torias artes, quas parando gerendoque bello edidit plurimas,
 ita instruxisset aciem, ut, solo equitatu emisso, exercitum
 hostium funderet, insequi fusos pedes noluit. Nec illos, et
 si non adhortatio invis ducis, suum saltem flagitium et pub-
 licum in praesentia dedecus, postmodo periculum, si animus
 hosti redisset, cogere potuit gradum accelerare; aut, si aliud
 nihil, instare instructos³. Injussu signa referunt, moestique,
 irâ,) whom they had consulted, (consulti.) sometimes by inspecting
 entrails, at other times by omens drawn from birds, than that there was
 something defective in the performance of the sacred rites. ¹ *Pleni*
jam populationum, now satiated with pillaging. ² *Sed*, referring to
non suâ sponte in the preceding sentence. ³ This sentence, which is
 somewhat startling, from its very elliptical form, may be thus completed:
 Illos, et si non adhortatio invis ducis *potuisset*, suum saltem flagitium,
 et publicum in praesentiâ dedecus, postmodo periculum, si animus
 hosti redisset, cogere *certe potuisset* gradum accelerare; aut, si nihil
 aliud instare instructos, nec (sed non) potuit. This is the only way
 to give the effect of the *et si*, even although, followed by the *saltem*,
 at least; but giving these words a different force, we may translate the
 sentence thus: Nor, to say nothing of the exhortations of their hated
 general, could even the infamy accruing to themselves, and the imme-

(crederes victos,) exsecrantes nunc imperatorem, nunc navatam ab equite operam, redeunt in castra. Nec huic tam pestilenti exemplo remedia ulla ab imperatore quaesita sunt. Adeò excellentibus ingeniis citiùs defuerit¹ ars, quâ civem regant, quàm quâ hostem superent. Consul Romam rediit, non tam belli gloriâ auctâ, quàm irritato exacerbatoque in se militum odio. Obtinere tamen Patres, ut in Fabiâ
 r. c. gente consulatus maneret. M. Fabium consulem cre-
 274. ant: Fabio collega Cn. Manlius datur.

XLIV. Et hic annus tribunum auctorem legis agrariae habuit. Ti. Pontificius fuit. Is, eandem viam, velut processisset Sp. Licinio², ingressus, delectum paullisper impediit. Perturbatis iterum Patribus, Ap. Claudius, 'Victam tribuniciam potestatem,' dicere, 'priori anno; in praesentia re ipsâ, exemplo in perpetuum: quando inventum sit, suis ipsam viribus dissolvi. Neque enim unquam defuturum, qui et ex collegâ victoriam sibi, et gratiam melioris partis bono publico velit quaesitam. Et plures, si pluribus opus sit, tribunos ad auxilium consulum paratos fore: et unum vel ad versus omnes satis esse. Darent³ modò et consules et priores Patrum operam, ut, si minùs omnes, aliquos tamen ex tribunis reipublicae ac senatui conciliarent.' Praeceptis Appii moniti Patres, et universi comiter ac benignè tribunos appellare; et consulares, ut cuique privatim aliquid juris ut versus singulos erat, partim gratia, partim auctoritate, obtinere, ut tribuniciae potestatis vires salubres vellent reipublicae esse. Quatuorque tribunorum adversus unum moratorem publici commodi auxilio delectum consules habent. Inde ad Vejens bellum profecti; quò undique ex Etruriâ auxilia convenerant, non tam Vejentium gratiâ concitata, quàm quòd in spem ventum erat, discordiâ intestinâ dissolvi rem Roma-

diate disgrace, the subsequent danger, if the enemy's courage should revive, arising to the state, induce them to quicken their pace, or even so much as to stand firm in their ranks. ¹ *Defuerit.* A strong instance of the peculiar nature of the potential mood. Adeo ars defuit, to such a degree was the skill deficient: Adeo ars defuerit, to such a degree has it ever been possible for the skill to be deficient. ² *Velut,*

&c. As if it had been successful in the case of Spurius Licinius. See c. 43. ³ It may here be noticed, that in the reports of speeches, not in the words of the speakers, the subjunctive mood corresponds to the imperative, in reports when given in their own words; thus, *darent*, let them give.

nam posse. Principesque in omnium Etruriae populorum conciliis fremebant, 'Aeternas opes esse Romanas, nisi inter semet ipsi seditionibus saeviant. Id unum venenum, eam labem civitatibus opulentis repertam, ut magna imperia mortalia essent. Diu sustentatum id malum, partim Patrum consiliis, partim patientiâ plebis, jam ad extrema venisse. Duas civitates ex unâ factas: suos cuique parti magistratas, suas leges esse. Primum in delectibus saevire solitos; eosdem in bello tamen paruisse ducibus. Qualicumque urbis statu, manente disciplinâ militari, sisti potuisse¹: jam non parendi magistratibus morem in castra quodque Romanum militem sequi. Proximo bello in ipsâ acie, in ipso certamine, consensu exercitûs traditam ultro victoriam victis Aequis: signa deserta, imperatorem in acie relictum, injussu in castra reditum². Profectò, si instetur, suo milite vinci Romam posse. Nihil aliud opus esse, quàm indici ostendique bellum: cetera suâ sponte fata et Deos gesturos.' Ea spes Etruscos armaverat, multis in vicem casibus victos victoresque.

XLV. Consules quodque Romani nihil praeterea aliud, quàm suas vires, sua arma, horrebant: memoria pessimi proximo bello exempli terrebant, ne rem committerent eò, ubi duae simul acies timendae essent. Itaque castris se tenebant, tam ancipiti periculo aversi. 'Diem tempusque forsitan ipsam lenitiram iras, sanitatemque animis allaturum.' Vejens hostis Etruscique eo magis praepropere³ agere; lacerare ad pugnam: primò obequitando castris provocandoque; postremò, ut nihil movebant, quâ⁴ consules ipsos, quâ exercitum increpando: 'Simulationem intestinae discordiae remedium timoris inventum: et consules magis non confidere, quàm non credere, suis militibus⁵. Novum seditionis genus, silentium otiumque inter armatos.' Ad haec in novitatem generis ori-

¹ Urbem sisti potuisse. See p. 101, note 4.

² See the preceding chapter.

³ Praeponere, with premature haste. ⁴ See p. 109, note 4.

⁵ Simulationem, &c. That the pretence of internal dissension, and (the pretence) that the consuls distrusted the good faith, rather than doubted the valour of the soldiers, was an invention to cure their cowardice. Some translate it thus, as if the enemy had discovered the real design of the consuls. The meaning, however, seems rather to be, That the pretence of internal dissension was an invention to cover their cowardice, and that the consuls distrusted the valour of the soldiers, rather than doubted their good faith.

ginisque, quâ falsa, quâ vera, jacere. Haec, quum sub ipso vallo portisque streperent, haud aegre consules pati. At imperitae multitudinis nunc indignatio, nunc pudor, pectora versare, et ab intestinis avertere malis: nolle inultos hostes, nolle successum, non ¹ Patribus, non consulibus: externa et domestica odia certare in animis. Tandem superant externa. Adeo superbè insolenterque hostis eludebat. Frequentes in praetorium conveniunt, poscunt pugnam, postulant, ut signum datur. Consules, velut deliberabandi, capita conferunt, diu colloquantur. Pugnare cupiebant; sed retro revocanda ² et addenda cupiditas erat, ut adversando remorandoque incitato semel militi adderent impetum. Redditur responsum, 'im-maturam rem agi, nondum tempus pugnae esse: castris se tenerent ³.' Edicunt inde, 'ut abstineant pugna. Si quis injassu pugnaverit, ut in hostem animadversuros.' Ita dimissis, quo minùs consules velle credunt, crescit ardor pugnandi. Accedunt insuper hostes ferociùs multo, ut statuisse non pugnare consules cognitum est. Quippe 'impune se insultaturos ⁴: non credi militi arma. Rem ad ultimum seditionis erupturam finemque venissee Romano imperio.' His freti occurrant portis, ingerunt probra, aegre abstinere, quin castra oppugnent. Enimverò non ultra contumeliam pati Romanus posse: totis castris undique ad consules curritur. Non jam sensim, ut antè, per centurionum principes postulant; sed passim omnes clamoribus agunt. Matura res erat; tergiversantur tamen. Fabius deinde, ad crescentem tumultum jam metum seditionis collegâ concedente, quum silentium classico fecisset; 'Ego istos, Cn. Manli, posse vincere scio; velle ne scirem, ipsi fecerant. Itaque certum atque decretum est, non dare signum, nisi, victores se redituros ex hac pugna, jurent. Consulem Romanum miles semel in acie fefellit; Deos nunquam fallit.' Centurio erat M. Flavolejus, inter primores pugnae flagitator. 'Victor,' inquit, 'M. Fabi, revertar ex acie.' Si fallat, Jovem patrem, Gradiumque Martem, aliosque iratos invocat Deos. Idem deinceps omnis exercitus in se quisque jurat. Juratis datur signum, arma capiunt; eunt in pugnam, irarum speique pleni.

¹ All the difficulties arising from this *non*, are removed by resolving the previous *nolle* into *non velle*. ² See p. 39, note 1. ³ See

p. 119, note 3. ⁴ Supply *rati*, which is found in some of the MSS.

Nunc jubent Etruscos probra jacere, nunc armatis sibi quisque linguâ promptum hostem offerri. Omnium illo die, quâ plebis, quâ Patrum, eximia virtus fuit. Fabium nomen, Fabia gens maximè enituit. Multis civilibus certaminibus infensos plebis animos illâ pugnâ sibi reconciliare statuunt. Instruitur acies: nec Vejens hostis Etruscaeque legiones detrectant.

XLVI. Prope certa spes erat, 'non magis secum pugnâ-turos, quàm pugnaverint cum Aequis¹. Majus quòque ali-quod, in tam irritatis animis et occasione ancipiti², haud 'desperandum esse facinus.' Res aliter longè evenit. Nam non alio antè bello infestior Romanus (adèd hinc contumeliis hostes, hinc consules morâ exacerbaverant) proelium iniit. Vix explicandi ordinis spatium Etruscis fuit, quum, pilis inter primam trepidationem abjectis temere magis, quàm emissis, pugna jam in manus, jam ad gladios, ubi Mars est atrocissimus, venerat. Inter primores genus Fabium insigne spectaculo exemploque civibus erat. Ex his Q. Fabium (tertio hic anno antè consul fuerat) principem in confertos Vejentes euntem, ferox viribus et armorum arte Tuscus, incautum inter multas versantem hostium manus, gladio per pectus transfigit. Telo extracto, praeceps Fabius in vulnus abiit³. Sensit utraque acies unius viri casum, cedebatque inde Romanus: quum M. Fabius consul transiluit jacentis corpus, objectâque parmâ, 'Hoc jurâstis,' inquit, 'milites, fugientes vos in 'castra redituros? Adèd ignavissimos hostes magis timetis, 'quàm Jovem Martemque, per quos jurâstis? At ego inju-ratus aut victor revertar, aut prope te hic, Q. Fabi, dimicans 'cadam.' Consuli tum K. Fabius prioris anni consul, 'Ver-bisne istis, frater, ut pugnent, te impetraturum credis? Dii 'impetrabunt, per quos juravere. Et nos, ut decet procures, 'ut Fabio nomine est dignum, pugnando potiùs, quàm ad-'hortando, accendamus militum animos.' Sic in primum in-festis hastis provolant duo Fabii, totamque moverunt secum aciem.

XLVII. Proelio ex parte unâ restituto, nihilo segniùs in altero cornu Cn. Manlius consul pugnam ciebat: ubi prope

¹ See Chap. 43.

² *Occasione ancipiti*, in circumstances where the Roman army was doubly exposed, to internal quarrels, and external violence.

³ *Præceps*, &c. Fabius fell forward on his wounded breast.

similis fortuna est versata. Nam ut altero in cornu Q. Fabium, sic in hōc ipsum consulem Manlium, jam velut fusos agentem hostes, et impigre milites secuti sunt: et, ut ille gravi vulnere ictus ex acie cessit, interfectum rati, gradum retulere. Cessissentque loco, nī consul alter, cum aliquot turmis equitum in eam partem citato equo advectus, 'vivere' clamitans 'collegam, se victorem fuso altero cornu adesse,' rem inclinatam sustinuisset. Manlius quodque ad restituendam aciem se ipse coram offert. Duorum consulum cognita ora accendunt militum animos. Simul et vanior¹ jam erat hostium acies, dum, abundante multitudine freti, subtracta subsidia mittunt ad castra oppugnanda. In quae haud magno certamine impetu facto, dum praedae magis, quā pugnæ, memores terunt tempus; triarii² Romani, qui primam irruptionem sustinere non potuerant, missis ad consules nunciis, quo loco res essent, conglobati ad praetorium redeunt, et suā sponte ipsi proelium renovant: et Manlius consul, revector in castra, ad omnes portas milite opposito, hostibus viam clauserat. Ea desperatio Tuscis rabiem magis, quā audaciam, accendit. Nam quum incursantes, quācunque exitum ostenderet spes, vano aliquoties impetu issent; globus juvenum unus in ipsum consulem insignem armis invadit. Prima excepta a circumstantibus tela. Sustineri deinde vis nequit. Consul mortifero vulnere ictus cadit, fusique circā omnes. Tuscis crescit audacia. Romanos terror per tota castra trepidos agit. Et ad extrema ventum foret, nī legati, raptō consulis corpore, patefecissent unā portā hostibus viam. Eā erumpunt; consternatoque agmine abeuntes in victorem alterum incidunt consulem. Ibi iterum caesi fusique passim. Victoria egregia parta, tristis tamen duobus tam claris funeribus. Itaque consul, decernente senatu triumphum, 'Si exercitus sine imperatore triumphare possit, pro eximiā eo bello operā facilē passurum,' respondit: 'se, familiā funestā Q. Fabii fratris morte, republicā ex parte orbā consule altero amisso, publico privatoque deformem luctu lauream non accepturum.' Omni acto triumpho depositus triumphus clarior fuit. Adeō spreta in tempore³ gloria interdum cumulator

¹ *Vana acies*, a line of battle, though presenting a formidable appearance, weak in reality. Some read *varior*. ² *Triarii*, veterans, who formed the third line. ³ *In tempore*, seasonably; so

in Greek, *iv καιρῷ*.

redit. Funera deinde duo deinceps collegae fratrisque ducit. Idem in utroque laudator¹, quum, concedendo illis suas laudes, ipse maximam partem earum ferret. Neque immemor ejus, quod initio consulatûs imbiberat, reconciliandi animos plebis, saucios milites curandos dividit Patribus. Fabiis plurimi dati: nec alibi majore curâ habiti. Inde populares jam esse Fabii: nec hoc² ullâ, nisi salubri reipublicae, arte.

XLVIII. Igitur non Patrum magis, quàm plebis, studiis K. Fabius cum T. Virginio consul factus, neque
 u. c. 275: bella, neque delectus, neque ullam aliam priorem curam agere, quàm ut, jam aliquâ ex parte inchoatâ concordiae spe, primo quoque tempore cum Patribus coalescerent animi plebis. Itaque principio anni censuit, 'priùs quàm quisquam agrariae legis auctor tribunus existeret, occuparent Patres ipsi suum munus facere: captivum agrum plebi quàm maxime aequaliter darent. Verum esse, habere eos, quorum sanguine ac sudore partus sit.' Aspernati Patres sunt: questi quòque quidam, 'nimiâ gloriâ luxuriare et evanescere vividum quondam illud Kaesonis ingenium³.' Nullae deinde urbanae factiones fuere. Vexabantur incursionibus Aequorum Latini. Eò cum exercitu Kaeso missus, in ipsorum Aequorum agrum depopulandum transit. Aequi se in oppida receperunt, murisque se tenebant: eo nulla pugna memorabilis fuit. At a Vejente hoste clades accepta temeritate alterius consulis. Actumque de exercitu foret, ni K. Fabius in tempore⁴ subsidio venisset. Ex eo tempore neque pax neque bellum cum Vejentibus fuit; res proximè formam latrocinii venerat. Legionibus Romanis cedebant in urbem. Ubi abductas senserant legiones, agros incursabant; bellum quiete, quietem bello in vicem eludentes. Ita neque omitti tota res, nec perfici poterat. Et alia bella aut praesentia instabant, ut ab Aequis Volscisque, non diutius, quàm recens dolor proximae

¹ 'At the funeral of an illustrious person, the corpse was carried through the forum, where the procession stopped, and a funeral oration (*laudatio*) was delivered in praise of the deceased from the *Rostra* by his son, or some near relation or friend, sometimes by a magistrate, according to the appointment of the senate. While the funeral oration was delivering, the corpse was placed before the *Rostra*.' Dr ADAM. ² See p. 33, note 5. ³ *Nimiâ*, &c. That through excess of glory, the mind of Kaeso, once so distinguished for its vigour, was becoming rank, and fading completely away. ⁴ See preceding Chapter, note 3.

cladis transiret, quiescentibus: aut mox moturos se apparebat Sabinos semper infestos, Etruriamque omniem. Sed Vejens hostis, assiduus magis, quàm gravis, contumeliis saepius, quàm periculo, animos agitabat: quod nullo tempore negligi poterat, aut averti aliò sinebat. Tum Fabia gens senatum adiit. Consul pro gente loquitur: 'Assiduo magis, quàm magno, praesidio, ut scitis, Patres conscripti, bellum Vejens eget. Vos alia bella curate: Fabios hostes Vejentibus date. Auctores sumus¹, tutam ibi majestatem Romani nominis fore. Nostrum id nobis velut familiare² bellum, privato sumptu gerere in animo est. Respublica et milite illic et pecuniâ vacet³.' Gratiae ingentes actae. Consul e curiâ egressus, comitante Fabiorum agmine, qui in vestibulo curiae, senatusconsultum expectantes, steterant, domum rediit. Iussi armati postero die ad limen consulis adesse, domos inde discedunt.

XLIX. Manat totâ urbe rumor: Fabios ad coelum laudibus ferunt. 'Familiam unam subisse civitatis onus: Vejens bellum in privatam curam, in privata arma versum. Si sint duae roboris ejusdem in urbe gentes; deposcant, haec Volscos sibi, illa Aequos: populo Romano tranquillam pacem agente, omnes finitimos subigi populos posse.' Fabii postero die arma capiunt. Quò jussi erant, conveniunt. Consul, paludatus⁴ egrediens, in vestibulo gentem omnem suam instructo agmine videt. Acceptus in medium, signa ferri jubet. Nunquam exercitus neque minor numero, neque clarior famâ et admiratione hominum, per urbem incessit. Sex et trecenti milites, omnes patricii, omnes unius gentis, quorum neminem ducem sperneret egregius quibuslibet temporibus senatus, ibant, unius familiae viribus Vejenti populo pestem minitantes. Sequebatur turba, propria alia cognatorum sodaliumque, nihil medium, nec spem, nec curam, sed immensa omnia volventium animo; alia publica⁵, sollicitudine excitata, favore et admiratione stupens; 'ire fortes, ire felices' ju-

¹ *Auctores sumus*, we pledge ourselves.

² *Familiare*, be-

longing to our family alone.

³ *Respublica*, &c. Let the state be

free from the burden of supplying both soldiers and money for that war.

⁴ See p. 29, note 1.

⁵ Some make *propria* and *publica*

agree with *sollicitudine*. Others refer them, as they are here pointed, to *turba*. *Nihil medium, nec spem, nec curam*, nothing in moderation, neither hope, nor care.

bent, 'inceptis eventus pares reddere: consulatus inde ac triumphos, omnia praemia ab se, omnes honores sperare.' Praetereuntibus Capitolium arcemque et alia templa, quicquid Deorum oculis, quicquid animo occurrit, precantur, 'ut illud agmen faustum atque felix mittant, sospites brevi in patriam ad parentes restituant.' Incassum missae preces. Infelici viâ¹ dextro Jano² portae Carmentalis profecti, ad Cremeram flumen perveniunt. Is opportunus visus locus communiendo praesidio. L. Aemilius inde et C. Servilius consules facti. Et, donec nihil aliud quàm in populationibus res fuit, non ad praesidium modò tutandum Fabii satis erant, sed totâ regione, quâ Tuscus ager Romano adjacet, sua tuta omnia, infesta hostium, vagantes per utrumque finem, fecere. Intervallum deinde haud magnum populationibus fuit: dum et Vejentes, accito ex Etruriâ exercitu, praesidium Cremerae oppugnant; et Romanae legiones, ab L. Aemilio consule adductae, cominus cum Etruscis dimicant acie; quanquam³ vix dirigendi aciem spatium Vejentibus fuit. Adeò inter primam trepidationem, dum post signa ordines introeunt, subsidiaque locant, invecta subito ab latere Romana equitum ala, non pugnae modò incipiendae, sed consistendi, ademit locum. Ita, fusi retrò ad saxa Rubra, (ibi castra habebant,) pacem supplices petunt. Cujus impetratae, ab insitâ animis levitate, ante deductum Cremerâ Romanum praesidium, poenituit.

L. Rursus cum Fabiis erat Vejenti populo, sine ullo majoris belli apparatu⁴, certamen: nec erant incursiones modò

¹ *Infelicit*, by anticipation, as its unluckiness was derived from the circumstance of the Fabii passing through it. In the account given by Ovid in the *Fæsti*, ii. 195—243, of the destruction of the Fabii, allusion is thus made to this road:

Carmentis portae dextro via proxima Jano est.

Ire per hanc noli, quisquis es: omen habet.

² *Janos*. Probably from the circumstance of the temple of Janus having double doors, (sunt geminae belli portae, VIRGIL), *Janus* signifies in this and other passages simply a *postern*. The word in this sense is defined by Cicero, *De Naturâ Deorum*, ii. 27. Transitiones perviae Jani nominantur. ³ *Quanquam* introduces a clause qualifying *aciem*. Although it can hardly be called a line of battle, since, &c. ⁴ When two substantives, the one of which is an antecedent, a concomitant or postcedent of the other, and governs it in the genitive, have an epithet applied to one of them, it may be applied to either, as common to both. To illustrate this we may take some instances in Livy. In the first

in agros, aut subiti impetus incursantium, sed aliquoties aequo campo collatisque signis certatum. Gensque una populi Romani saepe ex opulentissimâ, ut tum res erant, Etruscâ civitate victoriam tulit. Id primò acerbum indignumque Vejentibus visum. Inde consilium ex re natum insidiis ferocem hostem captandi: gaudere etiam, multo successu Fabiis audaciam crescere. Itaque et pecora praedantibus aliquoties, velut casu incidissent, obviâ acta: et agrestium fugâ vasti relictî agri: et subsidia armatorum, ad arcendas populationes missa, saepiùs simulato, quàm vero, pavore refugerunt. Jamque Fabii adedò contempserant hostem, ut sua invicta arma neque loco neque tempore ullo crederent sustineri posse. Haec spes provexit, ut ad conspecta procul a Cremerâ magno campi intervallo pecora (quanquam rara hostium apparebant arma¹) decurrerent. Et quum improvidi effuso cursu insidias circa ipsum iter locatas superâssent², palatque passim vaga, ut fit pavore injecto, raperent pecora: subitò ex insidiis consurgitur, et adversi et undique hostes erant. Primò clamor circumlatus exterruit, dein tela ab omni parte accidebant. Coëuntibusque Etruscis, jam continenti agmine armatorum septi, quo magis se hostis inferebat, cgebantur brevioris spatio et ipsi orbem colligere. Quae res et paucitatem eorum insignem, et multitudinem Etruscorum, multiplicatis

chapter we have *majora initia rerum*, the *beginning* being a necessary antecedent of the *empire* to which it led; here the greatness of the empire infers the greatness of its beginning, and hence *majora initia rerum*. In the 30th chapter, in the words, *hac fiduciâ virium*, the *confidence* was a concomitant of the *strength* in which it was placed; hence *hac fiduciâ virium*. In the present case, greater *preparations* are a natural antecedent of greater effects, i. e. of a greater *war*; hence *majoris belli* apparatus, preparations for a greater war, evidently identical with greater preparations for war. When the epithet is not attached to the word, which it seems logically to qualify, critics call the transposition an *enallage*, and change the position of the words, reading, in the instances I have given, (as it seems to me unnecessarily, the same thing occurring in all languages,) *majorum initia rerum*, *harum fiduciâ virium*, *majoris belli* apparatus.

¹ Although (they might have been deterred by the circumstance that) the arms of the enemy were clearly visible here and there among the cattle. ² *Supero*, in its general meaning, signifies to get over any obstacle, to pass. Hence *superare insidias*, to pass an ambush; *superare montem*, to cross a mountain; *superare promontorium*, to double a cape.

in arcto ordinibus¹, faciebat. Tum, omissâ pugnâ quam in omnes partes parem intenderant, in unum locum se omnes inclinant. Eò nisi corporibus armisque, rupere cuneo viam. Duxit via in editum leniter collem. Inde primò restitere. Mox, ut respirandi superior locus spatium dedit, recipiendique a pavore tanto animum, pepulere etiam subeuntes: vincebatque² auxilio loci paucitas, ni jugo circummissus Vejens in verticem collis evasisset. Ita superior rursus hostis factus. Fabii caesi ad unum omnes, praesidiumque expugnatum. 'Trecentos sex perisse' satis convenit: 'unum prope puberem aetate relictum, stirpem genti Fabiae, dubiisque rebus populi Romani saepe domi bellique vel maximum futurum auxilium³.' *even*

LI. Quum haec accepta clades esset, jam C. Horatius et T. Menenius consules erant. Menenius adversus Tuscos victoriâ elatos confestim missus. Tum

¹ The number of files in *length* would necessarily be lessened by being drawn round a smaller body of men; this must therefore refer to their number in *depth*, which would, of course, be increased. ² *Vincebat*, were conquering, and would have conquered. The common expression would be *vicisset*, from which, however, *vincebat* differs in this, that it expresses the actual commencement and continuance of the act of conquering, *vicisset* merely states the hypothetical result. ³ The accuracy of this account of the conduct, and almost total extinction of the Fabian family, as given in the 48th, 49th, and 50th chapters, has been frequently and deservedly called in question. Dionysius asserts, that the total number of the Fabian army amounted, from the clients and retainers who joined in the expedition, to 4000 men, and asks, with great truth, if it is at all probable that 306 men should have had no male children to leave behind at Rome, but one? He therefore thinks, that the report as to the single boy, originated in the circumstance of his having been the most distinguished in the subsequent race of the Fabii. Perizonius, with great appearance of truth, doubts both accounts, from the extreme improbability of one Patrician family at Rome mustering so strong as 306, at so short a period after the expulsion of Tarquin, whose well-known policy it was to thin, as much as possible, the ranks of the patricians, and from the fact, that, with every disposition to exalt this noble family, the Roman people had raised only three of their number to the consulship, during the seven preceding years, whilst, on the other hand, all the subsequent Fabii are uniformly, in Roman history, traced to this one remaining branch. The extraordinary number of 306, he supposes to have been made of the clients; and that the whole body were, in the ancient records or monuments, called Fabii, and hence the blunder into which Livy has fallen.

quòque malè pugnatum est, et Janiculum hostes occupavere :
 obsessaque urbs foret, super bellum annonâ ¹ premente, (tran-
 sierant enim ² Etrusci Tiberim,) ni Horatius consul ex Vol-
 acis esset revocatus : adeòque id bellum ipsis institit ³ mœni-
 bus, ut primò pugnatum ad Spei ³ sit aequo Marte, iterùm
 ad portam Collinam. Ibi quanquam parvo momento ⁴ supe-
 rior Romana res fuit, meliorem tamen militem, recepto pris-
 tine animo, in futura proelia id certamen fecit. A. Virginius
 et Sp. Servilius consules fiunt. Post acceptam proxi-
 mam pugnae cladem ⁴ Vejentes abstinuere acie. Po-
 pulationes erant, et velut ab arce Janiculi ⁵ passim in
 Romanum agrum impetus dabant. Non usquam pecora tu-
 ta, non agrestes erant. Capti deinde eadem arte sunt, quâ
 ceperant Fabios. Secuti dedita ⁶ operâ passim ad illecebras
 propulsa pecora, praecipitavere in insidias ⁶. Quo plures
 erant, major caedes fuit. Ex hac clade atrox ira majoris
 cladis causa atque initium fuit. Trajecto enim nocte Tiberi,
 castra Servilii consulis adorti sunt oppugnare. Inde fusi
 magnâ caede in Janiculum se aegrè recepere. Confestim
 consul et ipse transit Tiberim, castra sub Janiculo communit.
 Postero die, luce ortâ, nonnihil et hesternâ felicitate pugnae ⁷
 ferox, magis tamen, quòd inopia frumenti, quamvis in prae-
 cipitia, dum celeriora essent, agebat consilia, temerè adverso
 Janiculo ad castra hostium aciem erexit, foediùsque inde pul-
 sus, quàm pridie pepulerat, interventu collegae ipse exerci-
 tusque ejus est servatus. Inter duas acies Etrusci, quum in
 vicem his atque illis terga darent ⁸, occidione occisi. Ita op-
 pressum temeritate felici Vejens bellum. ⁸ utterly destroyed

LII. Urbi cum pace laxior etiam annona rediit, et advecto

¹ See p. 108, note 3.

² Enim, refers to *obsessaque urbs foret*.

³ See p. 47, note 2.

⁴ Equivalent to *post acceptam proximam pugnae cladem*. See p. 126, note 4. Some read *proximâ pugnâ*.

⁵ *Velut ab arce Janiculi*, from the Janiculum, as if from a citadel.

⁶ *Deditâ operâ*, referring to *propulsa*; *praecipitavere*, intransitive, or with the force of a middle verb, *se* understood.

⁷ Equivalent to *hesternae felicitate pugnae*. See p. 126, note 4.

⁸ The majority of commentators explain the expression, *darent terga*, in this passage, *exposed their rear whilst fighting*. As the more obvious remedy for the difficulty was, for the rear to wheel round on the second body of the Romans, and thus present two fronts, there seems to be no reason for giving the words any other than their common interpretation, *turned their backs in flight*.

ex Campaniâ frumento, et postquam timor sibi cuique futurae inopiae abiit, eo, quod abditum fuerat, prolato. Ex copiâ deinde otioque lascivire rursus animi; et pristina mala, postquam foris deerant, domi quaerere. Tribuni plebem agitare suo veneno, agrariâ lege; in resistentes incitare Patres, nec in universos modò, sed in singulos. Q. Considius et T. Genucius, auctores agrariae legis, T. Menenio diem dicunt. Invidiae erat amissum Cremerae praesidium, quum haud procul inde stativa consul habuisset. Eum oppresserunt. Quum et Patres haud minùs, quàm pro Coriolano, annisi essent, et patris Agrippae favor haud dum exolevisset; in mulctâ temperârunt tribuni.¹ Quum capitis anquisissent, duo millia aeris damnato mulctam dixerunt. Ea in caput vertit². Negant 'tulissee ignominiam aegritudinemque; inde morbo absumptum esse.' Alius deinde reus Sp. Servilius, ut consulatu abiit, C. Nautio et P. Valerio consulibus, initio statim anni, ab L. Caedicio et T. Statio tribunis die dictâ, non, ut Menenius, precibus suis aut Patrum, sed cum multâ fiduciâ innocentiae gratiaeque, tribunicios impetus tulit. Et huic proelium cum Tuscis ad Janiculum erat crimini³. Sed fervidi animi vir, ut in publico periculo antè, sic tum in suo, non tribunos modò, sed plebem oratione feroci refutando,

¹ There has been much critical discussion as to this passage. As it is here pointed, *quum* signifies *when*, and the leading fact is contained in the last clause of the sentence. Others connect *eum oppresserunt* with *quum*, &c. giving this word the force of *although*, and place a full stop after *exolevisset*. But the chief difficulty of the passage lies in the words, *in mulctâ temperârunt tribuni*. Stroth explains this as meaning, *the tribunes displayed their moderation, by changing the capital punishment to a fine*. As this explanation is forced, and totally unsupported by any thing similar, the obvious meaning being, *the tribunes were moderate in the fine they imposed*, and as this last announcement seems intolerable from its extreme abruptness, Doering suggests, *in irâ, Ruperti similitatem temperârunt*, or *irae multum temperârunt*. If it were allowed to offer any opinion, I should propose to destroy the *in*. There is the *invidia* of the people on the one side, on the other, the exertions of the senators, and the *favor patris Agrippae*, the one leading to capital punishment, the other to a total acquittal; the tribunes tempered both, *by a fine*. In this way, too, we might read *in mulctam*, compounded both feelings with a fine; as Cicero uses the word: *Ea cum tria sumpsisset, unam in speciem temperavit*. ² *Duo millia aeris*, about L.6 of our money. *Ea in caput vertit*. The fine was, after all, a capital punishment. ³ See preceding chapter.

exprobrandoque T. Menenii damnationem mortemque, ('cujus patris' munere restituta quondam plebs eos ipsos, quibus tum saeviret, magistratus, eas leges haberet,') periculum audaciâ discussit. Jovit et Virginius collega, testis productus, participando² laudes: magis tamen Menenianum (adeò mutaverant animum) profuit judicium.

LIII. Certamina domi finita. Vejens bellum exortum; quibus³ Sabini arma conjunxerant. P. Valerius consul, accitis Latinorum Hernicorumque auxiliis, cum exercitu Vejos missus, castra Sabina, quae pro moenibus sociorum locata erant, confestim aggreditur; tantamque trepidationem injectit, ut, dum dispersi alii aliâ⁴ manipulatim excurrunt ad arcendam hostium vim, ea porta, cui signa primùm intulerat, caperetur. Intra vallum deinde caedes magis, quàm proelium, esse. Tumultus e castris et in urbem penetrat; tanquam Vejis captis, ita pavidì Vejentes ad arma currunt. Pars Sabinis eunt subsidio; pars Romanos, toto impetù intentos in castra, adoriuntur. Paullisper aversi turbatique sunt. Deinde et ipsi utròque versis signis resistunt: et eques, ab consule immissus, Tuscos fundit fugatque, eâdemque horâ duo exercitus, duae potentissimae et maximae finitimae gentes superatae sunt. Dum haec ad Vejos geruntur, Volsci Aequique in Latino agro posuerant castra, populatique fines erant. Eos per se ipsi Latini, assumptis Hernicis, sine Romano aut duce aut auxilio, castris exuerunt. Ingenti praedâ, praeter suas recuperatas res, potiti sunt. Missus tamen ab Româ consul in Volscos C. Nautius. Mos, credo, non placebat, sine Romano duce exercituque socios propriis viribus consiliisque bella gerere. * Nullum genus calamitatis contumeliaeque non editum in Volscos est: nec tamen perpelli potuere, ut acie dimicarent.

LIV. L. Furius inde et C. Manlius consules. Manlio Vejentes provincia⁵ evenit. Non tamen bellatum. 280. Induciae in annos quadraginta petentibus datae, frumento stipendioque imperato. Paci externae confestim con-

¹ Menenius Agrippa. See Chap. 32. ² *Participo*, (partes capio), I receive a share, *I participate*. Sometimes, as here, I cause another to receive a share, *I communicate*.

³ The word *Vejens* is equivalent to *cum Vejentibus*; hence from forgetfulness, *quibus*, supply *Vejentibus*.

⁴ Supply *portâ*.

⁵ See p. 115, note 3.

*no species of calamity or of men. P. L.
that is: all the horrors of war—

tinuatur¹ discordia domi. Agrariae legis tribuniciiis stimulis plebs furebat. Consules, nihil Menenii damnatione, nihil periculo deterriti Servilii, summâ vi resistunt. Abeuntes magistratu Cn. Genucius tribunus plebis arripuit².
 u. c. L. Aemilius et Opiter Virginii consulatum ineunt.
 281. Vopiscum Julium pro Virginio in quibusdam annalibus consulem invenio. Hoc anno (quoscunque consules habuit) rei ad populum Furius et Manlius circumcumbunt sordidati³ non plebem magis, quàm juniores Patrum. Suadent, monent, 'Honoribus et administratione reipublicae abstineant; consulares verò faeces, praetextam, curulemque sellam, nihil aliud, quàm pompam funeris, putent. Claris insignibus velut infulis velatos ad mortem destinari. Quod si consulatus tanta dulcedo sit, jam nunc ita in animum inducant, consulatum captum et oppressum ab tribuniâ potestate esse; consuli, velut apparitori tribunicio, omnia ad natum imperiumque tribuni agenda esse. Si se commoverit, si respexerit Patres, si aliud, quàm plebem, esse in republicâ crediderit, exsilium C. Marcii, Menenii damnationem et mortem, sibi proponat ante oculos.' His accensi vocibus Patres concilia⁴ inde, non publica, sed in privato, seductaque a plurium conscientia, habere. Ubi quum id modò constaret, jure an injuriâ eripiendos esse reos, atrocissima quaeque maximè placebat sententia. Nec auctor quamvis audaci facinori deerat. Igitur judicii die, quum plebs in foro erecta expectatione staret, mirari primò, 'quod non descenderet⁵ tribunus:' deinde, quum jam mora suspectior fieret, 'deterritum a primoribus' credere, et 'desertam ac proditam causam publicam' queri. Tandem, qui obversati vestibulo tribuni fuerant, nunciant, 'domi mortuum esse inventum.' Quod ubi in totam concionem pertulit rumor; sicut acies funditur dace

¹ *Continuus*, (con and teneo,) following in unbroken succession; *continuare*, to cause to follow in unbroken succession; *continuari*, so to follow.

² *Arripuit*, arraigned. So Horace, Sat. II. l. 69.

Primores populi *arripuit*, populumque tributim.

³ 'The criminal, laying aside his usual robe, (*toga alba*,) put on a *sordid*, i. e. a ragged and old gown, (*sordidam et obsoletam*), and in this garb went round and supplicated the citizens: whence *sordes* and *squalor* is put for guilt, and *sordidati* or *squalidi* for criminals.' Dr ADAM.

⁴ Gronovius reads *concilia*. ⁵ The forum was in the lower part of the city, between the Capitoline and Palatine hills; hence *descendere*.

occiso, ita dilapsi passim alii aliò. Praecipuus pavor tribunos invaserat, quàm nihil auxilii sacratae leges¹ haberent, morte collegae monitos. Nec Patres satis moderatè ferre laetitiam. Adeoque neminem noxae poenitebat, ut etiam insontes fecisse videri vellent, palàmque ferretur, 'malo domandam tribuniciam potestatem.'

LV. Sub hâc² pessimi exempli victoriâ delectus edicitur: paventibusque tribunis, sine intercessione³ ullâ consules rem peragunt. Tum verò irasci plebes, tribunorum magis silentio, quàm consulum imperio, et dicere, 'Actum esse de libertate suâ; rursus ad antiqua reditum; cum Genucio unâ mortuam ac sepultam tribuniciam potestatem. Aliud agendum, ac cogitandum, quomodo resistatur Patribus. Id autem unum consilium esse, ut se ipsa plebs, quando aliud nihil auxilii habeat, defendat. Quatuor et viginti lictores apparere consulibus⁴, et eos ipsos plebis homines. Nihil contemptius, neque infirmius⁵, si sint, qui contemnant. Sibi quemque ea magna atque horrenda facere.' His vocibus alii alios quum incitâssent, ad Voleronem Publilium, de plebe hominem, quia, 'quòd ordines duxisset⁶, negaret 'se militem fieri debere,' lictor missus est a consulibus. Volero appellat tribunos. Quum auxilio nemo esset, consules spoliari hominem, et virgas expediri⁷ jubent. 'Provoco,' inquit, 'ad populum,' Volero, 'quoniam tribuni civem Romanum in conspectu suo virgis caedi malunt, quàm ipsi in lecto suo a vobis trucidari.' Quò ferociùs clamitabat, eo infestius circumscindere et spo-

¹ See p. 106, note 4.

² *Intercedere* and *intercessio* are terms applied to that act, by which one magistrate interrupted another in the exercise of his power.

³ *Quatuor*, &c. That twenty-four lictors attend the consuls. From *apparere* comes *apparitor*, a general name for the public servants of the magistrates, i. 8. Dr Adam, (page 100 of his *Antiquities*), seems to think that this passage is inconsistent with the 1st Chapter of this Book, (where Livy states, *Id modo cautum est, ne, si ambo fasces haberent, duplicatus terror videretur*,) and remarks, 'this must be understood without the city.' There is in reality no inconsistency. 12 lictors preceded one of the consuls only, with the *fasces*; the other, with an *accensus* before him, was followed by 12 lictors without the *fasces*. There were thus in attendance 24 lictors, but only 12 *fasces*, as in the time of the kings.

⁴ Supply *eo consulum praesidio esse*.

⁵ See p. 95, note 1.

⁶ *Spoliare hominem*, forcibly to strip a man of his garments. *Virgas expedire*, to unfasten the *fasces*, and prepare the rods for lashing him.

liari lictor. Tum Volero, et praevalens ipse, et adjuvantibus advocatis, repulso lictore, ubi indignantium pro se acerrimus erat clamor, eò se in turbam confertissimam recipit, clamitans, 'Provoco, et fidem plebis imploro. Adeste cives! adeste commilitones! nihil est, quòd expectetis tribunos, quibus ipsis vestro auxilio opus est.' Concitati homines, veluti ad proelium, se expediunt: apparebatque, omne discrimen adesse; nihil cuiquam sanctum, non publici fore, non privati juris. Huic tantae tempestati quum se consules obtulissent, facile experti sunt, parum tutam majestatem sine viribus esse. Violatis lictoribus, fascibus fractis, e foro in curiam compelluntur: incerti, quatenus Volero exerceat victoriam. Conticescente deinde tumultu, quum in senatum vocari jussissent, queruntur injurias suas, vim plebis, Voleronis audaciam. Multis ferociter dictis sententiis, vicere seniores, quibus, irâ Patrum adversus temeritatem plebis certari, non placuit.

LVI. Voleronem amplexa favore, plebs proximis comitiis tribunum plebi creat in eum annum, qui L. Pinarium, P. Furium consules habuit. Contraque omnium opinionem, qui eum vexandis prioris anni consulibus permissurum¹ tribunatum credebant, post publicam causam privato dolore habito, ne verbo quidem violatis consulibus, rogationem² tulit ad populum, ut plebei magistratus tributis comitiis fierent³. 'Haud parva res sub titulo primâ specie

¹ *Permissurum*, that he would give full reins to the tribunicial power, a favourite metaphor among the Romans, both in prose and verse. Thus Virgil, Aen. vi. I.

Sic fatur lacrymans, classique *immittit habenas*.

² *Rogare*, originally to ask how each man voted; *rogatio*, the act of so asking; hence that which rendered it necessary to ask, a *bill*.

³ On the authority of Dionysius, it seems to be almost universally agreed that the *Comitia Tributa* had been held, u. c. 263, for the trial of Coriolanus, (see p. 109, note 5;) yet Dionysius agrees with Livy, that the first struggle for the appointment of the tribunes, in the *Comitia Tributa*, took place in this year, (282). His account, therefore, seems improbable on three grounds: I. Livy's silence on a fact of so much importance indicates his ignorance of such a surmise even, an ignorance hardly conceivable on such a subject. II. Dionysius narrates the creation of this legislative novelty, as no resolution of the people themselves, but as the result of the mere *dictum* of the tribunes, and consent of the consuls. III. It is highly improbable that the Patricians should have resisted the appointment of plebeian magistrates, in the very *Comitia*, where, for twenty years, they had submit-

‘minimè atroci’ ferebatur; ‘sed quae patriciis omnem potestatem per clientium suffragia creandi, quos vellent, tribunos auferret’¹. Huic actioni, gratissimae plebi, quum summâ vi resisterent Patres; nec, quae una vis ad resistendum erat, ut intercederet², aliquis ex collegio auctoritate aut consulum aut principum adduci posset; res tamen, suo ipsa molimine gravis, certaminibus in annum extrahitur. Plebs

Voleronem tribunum reficit³. Patres ad ultimum dimissionis rati rem venturam, Ap. Claudium, Appii filium, jam inde⁴ a paternis certaminibus invisum infestum-

ted to be tried for their lives. This question is ably argued by Hooke in his Roman History, ii. 13.

¹ In the preceding note, a difference between Dionysius and Livy has been noticed. In this sentence Livy is accused of differing from himself. Crevier censures him for inconsistency, in stating that the proposed change in the mode of electing tribunes was *haud parva res*, and yet in the 60th Chapter asserting that it was *res major victoriâ suscepti certaminis, quam usu*. Hooke endeavours to obviate the charge, by supposing that Livy had in view two distinct effects of the change, in the two sentences. This obviously leaves the matter where it was. We must either, therefore, leave the imputation unanswered, or understand, as I have done, not that *ferebatur* means, ‘A matter of no small importance was proposed,’ (which is evidently the meaning attached to the word by Crevier and Hooke,) but, ‘the matter was said by the Patricians to be one of no ‘small importance.’ There seems, in reality, to have been but little difference in the result of the two modes of election, and the change, therefore, was one of no practical importance. The Patricians, however, thought otherwise, being anxious to secure aristocratic tribunes, (see speech of Appius, Chap. 44,) and their fears are expressed in this sentence; in the sentence in the 60th Chapter, Livy expresses his own. It may here be shortly noticed, that critics have been puzzled by the sentence *sed quae*, &c. taking it for granted that the tribunes had been previously elected in the *Comitia Curiata*, where each individual vote counted. The change to the *Tributa*, then, where likewise each individual counted, would make no change on the *suffragia clientium*. Although it is uniformly asserted, on the authority of Dionysius, that the tribunes were elected in the *Comitia Curiata*, (see p. 107, note 2.) yet Livy does not seem so to have understood, and in this passage clearly indicates his opinion to have been, that they were elected in the *Comitia Centuriata*, where the influence of the Patricians on the higher ranks of voters, their *clients*, might be supposed by them to give them the preponderance. See Chap. 64, where Livy says, *Irata plebs interesse consularibus comitiis noluit*. Per patres *clientesque patrum* consules creati, T. Quinctius, Q. Servilius.

² See p. 133, note 2.

³ *Reficit*, re-elect.

⁴ *Jam inde*, all along up to that time. See p. 5, note 3, and Chap. 27.

que plebi, consulem faciunt. Collega ei T. Quinctius datur. Principio statim anni nihil priùs, quàm de lege, agebatur. Sed ut inventor legis Volero, sic Laetorius, collega ejus, auctor¹ quum recentior, tum acrior erat. Ferocem faciebat belli gloria ingens; quòd aetatis ejus haud quisquam manu promptior erat. Is, quum Volero nihil, praeterquam de lege, loqueretur, insectatione abstinens consulum, ipse in accusationem Appii, familiaeque superbissimae ac crudelissimae in plebem Romanam, exorsus, quum 'a Patribus non consulem, 'sed carnificem ad vexandam et lacerandam plebem, creatum 'esse' contenderet; rudis in militari homine lingua non suppetebat libertati animoque. Itaque, deficiente oratione, 'Quandoquidem non² facìle loquor,' inquit, 'Quirites, quàm, quod 'locutus sum, praesto, crastino die adeste. Ego hìc aut in 'conspectu vestro moriar, aut perferam legem.' Occupant tribuni templum postero die. Consules nobilitasque ad impediendam legem in concione consistunt. 'Submoveri' Laetorius jubet, 'praeterquam qui suffragium ineant.' Adolescentes nobiles stabant, nihil cedentes viatori. Tum ex his prehendi quosdam Laetorius jubet. Consul Appius negare, 'jus esse tribuno in quenquam, nisi in plebeium. Non enim 'populi, sed plebis³, eum magistratum esse. Nec illum ipsum⁴ submovere pro imperio posse more majorum; quia ita 'dicatur: "Si vobis videtur, discedite, Quirites." Facìle et contemptim de jure disserendo perturbare Laetorium poterat. Ardens igitur irà tribunus viatorem mittit ad consulem: consul lictorem ad tribunum 'privatum esse' clamitans, 'sine 'imperio sine magistratu⁵'; violatusque esset tribunus, ni et concio omnis atrox coërta pro tribuno in consulem esset; et concursus hominum in forum ex totà urbe concitatae multitudinis fieret. Sustinebat tamen Appius pertinacià tantam tempestatem: certatumque haud incruento proelio foret, ni Quinctius, consul alter, consularibus negotio dato, ut collegam vi, si aliter non possent, de foro abducerent, ipse nunc plebem saevientem precibus lenisset, nunc oràsset tribunos, 'ut

¹ *Inventor legis*, the original proposer of a law; *auctor*, a supporter, whether the original proposer or not. ² Supply *tam*.

³ *Populus*, generally the whole Roman people; *plebs*, the plebeians.

⁴ *Nec illum ipsum*, supply *magistratum populi*.

⁵ Appius asserts, that being a magistrate of the plebeians only, Laetorius was *sine magistratu*, as far as regarded the patricians.

'concilium demitterent. Darent¹ irae spatium. Non vim suam illis tempus adepturum : sed concilium viribus additurum. Et Patres in populi, et consulem in Patrum fore potestate.'

LVII. Aegre sedata ab Quinctio plebs, multo aegrius consul alter a Patribus. Dimisso tandem concilio plebis, senatum consules habent. Ubi quum timor atque ira in vicem sententias variassent ; quo magis, spatio interposito, ab impetu ad consultandum advocabantur, eo plus abhorrebant a certatione animi. Adeò ut Quinctio gratias agerent, 'quod ejus operâ mitigata discordia esset.' Ab Appio petitur, 'Ut tantam consularem majestatem esse vellet, quanta² esse in concordi civitate posset. Dum tribuni consulesque ad se quisque omnia trahunt, nihil relictum esse virium in medio ; distractam laceratamque rempublicam³ ; magis, quorum in manu sit, quàm ut incolumis sit, quaeri.' Appius contrà, 'testari Deos atque homines, rempublicam prodi per metum ac deserì. Non consulem senatui, sed senatum consuli deesse. Gravior accipi leges, quàm in Sacro monte⁴ acceptae sint.' Victus tamen Patrum consensu quievit. Lex silentio perfertur.

LVIII. Tum primùm tributis comitiis creati tribuni sunt : numero etiam additos tres, perinde ac duo antea fuerint, Piso auctor est⁵. Nominat quòque tribunos, C. Sicinium, L. Numitorium, M. Duilium, Sp. Icilium, L. Maecilium. Volscum Aequicumque inter seditionem Romanam est bellum coòrtum. Vastaverant agros, ut, si qua secessio plebis fieret, ad se receptum haberet. Compositis deinde rebus, castra retro movere. Ap. Claudius in Volscos missus. Quinctio Aequi provincia evenit⁶. Eadem in militiâ saevitia Appii, quae domi, esse ; eo liberior, quòd sine tribuniciis vinculis erat. Odisse plebem plus quàm paterno odio : 'se victum ab eâ : se unico⁷ consule objecto adversus tribuniciam po-

¹ See p. 119, note 3.

² *Tantum quanta*, as great as, i. e.

no greater than. ³ Some place a comma after *rempublicam*, and make it the accusative to *quaeri*.

⁴ See Chap. 33. ⁵ See Chap. 33. Livy himself inclines to the opinion, that five tribunes were created at first.

⁶ See p. 115, note 3.

⁷ '*Unicus* represents the individual to whom it applies, as the only object of the kind that exists, not as one of a species, from the other members of which it is distinguished by some peculiar quality which they do not possess. Thus, *unicus filius* means an only son, who, in refe-

‘testatem, perlatam legem esse; quam minore conatu, ne-
 ‘quaquam tantâ Patrum spe, priores impedièrint consules.’
 Haec ira indignatioque ferocem animum ad vexandum saevo
 imperio exercitum stimulabat. Nec ullâ vi domari poterat.
 Tantum certamen animis imbibèrant. Segniter, otiosè, ne-
 gligenter, contumaciter omnia agere. Nec pudor, nec me-
 tus coërcebat. Si citiùs agi vellet agmen, tardiùs sedulò in-
 cedere: si adhortator operis adesset, omnes suâ sponte mo-
 tam remittere industriam. Praesenti vultus demittere, tacitè
 praetereuntem execrari: ut invictus ille odio plebeio animus
 interdum moveretur. Omni nequicquam acerbitate promptâ,
 nihil jam cum militibus agere: ‘a centurionibus corruptum
 ‘exercitum’ dicere: *tribunos plebei* cavillans interdum et
Volerones vocare.

LIX. Nihil eorum Volsci nesciebant, instabantque eo ma-
 gis, sperantes, ‘idem certamen animorum adversus Appium
 ‘habiturum exercitum Romanum, quod adversus Fabium
 ‘consulem habuisset¹.’ Ceterùm multo Appio, quàm Fabio,
 violentior fuit. Non enim vincere tantùm noluit, ut Fabia-
 nus exercitus, sed vinci voluit. Productus in aciem turpi
 fugâ petit castra²; nec antè restitit quàm signa inferentem
 Volscum munimentis vidit foedamque extremi agminis cae-
 dem. Tum expressa vis ad pugnandum, ut victor jam a vallo
 submoveretur hostis; satis tamen appareret, capi tantùm cas-
 tra militem Romanum noluisse. Alii gaudere suâ clade at-
 que ignominia. Quibus nihil infractus ferox Appii animus,
 quum insuper saevire vellet, concionemque advocaret, con-
 currunt ad eum legati tribunique, monentes, ‘ne utique ex-
 ‘periri vellet imperium, cujus vis omnis in consensu obedien-
 ‘tium esset.’ Negare vulgò milites, ‘se ad concionem itu-
 ‘ros;’ passimque exaudiri voces postulantium, ‘ut castra ex
 ‘VolSCO agro moveantur. Hostem victorem paullò antè pro-
 ‘pe in portis ac vallo fuisse; ingentisque mali non suspicio-
 ‘nem modò, sed apertam speciem obversari ante oculos.’

‘rence to the particular parent, may be held to constitute a whole spe-
 ‘cies; whilst *unus filius* would positively intimate, that the family
 ‘contains more than one son,’ &c. Dr CARSON. In this passage
 the force then of *unico* is, he being *the only man in existence* who
 was deemed fit, as consul, to be opposed. ¹ See Chap. 43.

² Scottish history presents a similar instance, in the voluntary flight of
 the army commanded by Oliver, in the reign of James V.

Victus tandem, (quandoquidem nihil præter tempus noxæ¹ lucrarentur,) remissâ concione, iter in insequentem diem pronunciari quum jussisset, primâ luce classico signum profectionis dedit. Quum maximè agmen e castris explicaretur, Volsci, ut eodem signo excitati, novissimos adoriuntur. A quibus perlatus ad primos tumultus, eo pavore signaque et ordines turbavit, ut neque imperia exaudiri, neque instrui acies possent. Nemo ullius, nisi fugæ, memor. Ita effuso agmine per stragem corporum armorumque evasere, ut prius hostis desisteret sequi, quàm Romanus fugere. Tandem, collectis ex dissipato cursu militibus, consul, quum revocando nequicquam suos persecutus esset, in pacato agro castra posuit; advocatâque concione, invectus haud falsò in proditorum exercitum militaris disciplinae, desertorem signorum; ubi signa, ubi arma essent, singulos rogitans, inermes milites, signo amisso signiferos²; ad hoc centuriones duplicariosque³, qui reliquerant ordines, virgis caesos securi percussit. Cetera multitudo sorte decimus⁴ quisque ad supplicium lecti.

LX. Contra ea, in Aequis inter consulem ac militem comitate ac beneficiis certatum est. Et naturâ Quinctius erat lenior, et saevitia infelix collegæ, quo ie magis gauderet ingenio suo, effecerat. Huic tantæ concordiae ducis exercitusque non ausi offerre se, Aequi vagari populabundum hos-

¹ *Noxa*, sometimes a fault, sometimes, as here, the punishment due to a fault.

² *Ubi*, &c. Asking each man individually, the standard-bearers who had lost their standards, where the standards were, the unarmed soldiers where their arms were. There are two sets of questions, the first respecting the standards, the second respecting the arms, (*signa, arma*). The two sets of men who were thus interrogated should naturally follow in the same order; but in this passage Livy reverses them, putting the soldiers first, and the standard-bearers second. This is by no means rare, both in Roman and Greek writers. Thus Livy, i. 35, *Regnavit Ancus annos quatuor et viginti, cuilibet superiorum regum belli pacisque et artibus et gloriâ par; artibus* referring to *pacis*, and *gloriâ* to *belli*. So Homer, in a passage quoted by Dr Hunter, with a somewhat different view, in his preface to Virgil:

Ενθαδ' ἄμ' Οἰμωγῇ τε καὶ Εὐχολῇ πειλὼν ἄνδρων
Ὀλλυμένων τε καὶ Ὀλλυμένων. IL. Δ. 450.

Here *εὐχολῇ Ὀλλυμένων*, *οἰμωγῇ Ὀλλυμένων*. ³ Varro defines *duplicarios* to mean those, quibus ob virtutem *duplicitia* dabantur *cibaria*. They were, in this respect, on a level with the centurions. ⁴ This mode of punishing an army was called *decimatio*.

tem per agros passi. Nec ullo antè bello latiùs inde actae praedae. Omnis militi data est. Addebantur et laudes, quibus, haud minùs quàm praemio, gaudent militum animi. Tum duci, tum propter ducem Patribus quòque placatior exercitus rediit; sibi parentem, alteri exercitui dominum datum ab senatu, memorans. Variâ fortunâ belli, atroci discordiâ domi forisque annum exactum, insignem maximè comitia tributa efficiunt; res major victoriâ suscepti certaminis, quàm usu¹. Plus enim dignitatis comitiis ipsis detractum est, Patribus ex concilio submovendis, quàm virium aut plebi additum est, aut demptum Patribus².

LXI. Turbulentior inde annus excepit, L. Valerio, u. c. 234. T. Aemilio consulibus, cùm propter certamina ordinum

de lege agrariâ, tum propter iudicium Ap. Claudii: cui, acerrimo adversario legis, causamque possessorum publici agri, tanquam tertio consuli, sustinenti, M. Duilius et C. Sicinius diem dixere³. Nunquam antè tam invisus plebi reus ad iudicium vocatus populi est, plenus suarum, plenus paternarum irarum⁴. Patres quòque non temere pro ullo aequè annisi sunt: 'propugnatorem senatûs, majestatisque vindicem suae, ad omnes tribunicios plebeiosque oppositum tumultus, modum duntaxat in certamine egressum, iratae objici plebi.' Unus e Patribus, ipse Ap. Claudius, et tribunos, et plebem, et suum iudicium pro nihilo habebat. Illum non minae plebis, non senatûs preces percellere unquam potuere, non modò ut vestem mutaret⁵, aut supplex prensaret homines; sed ne ut ex consuetâ quidem asperitate orationis (quum ad populum agenda causa esset) aliquid leniret atque submitteret. Idem habitus oris, eadem contumacia in vultu, idem in oratione spiritus erat: adeò ut magna pars plebis Appium non minùs reum timeret, quàm consulem timuerat. Semel causam dixit, quo semper agere omnia solitus erat, accusatorio spiritu. Adeòque constantiâ suâ et tribunos obstupescit et plebem, ut diem ipsi suâ voluntate prodicerent: trahi⁶ deinde rem sinerent. Haud ita multum interim tem-

¹ See p. 135, note 1.

² Livy here evidently expresses his opinion, that, by the law of Volero, the patricians were excluded from the *Comitia Tributa*.

³ See p. 109, note 2.

⁴ *Plenus*, &c. fully laden with the people's hate against himself and his father.

⁵ See p. 132, note 3.

⁶ *Trahere rem*, the same as *ducere*, *extrahere*, to put off, to prolong, to protract. Here Crevier,

poris fuit. Antè tamen, quàm producta dies veniret, morbo moritur¹. Cujus quum laudationem² tribuni plebis impedire conarentur, plebs fraudari solenni honore supremum diem tanti viri noluit; et laudationem tam aequis auribus mortui audivit, quam vivi accusationem audierat; et exsequias frequens celebravit.

LXII. Eodem anno Valerius consul, cum exercitu in Aequos profectus, quum hostem ad proelium elicere non posset, castra oppugnare est adortus. Prohibuit foeda tempestas, cum grandine ac tonitribus coelo dejecta. Admirationem deinde auxit, signo receptui dato, adeò tranquilla serenitas reddita; ut, velut numine aliquo defensa, castra oppugnare iterum religio fuerit³. Omnis ira belli ad populationem agri vertit. Alter consul Aemilius in Sabinis bellum gessit. Et ibi, quia hostis moenibus se tenebat, vastati agri sunt. Incendiis deinde, non villarum modò, sed etiam vicorum, quibus frequenter habitabatur⁴, Sabini exciti, quum praedatoribus occurrissent, ancipiti proelio digressi, postero die retulere castra in tutiora loca. Id satis consuli visum, cur pro victo relinqueret hostem, integro inde decedens bello.

LXIII. Inter haec bella, manente discordiâ domi, u. c. T. Numicius Priscus, A. Virginii consules facti. Non 285. ultra videbatur latura plebes dilationem agrariae legis, ultimaque vis parabatur; quum, Volscos adesse, fumo ex incendiis villarum fugâque agrestium cognitum est. Ea res maturam jam seditionem ac prope erumpentem repressit. Consules, coacti extemplo ab senatu ad bellum, eductâ ex urbe juventute, tranquilliozem ceteram plebem fecerunt. Et hostes quidem, nihil aliud quàm perfusis vano timore Romanis⁵, citato agmine abeunt. Numicius Antium adversus

and after him other commentators, think that *rem trahi sinerent* means, permitted the matter to languish, as Appius died before the day of trial. The words, however, seem to imply, that after the prorogued day arrived, (*deinde*,) the people permitted the matter to be put off, not allowing the second interval to be as long as the first, *haud ita multum interim temporis fuit*.

¹ Dionysius makes no mention of any pleading on the part of Appius, and says that he destroyed himself before the day of trial.

² See p. 124, note 1.

³ *Ut*, &c.

So that it was considered sacrilegious again to attack a camp which seemed to be defended by some divine power.

⁴ *Quibus*, in *quibus*;

habuabatur, impersonal.

⁵ See p. 105, note 3. Dr Hunter's analysis would be, Romanis *-sis* nihil aliud quam *perfu-* vano

Volscos, Virginus contra Aequos profectus. Ibi ex insidiis prope magnâ acceptâ clade, virtus militum rem, prolapsam negligentîâ consulis, restituit. Meliùs in Volscis imperatum est. Fusi primo proelio hostes, fugâque in urbem Antium, ut tum res erant, opulentissimam acti. Quam consul oppugnare non ausus, Cenonem, aliud oppidum, nequaquam tam opulentum, ab Antiatibus cepit. Dum Aequi Volscique Romanos exercitus tenent, Sabini usque ad portas urbis populantes incescere. Deinde ipsi paucis pòst diebus ab duobus exercitibus, utroque per iram consule ingresso in fines, plus cladium, quàm intulerant, acceperunt.

LXIV. Extremo anno pacis aliquid fuit ; sed, ut semper aliàs, solitae certamine Patrum et plebis. Irata plebs interesse consularibus comitiis noluit. Per Patres clientesque Patrum consules creati, T. Quinctius, Q. Servilius. Similem annum priori consules habent, seditiosa initia, bello deinde externo tranquilla¹. Sabini, Crustumino campos citato agmine transgressi, quum caedes et incendia circum Anienem flumen fecissent, a portâ prope Collinâ moenibusque pulsî, ingentes tamen praedas hominum pecorumque egere. Quos Servilius consul infesto exercitu insecutus, ipsum quidem agmen adipisci aequis locis non potuit ; populationem adedè effusè fecit, ut nihil bello intactum relinqueret, multiplicique captâ praedâ rediret. Et in Volscis respublica egregiè gesta, quum ducis, tum militum operâ. Primùm aequo campo signis collatis pugnatum, ingenti caede utrinque, plurimo sanguine². Et Romani, quia paucitas damno sentiendo propior erat, gradum retulissent ; nî salubri mendacio consul, 'fugere hostes ab cornu altero' clamitans, concitâset aciem. Impetu facto, dum se putant vincere, vicere³. Consul, metuens ne nimis instando renovaret certamen, signum receptui dedit. Intercessere, pauci dies, velut tacitis induciis utrinque quiete sumptâ : per quos ingens vis hominum ex omnibus Volscis Aequisque populis in castra

timore. The Romans having suffered nothing else than the being completely scattered. The continental mode of supplement, *quum egissent* nihil aliud, quam, &c.

¹ *Tranquilla* cannot refer to *initia*, which are said to have been *seditiosa* ; resolve therefore *initia* into *ineuntia tempora*.

² *Ingenti caede*, according to Gronovius, refers to the slain ; *plurimo sanguine*, to the wounded. ³ Similarly, Virgil, Possunt, quia posse videntur. *Aen.* v.

venit, haud dubitans, si senserint, Romanos nocte abituros. Itaque tertiâ fere vigiliâ ad castra oppugnanda veniunt. Quinctius, sedato tumultu, quem terror subitus exciverat, quum manere in tentoriis quietum militem jussisset, Hernicorum cohortem in stationem educit; cornicines tubicinesque, in equos impositos, canere ante vallum jubet, sollicitumque hostem ad lucem tenere. Reliquum noctis adeò tranquilla omnia in castris fuere, ut somni quòque Romanis copia esset. Volscos species armatorum peditum, quos et plures esse, et Romanos putabant, fremitus hinnitusque equorum, qui, et insueto sedente equite, et insuper aures agitante sonitu, saeviebant, intentos velut ad impetum hostium tenuit.

LXV. Ubi illuxit, Romanus, integer satiatumque somno productus in aciem, fessum stando et vigiliis Volscum primo impetu perculit. Quanquam cessere magis, quàm pulsi hostes sunt: quia ab tergo erant clivi, in quos post principia integris ordinibus¹ tutus receptus fuit. Consul, ubi ad iniquum locum ventum est, sistit aciem. Miles aegre teneri, clamare et poscere, 'ut percussis instare liceat.' Ferociùs agunt equites: circumfusi duci vociferantur, 'se ante signa ituros.' Dum cunctatur consul, virtute militum fretus, loco parum fidens, conclamant, 'se ituros:' clamoremque res est secuta. Fixis in terram pilis, quo leviores ardua evaderent, cursu subeunt. Volscus, effusis ad primum impetum missilibus telis, saxa objacentia pedibus ingerit in subeuntes, turbatosque ictibus crebris arguet ex superiore loco. Sic prope oneratum est² sinistrum Romanis cornu, ni referentibus jam gradum consul, increpando simul temeritatem, simul ignaviam, pudore metum excussisset. Restitere primò obstinatis animis: deinde, ut obtinentes locum vires ferebant³, audent altro gradum inferre; et, clamore renovato, commovent aciem. Tum rureus, impetu capto⁴, enituntur, atque exsuperant iniquitatem loci. Jam prope erat, ut in summum clivi jugum evaderent, quum terga hostes dedere: effusoque cursu penè agmine uno fugientes sequentesque castris incidere. In eo

¹ *Post principia integris ordinibus*, the ranks which stood unbroken behind the first line.

² *Oneratum est*. Pulsum est oneribus, driven back with the heavy stones.

³ *Ut, &c.* According to Ruperti, As far as their strength, keeping its ground, permitted them; according to Stroth, and better, When, by keeping their ground, they received fresh strength.

⁴ *Impetu capto*; having acquired fresh vigour

pavore castra capiuntur. Qui Volscorum effugere potuerunt, Antium petunt. Antium et Romanus exercitus ductus : paucos circumsessum dies deditur, nullâ oppugnantium novâ¹ vi : sed quòd jam inde ab infelici pugnâ castrisque amissis ceciderant animi.

¹ *Novâ*, because the consul Numicius had not dared to attack it in the preceding year. See Chap. 63.

LIBER TERTIUS.

EPITOME.

I, &c. XIX. *SEDITIONES de agrariis legibus factae.* XVIII. *Capitolium, ab exsulis et servis occupatum, caesis iis receptum est.* III. *Census bis actus est. Priore lustro censu sunt civium capita centum quatuor millia ducenta quatuordecim, praeter orbos orbasque.* XXIV. *Sequenti, centum septemdecim millia ducenta novemdecim.* XXVI. *Quum adversus Aequos res malè gesta esset, L. Quinctius Cincinnatus dictator factus, quum rure intentus rustico operi esset, ad id bellum gerendum arcessitus est.* XXVIII. *Is victos hostes sub jugum misit.* XXX. *Tribunorum plebis numerus ampliatus est, ut essent decem; trigesimo sexto anno a primis tribunis plebis.* XXXI. *Petitis per legatos, et allatis Atticis legibus, ad constituendas eas proponendasque decemviri pro consulibus sine ullis aliis magistratibus creati, altero et trecentesimo anno, quàm Roma condita erat : et, ut a regibus ad consules, ita a consulibus ad decemviros translatum imperium.* XXXIV, &c. *Hi, decem tabulis legum positis, quum modestè se in eo honore gessissent, et ob id in alterum quòque annum eundem esse magistratum placuisset, duabus tabulis ad decem adjectis, quum complura impotenter fecissent, magistratum noluerunt deponere, et in tertium annum retinuerunt :* XLIV, &c. *Donec invito eorum imperio finem attulit libido Ap. Claudii. Qui, quum in amorem virginis*

incidisset, submisso, qui eam in servitutem peteret, necessitatem patri ejus Virginio imposuit, raptō ex tabernā proximā cultro, ut filiam interimeret; quum aliter eam tueri non posset, ne in potestatem stuprum illaturi veniret. L, &c. Hoc tam magnae luxuriae exemplo plebs incitata montem Aventinum occupavit, coëgitque decemviros abdicare se magistratu. Ex quibus Appius et unus collegarum, qui praecipuè poenam meruerant, in carcerem conjecti; ceteri in exsiliū acti. LX, &c. Res praeterea contra Sabinos, et Volscos, et Aequos prosperè gestas continet. LXXI. Et parum honestum populi Romani judicium; qui, judex inter Ardeates et Aricinos sumptus, agrum, de quo ambigebatur, sibi adjudicavit.

I. ANTIO capto, Ti. Aemilius et Q. Fabius consules fiunt. Hic erat Fabius Quintus, qui unus extinctae ad Cremeram genti superfuerat¹. Jam priore consulatu Aemilius dandi agri plebi fuerat auctor. Itaque secundo quodque consulatu ejus et agrarii² se in spem legis erexerant, et tribuni 'rem, contra consules saepe tentatam, 'adjutore utique consule, obtineri posse' rati, suscipiunt; et consul manebat in sententiā suā. Possessores et magna pars Patrum, 'tribuniciiis se jactare actionibus principem civitatis, et largiendo de alieno popularem fieri'³ querentes, totius invidiam rei a tribunis in consulem averterant. Atrox certamen aderat, ni Fabius consilio neutri parti acerbo rem expedisset. 'T. Quinctii ductu et auspicio agri capti priore anno aliquantum a Volscis esse: Antium, propinquam, opportunam, et maritimam urbem, coloniam deduci posse: ita 'sine querelis possessorum plebem in agros ituram, civitatem 'in concordiā fore.' Haec sententia accepta est. Triumviros agro dando creat T. Quinctium, A. Virginium, P. Furium. Jussi nomina dare, qui agrum accipere vellent. Fecit statim (ut fit) fastidium copia: adeoque pauci nomina dedere, ut ad expendum numerum coloni Volsci⁴ adderentur: cetera mul-

¹ See end of Chap. 50.

² *Agrarii*, those who supported the agrarian law. ³ *Tribuniciiis*, &c. that the head of the state was priding himself on supporting the proceedings of the tribunes, and was making himself popular by profuse gifts of other men's property.

⁴ See p. 32, note 1.

titudo poscere Romæ agrum malle, quàm alibi accipere¹. Aequi a Q. Fabio (is eò cum exercitu venerat) pacem petièrè, irritamque eam ipsi subitâ incursione in agrum Latinum fecere.

II. Q. Servilius, insequenti anno (is enim tum Sp. Postumio consul fuit) in Aequos missus, in Latino agro stativa habuit. Intra castra quies necessaria morbo implicitum exercitum tenuit. Extractum in tertium annum bellum est, Q. Fabio et T. Quinctio consulibus.

u. c. 289. Fabio extra ordinem², quia is victor pacem Aequis dederat, ea provincia data. Qui, haud dubiâ spe profectus, famam nominis sui pacaturam Aequos, legatos in concilium gentis missos nunciare jussit; 'Q. Fabium consulem dicere, se ex Aequis pacem Romam tulisse, ab Româ Aequis bellum afferre eâdem dextrâ armatâ, quam pacatam illis antea dederat³. Quorum id perfidiâ et perjurio fiat, Deos nunc testes esse, mox fore ultores. Se tamen, utcumque sit, etiam nunc, poenitere suâ sponte Aequos, quàm pati hostilia, malle. Si poeniteat, tutum receptum ad expertam clementiam fore: sin perjurio gaudeant, Diis magis iratis, quàm hostibus, gesturos bellum.' Haec dicta adeò nihil moverunt quemquam, ut legati prope violati sint, exercitusque in Algidum adversus Romanos missus. Quæ ubi Romam sunt nunciata, indignitas rei, magis quàm periculum, consulem alterum ab urbe excivit. Ita duo consulares exercitus ad hostem accessere acie instructâ, ut confestim dimicaret. Sed quum fortè haud multum diei superesset, unus ab statione hostium exclamat: 'ostentare hoc est, Romani, non gerere bellum. In noctem imminem aciem instruitis. Longiore luce ad id certamen, quod instat, nobis opus est. Crastino die oriente sole redite in aciem; erit copia pugnandi, ne timete.' His vocibus irritatus miles in diem posterum in castra reducitur, longam venire noctem ratus, quæ moram certamini faceret. Tum quidem corpora cibo somnoque curant. Ubi illuxit postero die, prior aliquanto constitit Romana acies; tandem et Ae-

¹ *Cetera, &c.* The remainder preferred clamouring at Rome for ground to receiving it elsewhere.

² Provinces were assigned usually by lot, (ii. 40, where provincia is first mentioned, *provincia evenit*,) and when, for any particular reason, they were given designedly, they were said, *extra ordinem dari*.

³ *Dederat*. As the sentence is indirect, (see p. 106, note d,) read *dederit*.

LIBER III.

qui processere. Proelium fuit utrinque vehemens; quòd et Romanus irâ odioque pugnabat, et Aequos conscientia contracti culpâ periculi, et desperatio futurae sibi postea fidei, ultima audere et experiri cogebat. Non tamen sustinuerunt aciem Romanam Aequi: pulsique quum in fines suos se recepissent, nihilo inclinationibus ad pacem animis ferox multitudo increpare duces, 'quòd in aciem, quâ pugnandi arte Romanus excellat, commissa res sit. Aequos populationibus incursionibusque meliores esse; et multas passim manus, quàm magnam molem unius exercitus, rectius bella gerere.'

III. Relicto itaque castris praesidio, egressi tanto cum tumultu invasere fines Romanos, ut ad urbem quòque terrorem pertulerint. Nec opinata etiam res plus trepidationis fecit, quòd nihil minùs, quàm ne victus ac propè in castris obsessus hostis memor populationis esset, timeri poterat; agrestesque, pavidi incidentes portis, 'non populationem, nec praedonum parvas manus, sed, omnia vano augentes timore, exercitus et legiones adesse hostium, et infesto agmine ruere ad urbem,' clamabant. Ab his proximi audita incerta, eoque vaniora, ferre ad alios: cursus clamorque vocantium ad arma haud multum a pavore captae urbis abesse. Fortè¹ ab Algi-do Quinctius consul redierat Romam, (id remedium timori fuit,) tumultuque sedato, 'victos timeri' increpans 'hostes,' praesidia portis imposuit. Vocato dein senatu, quum, ex auctoritate Patrum justitio² indicto, profectus ad tutandos fines esset, Q. Servilio praefecto urbis relicto, hostem in agris non invenit. Ab altero consule res gesta egregiè est. Qui, quâ venturum hostem sciebat, gravem praedâ, eòque impeditiore agmine incedentem, aggressus, funestam ei populationem fecit. Pauci hostium evasere ex insidiis: praeda omnis re-

¹ *Fortè*, generally translated by *chance*. Our English expression, by *chance*, indicates a want of design in the action or state qualified by it, which the Latin term does not generally express. It is better in such cases to translate it thus, It chanced that, *i. e.* It happened that.

² *Justitium*, (Jus, sisto,) is thus described by Dr Adam. 'In a public mourning for any signal calamity, the death of a prince or the like, there was a total cessation from business (*JUSTITIUM*), either spontaneously or by public appointment; when the courts of justice did not sit, the shops were shut,' &c. In the present instance, before the appointment of praetors, the absence of both the consuls, the administrators of the laws, necessarily suspended all legal procedure.

cepta est. Sic finem justitio, quod quatrimum fuit, reditus Quinctii consulis in urbem fecit. Census deinde actus, et conditum ab Quinctio lustrum¹. Censa civium capita centum quatuor millia et ducenta quatuordecim dicuntur, praeter orbos orbasque². In Aequis nihil deinde memorabile actum. In oppida sua se recepere, uti sua popularique passi. Consul, quum aliquoties per omnem hostium agrum infesto agmine populabundus isset, cum ingenti laude praedâque Romam rediit.

IV. Consules inde A. Postumius Albus, Sp. Furius v. c. Fusus. Furios Fusios scripsere quidam³. Id admo- 290. neo, ne quis immutationem virorum ipsorum esse, quae nominum est, putet. Haud dubium erat, quin cum Aequis alter consulum bellum gereret. Itaque Aequi ab Ecetranis Volscis praesidium petière. Quo cupidè oblato, (adèd civitates hae perpetuo in Romanos odio certavere,) bellum summâ vi parabatur. Sentiunt Hernici, et praedicunt Romanis, Ecetranum ad Aequos descisse. Suspecta et colonia Antium fuit, quòd magna vis hominum inde, quum oppidum captum esset⁴, confugisset ad Aequos. Isque miles per bellum Aequicum vel acerrimus fuit. Compulsis deinde in oppida Aequis, ea multitudo dilapsa quum Antium redisset, suâ sponte jam infidos colonos⁵ Romanis abalienavit. Nec dum maturâ re, quum defectionem parari delatum ad senatum esset, datum negotium est consulibus, ut, principibus coloniae Romam excitis, quaerent, 'quidnam rei esset.' Qui, quum haud gravati venissent, introducti a consulibus ad senatum ita responderunt ad interrogata, ut magis suspecti, quàm venerant, dimitterentur. Bellum inde haud dubium haberi. Sp. Furius, consulum alter, cui ea provincia⁶ evenerat, profectus in Aequos, Hernicorum in agro populabundum hostem invenit; ignarusque multitudinis, quia nusquam universa conspecta fuerat, imparem copiis exercitum temere pugnae commisit. Primo concursu pulsus se in castra recepit. Neque is finis periculi fuit. Namque et proximâ nocte et postero die tantâ

¹ See p. 51, note 2. ² It is easy to understand how orphans should have been omitted in the census, which had a particular reference to men at arms. ³ *Furios*, &c. Some for *Furii*, have written *Fusii*. The early Romans uniformly preferred *s* to *r*. So in the 8th Chapter, *Vetulus* for *Veturius*. ⁴ See ii. 65, ⁵ See Chapter I. ⁶ See p. 115, note 3.

vi castra sunt circumseessa atque oppugnata, ut ne nuncios quidem inde mitti Romam posset. Hernici, et malè pugnantem, et consulem exercitumque obsideri, nunciaverunt. Tantumque terrorem incussere Patribus, ut (quæ forma senatus consulti ultimæ æsemper necessitatis habita est) Postumio alteri consulum negotium daretur, 'Videre, ne quid res publica detrimenti caperet'.¹ Ipsum consulem Romæ manere ad conscribendos omnes, qui arma ferre possent, optimum visum est; proconsule² T. Quinctium subsidio castris cum sociali exercitu mitti. Ad eum explendum Latini, Hernicique, et colonia Antium dare Quinctio subitarios milites (ita tum repentina auxilia appellabant) iussit.

V. Multi per eos dies motus multique impetus hinc atque illinc facti, quia, asperante multitudine, hostes carpere³ multifariam vires Romanas, ut non suffecturas ad omnia, aggressi sunt. Simul castra oppugnabantur, simul pars exercitus ad populandum agrum Romanum missa, urbemque ipsam, si qua fortuna daret, tentandam. L. Valerius ad praesidium urbis relictus; consul Postumius ad arcendas populationes finium missus. Nihil remissum ab ullâ parte curæ aut laboris. Vigiliæ in urbe, stationes ante portas, praesidiaque in muris disposita, et, quod necesse erat in tanto tumultu, justitium⁴ per aliquot dies servatum. Interim in castris Furius consul, quam primò quietus obsidionem passus esset, in incautum hostem decumanâ portâ⁵ erupit, et, quum persequi posset,

¹ This is the first notice of a decree, which armed the consul with almost dictatorial power, and which was frequently had recourse to in the exigencies of the state. ² 'Anciently those were called *pro-consuls*, to whom the command of consuls was prolonged, after their office was expired, or who were invested with consular authority, either from a subordinate rank, as Marcellus, after being praetor, and Gellius, or from a private station, as Scipio. This was occasioned by some public exigence, when the ordinary magistrates were not sufficient. The same was the case with *propraetors*. The first *pro-consul* mentioned by Livy was T. Quinctius, A. U. 290. But he seems to have been appointed for the time. The first to whom the consular power was prolonged was Publius.' Dr ADAM. ³ *Carpere*, in its general meaning, signifies to separate into pieces; hence *carpere exercitum*, to break up an army, and then destroy it in detail: so *carpere multifariam vires Romanas*, to break up into numerous detached bodies the Roman strength, and then destroy them separately.

⁴ See p. 147, note 2.

⁵ The *Decumana Porta* was opposite the *Porta Praetoria*, and in the rear of the camp; as x. 32.

metu substitit, ne qua, ex parte alterâ, in castra vis fieret. Furium legatum (frater idem consulis erat) longius extulit cursus: nec suos ille redeuntes, persequendi studio, neque hostium ab tergo incursum vidit. Ita exclusus, multis saepe frustra conatibus captis¹, ut viam sibi ad castra faceret, acriter dimicans cecidit. Et consul, nuncio circumventi fratris conversus ad pugnam, dum se temere magis, quàm satis cautè, in mediam dimicationem infert, vulnere accepto, aegre ab circumstantibus ereptus, et suorum animos turbavit, et ferociores hostes fecit. Qui, caede legati et consulis vulnere accensi, nullâ deinde vi sustineri potuere, quum² compulsi in castra Romani rursus obsiderentur, neq̃ spe, nec viribus pares; venissetque in periculum summa rerum, ni T. Quinctius peregrinis copiis cum Latino Hernicoque exercitu subvenisset. Is, intentos in castra Romana Aequos legatique caput ferociter ostentantes ab tergo adortus, simul ad signum a se procul editum ex castris eruptione factâ, magnam vim hostium circumvenit. Minor caedes, fuga effusior Aequorum in agro fuit Romano. In quos palatos, praedam agentes, Postumius aliquot locis, quibus opportuna imposuerat praesidia, impetum dedit. Ii vagi, dissipato agmine fugientes, in Quinctium victorem, cum saucio consule revertentem, incidere. Tum consularis exercitus egregiâ pugnâ consulis vulnus, legati et cohortium ultus est caedem. Magnae clades ultro citroque illis diebus et illatae et acceptae. Difficile ad fidem est in tam antiquâ re, quot pugnaverint ceciderintve, exacto affirmare numero. Audet tamen Antias Valerius concipere summas: 'Romanos cecidisse in Hernico agro 'quinque millia ac trecentos: ex praedatoribus Aequorum,' qui populabundi in finibus Romanis vagabantur, 'ab A. Postumio consule duo millia et quadringentos caesos: ceteram 'multitudinem, praedam agentem, quae inciderit in Quinctium, nequaquam pari defunctam esse caede³; interfecta 'inde quatuor millia, et,' exsequendo subtiliter numerum;

Ab tergo castrorum decumanâ portâ impetus factus. This was a favourite manoeuvre with the Romans. See Livy and Caesar *passim*.

¹ *Conatibus captis*, capere used in the same way is the expression *impetu capto*: see p. 143, note 4.

² Gronovius reads *quin*, and immediately after Doering places the preposition *cum* before *peregrinis*, instead of before *Latino*.

³ *Nequaquam*, &c. escaped after a slaughter by no means equal, i. e. much greater.

'ducentos,' ait, 'et triginta.' Ut Romam reditum et justitium¹ remissum est, coelum visum est ardere plurimo igni²; portentaque alia aut obversata oculis, aut vanas exterritis ostentavere species. His avertendis terroribus in triduum feriae indictae, per quas omnia delubra pacem Deum exposcentium virorum mulierumque turbâ implebantur. Cohortes inde Latinae Hernicaeque ab senatu, gratiis ob impigram militiam actis, remissae domos. Antiates, mille milites, quia serum auxilium post proelium venerant, prope cum ignominia dimissi.

VI. Comititia inde habita. Creati consules L. Aebutius, P. Servilius Kalendis Sextilibus, ut tunc principium anni agebatur, consulatum ineunt³. Grave tempus et fortè⁴ annus pestilens erat urbi agrisque, nec hominibus magis, quàm pecori; et auxere vim morbi⁵, terrore populationis pecoribus agrestibusque in urbem acceptis. Ea colluvio mixtorum omnis generis animantium et odore insolito urbanos, et agrestem, confertum in arcta tecta, aestu ac vigiliis angebat, ministeriaque in vicem ac contagio ipsa vulgabant morbos⁶. Vix instantes sustinentibus clades repente legati Hernici nunciant, 'in agro suo Aequos Volscos-

¹ See p. 147, note 2.

² A prodigy frequently reported by Livy, and one which can easily be accounted for from natural causes.

³ 'In the beginning of the republic, the consuls entered on their office at different times; at first on the 23d or 24th February, the day on which Tarquin was said to have been expelled, which was held as a festival, and called *Regifugium*; afterwards on the first of August, (*Kal. Sext.*) which was at that time the beginning of the year, (i. e. of the consular, not of the civil year, which always began with January). In the time of the *Decemviri*, on the 15th of May. About fifty years after, on the 15th December. Then on the first of July, which continued till near the end of the second Punic war, A. U. 530, when the day came to be the 15th of March. At last, A. U. 598 or 600, it was transferred to the first of January, which continued to be the day ever after.' Dr ADAM.

⁴ See p. 147, note 1. Heyne denies that the symptoms adduced by Livy are those of a pestilence.

⁵ Either *Romani auxere vim morbi*, or *morbi auxere suam vim*.

⁶ *Ea*, &c. The filth occasioned by the huddling together of all kinds of animals most painfully annoyed both the citizens, on account of the stench, to which they had been unaccustomed, and the countrymen, packed in confined apartments, on account of the heat and want of sleep, whilst the services required at each other's hands, and the mere contact, spread abroad diseases.

‘que conjunctis copiis castra posuissae : inde exercitu ingenti ‘fines suos depopulari.’ Praeterquam quòd infrequens senatus indicio erat sociis, afflictam civitatem pestilentia esse, moestum etiam responsum tulere : ‘ut per se ipsi Hernici ‘cum Latinis res suas tutarentur. Urbem Romanam subito ‘Deum ira morbo populari. Si qua ejus mali quies veniat, ‘ut anno antè, ut semper alias, sociis opem lateros.’ Discessere socii, pro tristi nuncio tristiores domum referentes ; quippe quibus per se sustinendum bellum erat, quod vix Romanis fulti viribus sustinuissent. Non diutius se in Hernico hostis continuit. Pergit inde infestus in agros Romanos, etiam sine belli injuria vastatos. Ubi quum obivus nemo, ne inermis quidem, fieret, perque omnia, non praesidiis modò deserta, sed etiam cultu agresti, transirent ; pervenire ad tertium lapidem Gabinà viâ. Mortuus Aebutius erat Romanus consul. Collega ejus Servilius exigua in spe trahebat animam. Affecti plerique principum, Patrum major pars, militaris ferè aetas omnis ; ut non modò ad expeditiones, quas in tanto tumultu res poscebat, sed vix ad quietas stationes viribus sufficerent. Munus vigiliarum senatores, qui per aetatem ac valetudinem poterant, per se ipsi obibant ; circuitio ac cura¹ aedilium plebei erat. Ad eos summa rerum ac majestas consularis imperii venerat.

VII. Deserta omnia, sine capite, sine viribus, Dii praesides ac fortuna urbis tutata est, quae Volscis Aequisque, praedonum potiùs mentem, quàm hostium, dedit. Adeò enim nulla spes non potiùs modò, sed ne adeundi quidem Romana moenia, animos eorum cepit, tectaue procul visa atque imminentes tumuli avertère mentes eorum, ut, totis passim castris fremitu orto, ‘quid in vasto ac deserto agro inter tabem pecorum hominumque desides sine praedâ tempus tenerent, quum integra loca, Tusculanum agrum, opimum ‘copiis, petere possent?’ signa repentè convellerent, transverisique itineribus per Lavicanos agros in Tusculanos colles transirent. Eò vis omnis tempestasque belli conversa est. Interim Hernici Latinique, pudore etiam, non misericordia solùm, moti, si nec obstitissent communibus hostibus, infesto agmine Romanam urbem petentibus, nec opem ullam obsessis sociis ferrent, conjuncto exercitu Romam pergunt. Ubi

¹ *Circuitio vigiliarum ac cura.* The inspection of the watches by going the rounds, and the general management of the state.

quum hostes non invenissent, secuti famam ac vestigia, obvii sunt descendentibus ab Tusculano in Albanam vallem. Ibi haudquaquam aequo proelio pugnatum est, fidesque sua sociis parum felix in praesentiâ fuit. Haud minor Romae fit morbo strages, quàm quanta ferro sociorum facta erat. Consul, qui unus supererat, moritur. Mortui et alii clari viri, M. Valerius, T. Virginus Rutilus, augures; Ser. Sulpicius, curio maximus¹. Et per ignota capita latè evagata est vis morbi: inopsque senatus auxilii humani, ad Deos populum ac vota vertit. Jussi cum conjugibus ac liberis supplicatum ire, pacemque exposcere Deum. Ad id, quod² sua quemque mala cogeant, auctoritate publicâ evocati, omnia delubra implent. Stratae passim matres, crinibus templa verrentes, veniam irarum coelestium, finemque pesti exposcunt.

VIII. Inde paullatim, seu pace Deum impetratâ seu, graviore tempore anni jam circumacto³, defuncta morbis corpora salubriora esse incipere; versisque animis jam ad publicam curam, quum aliquot interregna⁴ exissent, P. Valerius Publicola tertio die, quàm interregnum inierat, consules
 U. C. 292. creat L. Lucretium Tricipitinum et T. Veturium Geminum; sive ille Vetusius⁵ fuit. Ante diem tertium Idus Sextiles⁶ consulatum ineunt, jam satis validâ civitate, ut non solum arcere bellum, sed ultro etiam inferre posset. Igitur, nunciantibus Hernicis, 'in fines suos transcendisse' hostes impigrè promissum auxilium. Duo consulares exercitus scripti. Veturius missus in Volscos ad bellum ultro inferendum. Tricipitinus, populationibus arcendis sociorum agro oppositus, non ultrà, quàm in Hernicos, procedit. Veturius primo proelio hostes fundit fugatque. Lucretium, dum in Hernicis sedet, praedonum agmen fefellit⁷, supra montes

¹ Each of the thirty *Curiae*, instituted by Romulus, elected an officer called *Curio*, to preside over the sacred rites peculiar to each ward. The president of the *Curiones*, elected by the whole people in the *Comitia Curiata*, was called *Curio Maximus*.

² Ad id, quod, besides that.

³ According to Dionysius, the pestilence commenced in September, and lasted for a year.

⁴ Properly speaking, interregnum is applicable only to the interval between two reigns. It is used generally, however, to indicate all interim governments. See I. 17.

⁵ See p. 148, note 3.

⁶ Either for *ante diem tertium confectum*, (during the course of the third day,) *ante Idus*, or through some grammatical inaccuracy, the source of which we cannot trace, for the more obvious *die tertio ante*.

⁷ See p. 91, note 5.

Praenestinos ductum, inde demissum in campos. Vastavere agros Praenestinum Gabinumque : ex Gabino in Tusculanos flexere colles. Urbi quòque Romae ingens praebitus terror, magis in re subitâ, quàm ‘ quòd ad arcendam vim parum virium esset ¹.’ Q. Fabius praeerat urbi. Is, armatâ juventute, dispositisque praesidiis, tuta omnia ac tranquilla fecit. Itaque hostes, praedâ ex proximis locis raptâ, appropinquare urbi non ausi, quum circumacto agmine redirent, quanto longius ab urbe hostium abcederent, eo solutiore curâ in Lucretium incidunt consulem, jam ante exploratis itineribus suis ² instructum, et ad certamen intentum. Igitur, praeparatis animis, repentino pavore percussos adorti, aliquanto pauciores multitudinem ingentem fundunt fugantque ; et compulsos in cavas valles, quum exitus haud in facili essent, circumveniunt. Ibi Volscum nomen prope deletum est. ‘ Tredecim millia ‘ quadringentos septuaginta cecidisse in acie ac fugâ, mille ‘ ducentos quinquaginta vivos captos, signa viginti septem ‘ militaria relata,’ in quibusdam annalibus invenio. Ubi etsi adjectum aliquid numero sit, magna certe caedes fuit. Victor consul, ingenti praedâ potitus, eadem in stativa rediit. Tum consules castra conjungunt : et Volsci Aequique afflictas vires suas in unum contulere. Tertia illa pugna eo anno fuit. Eadem fortuna victoriam dedit. Fuis hostibus, etiam castra capta.

IX. Sic res Romana in antiquum statum rediit : secundaeque belli res extemplo urbanos motus excitaverunt. C. Terentillus Arsa tribunus plebis eo anno fuit. Is, consulibus absentibus, ratus locum tribuniciiis actionibus datum, per aliquot dies Patrum superbiam ad plebem criminatus, maximè in consulare imperium, tanquam nimium, nec tolerabile liberae civitati, invehebatur : ‘ nomine enim tantum minùs invi-

¹ *Esset* in the subjunctive after *quod*, with this force ; than that the Romans thought that there was, &c. ; *quod erat*, would indicate the belief of Livy only, not the consciousness of the people, and would be a much weaker expression.

² This word *suis* has occasioned a difficulty truly surprising to the commentators. Some, quite inadmissibly, make it apply to the enemy, others interpret it as *cum suis*, with his soldiers, and the rest, whilst they understand it correctly, wonder how it should be there at all. The *suis* is used emphatically, to contrast the careful conduct of the consul, who, by exploring *his* route, had been forewarned of the presence of the enemy, with the negligence of the Volscians, who were quite unprepared to meet with him.

‘diosum, re ipsâ prope atrocius, quàm regium, esse. Quippe
 ‘duos pro uno domino acceptos, immoderatâ, infinitâ potes-
 ‘tate: qui, soluti atque effrenati ipsi, omnes metus legum
 ‘omniaque supplicia verterent in plebem. Quae ne aeterna
 ‘illis licentia sit, legem se promulgaturum, ut quinque viri
 ‘creentur legibus de imperio consulari scribendis. Quod po-
 ‘pulus in se jus dederit, eo consulem usurum: non ipsos li-
 ‘bidinem ac licentiam suam pro lege habituros.’ Quâ pro-
 ‘mulgatâ lege, quum timerent Patres, ne, absentibus consuli-
 ‘bus, jugum acciperent, senatus a praefecto urbis Q. Fabio vo-
 ‘catur: qui adeò atrociter in rogationem latoremque ipsum
 ‘est invectus, ut nihil, si ambo consules infesti circumstarent
 ‘tribunum, relictum minarum atque terroris sit: ‘insidiatum
 ‘eam, et tempore capto adortum rempublicam. Si quem si-
 ‘milem ejus priore anno, inter morbum bellumque, irati Dii
 ‘tribunum dedissent, non potuisse sisti¹. Mortuis duobus
 ‘consulibus, jacente aegrâ civitate in colluvione omnium re-
 ‘rum, ad tollendum e republicâ consulare imperium laturum
 ‘legos fuisse; ducem Volscis Aequisque ad oppugnandam
 ‘urbem futurum. Quid tandem? illi non licere, si quid
 ‘consules superbè in aliquem civium aut crudeliter fecerint,
 ‘diem dicere? accusare his ipsis iudicibus, quorum in ali-
 ‘quem saevitum sit? Non illud consulare imperium, sed
 ‘tribuniciam potestatem invisam intolerandamque facere:
 ‘quam pacatam reconciliatamque Patribus de integro in
 ‘antiqua redigi mala. Neque illum se deprecari, quò mi-
 ‘nùs pergat, ut coeperit. Vos²,’ inquit Fabius, ‘ceteri tri-
 ‘buni, oramus, ut primum omnium cogitetis, potestatem is-
 ‘tam ad singulorum auxilium, non ad perniciem universorum,
 ‘comparatam esse; tribunos plebis vos creatos, non hostes
 ‘Patribus. Nobis miserum, invidiosum vobis est, desertam
 ‘rempublicam invadi. Non jus vestrum, sed invidiam, mi-
 ‘nueritis. Agite cum collegâ, ut rem integram in adventum
 ‘consulum differat. Ne Aequi quidem ac Volsci, morbo ab-
 ‘sumptis priore anno consulibus, crudeli superboque nobis
 ‘bello institere³.’ Agunt cum Terentillo tribuni: dilatâque
 ‘in speciem actione, re ipsâ sublatâ⁴, consules extemplo ar-
 ‘cessiti.

¹ See p. 101, note 4.

² See p. 16, note 1.

³ Alluding to the proceedings of the Aequi and Volsci, narrated in the 7th Chap-
 ter.

⁴ *Dilatâque*, &c. and the prosecution of the bill having been,
 in appearance, adjourned, but, in reality, suppressed. Duker thinks

X. Lucretius cum ingenti praedâ, majore multò gloriâ, rediit. Et auget gloriam adveniens, expositâ omni in campo Martio praedâ, ut suum quisque per triduum cognitum abduceret. Reliqua vendita, quibus domini non exstiteret. Debeatur omnium consensu consuli triumphus: sed dilata res est, tribuno de lege agente. Id antiquius consuli fuit¹. Jacitata per aliquot dies quum in senatu res, tum ad populum est. Cessit ad ultimum majestati consulis tribunus, et destitit. Tum imperatori exercituique honos suus redditus. Triumphavit de Volscis Aeqisque: triumphantem secutae suae legiones. Alteri consuli datum, ut ovans² sine militibus urbem iniret. Anno deinde insequenti lex Terentilla³, ab toto relata collegio, novos aggressa consules est.

u. c.
293. Erant consules P. Volumnius, Ser. Sulpicius. Eo anno coelum ardere visum: terra ingenti concussa motu est. 'Bovem locutam,' cui rei priore anno fides non fuerat, creditum. Inter alia prodigia et carnem pluit: 'quem imbrems ingens numerus avium intervolutando rapuisse' fertur. 'Quod intercidit, sparsum ita jacuisse per aliquot dies, ut nihil odor mutaret.' Libri per duumvitos sacrorum aditi⁴: pericula a conventu alienigenarum praedicta, ne qui in loca

that the suppression extended only to that year, as the bill was thereafter urged with great vigour. But so it was during the remainder of that year. Livy, therefore, alludes to the fact, that the bill was ultimately withdrawn, and another substituted, c. 31.

¹ *Id, &c.* That (the discussion of the law) was considered by the consul as requiring prior consideration. See p. 36, note 3.

² The principal points of difference between the *triumph* and *ovatio* were, that in the former, the general rode in a chariot, crowned with laurel, and attended by the magistrates and senators in their robes of office; in the latter, he walked, or rode on horseback, crowned with myrtle, and unattended by the senators, except as private friends. The close of the triumphant procession was the sacrifice of bullocks; of an *ovatio*, that of sheep, whence, according to most authors, the name.

³ Amongst the Romans, the laws were called either by the name of the proposer, as *Lex Terentilla*, or the name of the object affected by the law, as *Lex Agraria*. So with us, Peel's Bill, The Catholic Emancipation Bill.

⁴ This is the first allusion made by Livy to the Sibylline books, the history of which is so well known. The care of these books, which were supposed to contain the fate of the Roman empire, was entrusted at first to two, afterwards to ten, and finally to fifteen men, one of whose duties it was to inspect them, whenever any great danger threatened the state.

summa urbis impetus, caedesque inde fierent. Inter cetera monitum, 'ut seditioibus abstineretur.' 'Id factum ad im-
 'pediendam legem,' tribuni criminabantur, ingensque aderat
 certamen. Ecce (ut idem in singulos annos orbis volveretur)
 Hernici nunciant, 'Volscos et Aequos, etsi accisae res sint¹,
 'reficere exercitus; Antii summam rei positam; Ecetrae An-
 'tiales colonos palam concilia facere. Id caput, eas vires
 'belli esse.' Ut haec dicta in senatu sunt, delectus edicitur:
 consules belli administrationem inter se dispartiri jussi, alteri
 ut Volsci, alteri ut Aequi provincia esset. Tribuni coram in
 foro personare, 'Fabulam compositam Volsci belli, Hernicos
 'ad partes paratos. Jam ne virtute quidem premi libertatem
 'populi Romani, sed arte eludi. Quia, occisione prope oc-
 'cisos, Volscos et Aequos movere suâ sponte arma posse,
 'jam fides abierit, novos hostes quaeri. Coloniam fidam,
 'propinquam, infamem fieri. Bellum innoxiiis Antiatis in-
 'dici, geri cum plebe Romanâ. Quam, oneratam armis, ex
 'urbe praecipiti agmine acturi essent, exsilio et relegatione
 'civium ulciscences tribunos. Sic, ne quid aliud actum pu-
 'tent, victam legem esse: nisi, dum in integro res sit, dum
 'domi, dum togati² sint, caveant, ne possessione urbis pel-
 'lantur, ne jugum accipiant. Si animus sit, non defore auxi-
 'lium. Consentire omnes tribunos. Nullum terrorem ex-
 'ternum, nullum periculum esse. Cavisse Deos priore anno,
 'ut tutò libertas defendi posset.' Haec tribuni.

XI. At ex parte alterâ consules in conspectu eorum, po-
 sitis sellis, delectum habebant. Eò decurrunt tribuni, con-
 cionemque secum trahunt. Citati pauci, velut rei experiundae
 causâ: et statim vis coërta. Quemcunque lictor jussu con-
 sulisprehendisset, tribunus mitti jubebat. Neque suum cui-
 que jus modum faciebat, sed virium spe et manu obtinendum
 erat, quod intenderes³. Quemadmodum se tribuni gessissent
 in prohibendo delectu, sic Patres in lege, quae per omnes
 comitiales dies ferebatur, impediendâ gerebant. Initium

¹ *Accidere*, to cut close, applied originally to cutting the wings of a bird; metaphorically, *etsi res accisae sint*, although their strength was almost entirely disabled.

² *Togati*, wearing the garments of civil life. *Toga*, opposed to *sagum*, the military cloak, or *arma*, as in the well-known, *cedant arma togae*.

³ *Quod intenderes*, whatever might be your aim. The Latin idiom corresponds with the English in using the second person, to indicate that the nominative is general, and applicable to an indefinite class of objects.

erat rixae, quum discedere populum jussissent tribuni, quòd Patres se summoverti haud sinebant. Nec fere seniores rei intererant; quippe quæ non consilio regenda, sed permissa temeritati audaciaeque esset. Multum et consules se abstinebant, ne cui in colluvione rerum majestatem suam contumeliae offerrent. Kaeso erat Quinctius, ferox juvenis, quâ¹ nobilitate gentis, quâ corporis magnitudine et viribus. Ad ea munera, data a Diis, et ipse addiderat multa belli decora, facundiamque in foro; ut nemo, non linguâ, non manu, promptior in civitate haberetur. Hic, quum in medio Patrum agmine constitisset, eminens inter alios, velut omnes dictaturas consulatusque gerens in voce ac viribus suis, unus impetus tribunicios popularesque procellas sustinebat. Hoc duce, saepe pulsi foro tribuni, fusa ac fugata plebs est. Qui obvius fuerat, mulcatus nudatusque abibat: ut satis appareret, si sic agi liceret, victam legem esse. Tum, prope jam percussis aliis tribunis, A. Virginii, ex collegio unus, Kaesoni capitis diem dicit². Atrox ingenium accenderat eo facto magis, quàm conterruerat: eo acriùs obstare legi, agitare plebem, tribunos velut justo persequi bello. Accusator patreum ruere, invidiaeque flammam ac materiam criminibus suis suggerere³: legem interim, non tam ad spem perferendi, quàm ad lacesendam Kaesonis temeritatem, ferre. Ibi multa, saepe ab juventute inconsultè dicta factaque, in unius Kaesonis suspectum incidunt ingenium: tamen legi resistebatur. Et A. Virginii identidem plebi: 'Ecquid sentitis jam, vos, Quirites, Kaesonem simul civem et legem, quam cupitis, habere non posse? Quanquam quid ego legem loquor? Libertati obstat, omnes Tarquinius superbiâ exsuperat. Expectate, dum consul aut dictator fiat, quem privatum viribus et audaciâ regnantem videtis.' Assentiebantur multi, 'pulsatos se' querentes, et tribunum ad rem peragendam ultro incitabant.

XII. Jam aderat iudicio dies, apparebatque, vulgò homines in damnatione Kaesonis libertatem agi credere. Tum demum coactus cum multâ indignitate prensabat singulos⁴. Sequebantur necessarii, principes civitatis. T. Quinctius Capitoli-

¹ See p. 109, note 4.

² *Kaesoni*, &c. fixes a day for the

trial of Kaeso on a capital charge.

³ *Accusator*, &c. The ac-

cuser permitted the defendant to rush on in his lawless violence, and whilst he increased the flame of public odium, to supply fresh materials for his own accusations against him.

⁴ See p. 132, note 3.

nas, qui ter consul fuerat, quum multa referret sua familiae-
que decora, affirmabat: 'Neque in Quinctiâ gente, neque in
'civitate Romanâ tantam indolem tam maturae virtutis un-
'quam exstitisse. Suum primum militem fuisse¹, se saepe
'vidente pugnâsse in hostem.' Sp. Furius 'missum ab Quinc-
'tio Capitolino sibi eum in dubiis suis rebus venisse subsidio².
'Neminem unum³ esse, cujus magis operâ putet rem resti-
'tutam.' L. Lucretius, consul anni prioris, recenti gloriâ
nitens, suas laudes participare⁴ cum Kaesone, memorare pug-
nas, referre egregia facinora, nunc in expeditionibus, nunc in
acie: suadere et monere, 'juvenem egregium, instructum na-
'turae fortunaeque omnibus bonis, maximum momentum⁵ re-
'rum ejus civitatis, in quamcunque venisset, suum, quàm
'alienum, mallent civem esse. Quod offendat in eo, fervorem,
'et audaciam aetatem quotidie auferre; quod desideretur con-
'siliium id in dies crescere. Senescentibus vitiis, maturescente
'virtute, sinerent⁶ tantum virum senem in civitate fieri.'
Pater inter hos L. Quinctius, cui Cincinnato⁷ cognomen erat,
non iterando laudes, ne cumlaret invidiam, sed veniam er-
rori atque adolescentiae petendo, 'sibi, qui non dicto, non
'facto quemquam offendisset, ut condonarent filium,' orabat.
Sed alii aversabantur preces, aut verecundiâ, aut metu: alii,
'se suosque mulcatos' querentes, atroci responso iudicium
suum praeferabant⁸.

XIII. Premebat reum, praeter vulgatam invidiam, crimen
unum; quodd M. Volscius Fictor, qui ante aliquot annos tri-
bunus plebis fuerat⁹, testis exstiterat, 'Se haud multò post,

¹ *Suum primum militem fuisse.* Either, that Kaeso had served his first campaign under him, or that Kaeso had been the most distinguished soldier under him.

² Three years before, see Chap. 5.

³ *Unus* is often used by Livy to strengthen the negation or affirmation, as *quisquam unus*, ii. 9; *nemo unus*, Chap. 14.

⁴ See p. 131,

note 2. ⁵ *Momentum*, (movimentum,) the weight which acts upon the tongue of a balance; any thing which exerts preponderating influence.

⁶ See p. 119, note 3.

⁷ See p. 6, note 2.

⁸ *Sed, &c.* But some avoided listening to his entreaties, either through respect or fear; (respect making them disinclined to throw themselves into a situation where they should be obliged to reject the wishes of one whom they valued highly,—fear, to expose themselves to the resentment of one so powerful); others, complaining that they and their friends had been roughly handled by him, indicated, by their surly answers, their verdict at the approaching trial.

⁹ According to

Dionysius, Volscius was tribune this year.

‘quàm pestilentia in urbe fuerat’¹, in juventutem, grassantem
 ‘in Suburâ, incidisse. Ibi rixam natam esse, fratremque suum
 ‘majorem natu, necdum ex morbo satis validum, pugno ictum
 ‘ab Kaesone cecidisse semianimem. Inter manus domum
 ‘ablatum, mortuumque inde arbitrari, nec sibi rem exsequi
 ‘tam atrocem per consules superiorum annorum licuisse.’
 Haec Volscio clamitante, aded concitati homines sunt, ut haud
 multum abfuerit, quin impetu populi Kaeso interiret. Vir-
 ginus arripi jubet hominem, et in vincula duci. Patricii con-
 trâ vi resistunt. T. Quinctius clamat, ‘Cui rei capitalis
 ‘dies dicta sit, et de quo futurum prope diem iudicium, eum
 ‘indemnatum indictâ causâ non debere violari.’ Tribunus
 ‘supplicium’ negat ‘sumpturum se de indemnato; servatu-
 ‘rum tamen in vinculis esse ad iudicii diem; ut, qui homi-
 ‘nem necaverit, de eo supplicii sumendi copia populo Ro-
 ‘mano fiat.’ Appellati tribuni medio decreto jus auxilii sui
 expediunt: in vincula conjici vetant: sisti reum, pecuniam-
 que, nisi sistatur, populo promitti, placere pronunciant².
 Summam pecuniae quantam aequum esset promitti, venie-
 bat in dubium: id ad senatum rejicitur. Reus, dum con-
 sulerentur Patres, retentus in publico³ est. Vades dare pla-
 cuit. Unum vadem tribus millibus aeris⁴ obligârunt. Quot
 darentur, permissum tribunis est. Decem finiêrunt. Tot
 vadibus accusator vadatus est reum⁵. Hic primus vades
 publicos dedit. Dimissus e foro nocte proximâ in Tuscos in
 exsilium abiit. Iudicii die quum excusaretur ‘solum vertisse
 ‘exsilii causâ,’ nihilo minùs Virginio comitia habente, col-
 legae appellati dimisere concilium: pecunia a patre exacta
 crudeliter, ut, divenditis omnibus bonis, aliquamdiu trans Ti-
 berim, veluti relegatus, devio quodam tugurio viveret.

XIV. Hoc iudicium et promulgata lex exercuit civitatem:

¹ *Fuisset?* See p. 106, note 1. ² *Appellati, &c.* The tribunes, when appealed to, free from all objections their right to assist the accused, by a decree between the two extremes; they order him not to be thrown into prison; they declare it to be their pleasure, that the defendant be made to appear at the trial, and a sum of money to be assured to the people, if he do not appear. ³ *Publico, sc. foro.* Below we have *dimissus e foro*. ⁴ £.9 : 13 : 9. ⁵ According to Festus, *vas* comes from *vado*. Vades ideo dicti, quod qui eos dederit, *vadendi*, id est, discedendi, habet potestatem. *Vadari reum*, to bind the defendant by bail: the converse action of the defendant was termed, *vades dare*, or *vadimonium promittere*.

ab externis armis otium fuit. Quum, velut victores, tribuni, percussis Patribus Kaesonis exailio, prope perlata esse crederent legem, et, quod ad seniores Patrum pertineret, cessissent possessione reipublicae; juniores, id maximè quod Kaesonis sodalium fuit, auxere iras in plebem, non minuerunt animos. Sed ibi plurimum profectum est, quòd modo quodam temperavere impetus suos. Quum primò post Kaesonis exailium lex coepta ferri est¹, instructi paratique cum ingenti clientiam exercitu sic tribunos, ubi primùm submoventes praebuere causam, adorti sunt, ut nemo unus inde praecipuum quicquam gloriae domum invidiae ferret; 'mille pro uno Kaesones exstitisse,' plebes quereretur. Mediis diebus, quibus tribuni de lege non agerent, nihil eisdem illis placidius aut quietius erat. Benignè salutare, alloqui plebis homines, domum invitare, adesse in foro, tribunos ipsos cetera pati sine interpellatione concilia habere: nunquam ulli, neque publicè, neque privatim, truces esse, nisi quum de lege agi coeptum esset¹. Alibi popularis juvenus erat. Nec cetera modò tribuni tranquillò peregere; sed refectione² quòque in insequentem annum. Ne voce quidem incommodà, nedum ut ulla vis fieret, paulatim permulcendo tractandoque mansuefecerant plebem. His per totum annum artibus lex elusa est.

XV. Accipiant civitatem placidiorem consules C. u. c. Claudius, Appii filius, et P. Valerius Publicola. Nihil 294. novi novus annus attulerat. Legis ferendae aut accipiendae cura civitatem tenebat. Quantum juniores Patrum plebi se magis insinuabant, eo acriùs contrà tribuni tendebant, ut plebi suspectos eos criminando facerent. 'Conjuracionem factam, Kaesonem Romae esse: interficiendorum tribunorum, trucidandae plebis consilia inita. Id negotii datum ab senioribus Patrum, ut juvenus tribuniciam potestatem e republica tolleret, formaque eadem civitatis esset, quae ante Sacrum montem occupatum fuerat³.' Et ab Volscis et Aequis statum jam ac prope solenne in singulos annos bellum timebatur: propiusque aliud novum malum, nec opinatò exortum. Exsules servique, ad quatuor millia hominum et quingenti, duce Ap. Herdonio Sabino, nocte Capitolium atque arcem occupavere. Confestim in arce facta caedes eorum, qui conjurare et simul capere arma noluerant. Alii inter tu-

¹ See p. 45, note 3.
See p. 106, note 1.

² See p. 135, note 3.

³ *Fuisset?*

multum praecipites pavore in forum devolant. Alternæ voces, 'Ad arma,' et 'Hostes in urbe sunt,' audiebantur. Consules et armare plebem, et inermem pati timebant. Incerti, quod malum repentinum, externum an intestinum¹, ab odio plebis, an ab servili fraude, urbem invasisset, sedabant tumultus, sedando interdum movebant. Nec enim poterat pāvīda et consternata multitudo regi imperio. Dant tamen arma, non vulgò; tantum ut, incerto hoste, praesidium satis fidum ad omnia esset. Solliciti reliquum noctis, incertique, qui homines, quantus numerus hostium esset, in stationibus disponendis ad opportuna omnis urbis loca, egere. Lux deinde aperuit bellum ducemque belli. Servos ad libertatem Ap. Herdonius ex Capitolio vocabat, 'Se miserrimi cujusque suscepisse causam, ut exsules injuriā pulsos in patriam re-duceret, et servitiis grave jugum demeret. Id malle populo Romano auctore fieri. Si ibi spes non sit, se Volscos, et Aequos, et omnia extrema tentaturum et concitaturum.'

XVI. Dilucere res magis Patribus atque consulibus. Praeter ea tamen, quae denunciabantur, ne Vejentium, neu Sabinorum id consilium esset, timere: et, quum tantum in urbe hostium esset, mox Sabinæ Etruscaeque legiones exposito adessent; tum aeterni hostes Volsci et Aequi, non ad populandos, ut antè, fines, sed ad urbem, ut ex parte captam, venirent. Multi et varii timores. Inter ceteros eminebat terror servilis, ne suus cuique domi hostis esset; cui nec credere, nec, non credendo, ne infestior fieret, fidem abrogare, satis erat tutum. Vixque concordia sisti videbatur posse. Tantum, superantibus aliis ac emergentibus malis, nemo tribunos aut plebem timebat. Mansuetum id malum, et per aliorum quietem malorum semper exoriens, tumque esse peregrino terrore sopitum videbatur. At id prope unum maximum inclinatis rebus incubuit². Tantus enim tribunos furor

¹ Note, that the Romans almost never repeat *an* in the two alternative clauses, but either omit the first *an*, or use *ultrum-an*, or *-ne -an*.

² *Cui*, &c. Whom it was neither safe to trust, nor by distrust to deprive entirely of confidence, lest this should increase his hate. And it seemed that the state could scarcely be secured, even by harmonious efforts. Only (*i. e.* the only circumstances which gave them any assurance of safety was, that) nobody feared the Tribunes or Plebeians while other calamities were overwhelming and rising up against the republic. - That source of calamity seemed (in similar circumstances to become) pacified, and always arising in the quiet interval of other

tenait, ut 'non bellum, sed vanam imaginem belli, ad avertendos ab legis curâ plebis animos, Capitolium inædisse' contenderent: 'patriciorum hospites clientesque, si perlata lege frustra tumultuatos esse se sentiant, majore, quàm vernerint, silentio abituros.' Concilium inde legi perferendae habere, avvocato populo ab armis. Senatum interim consules habent, alio se majore ab tribunis metu ostendente, quàm quem nocturnus hostis intulerat.

XVII. Postquam 'arma poni, et discedere homines ab stationibus' nunciatum est, P. Valerius, collegâ senatum retinente, se ex curiâ proripit, inde in templum ad tribunos venit: 'Quid hoc rei est,' inquit, 'tribuni? Ap. Herdonii ductû et auspicio rempublicam eversuri estis? Tam felix vobis corrumpendis fuit, qui servitia vestra non commovit auctor? Quum hostes supra caput sint, discedi ab armis, legesque ferri placet?' Inde ad multitudinem oratione versâ: 'Si vos urbis, Quirites, si vestri nulla cura tangit; at vos veremini Deos vestros, ab hostibus captos. Jupiter optimus maximus, Juno regina, et Minerva¹, alii Dii Deaque obidentur. Castra servorum publicos vestros penates² tenent. Haec vobis forma sanæ civitatis videtur? Tantum hostium non solùm intra muros est, sed in arce supra forum curiamque: comitia interim in foro sunt: senatus in curiâ est; velut quum otium superat, senator sententiam dicit: alii Quirites suffragium ineunt. Non quicquid Patrum plebisque est, consules, tribunos, Deos³, hominesque omnes armatos opem ferre, in Capitolium currere, liberare ac pacare

calamities, and at that time to have been lulled into inaction by the terrors of a foreign foe. But this, almost by its single weight, pressed most heavily upon the falling pillar of the state. In this somewhat intricate passage, Crevier destroys *non credendo*, as an unnecessary gloss: (for *sisti*, see p. 109, note 4). Many commentators join *tantum* to *superantibus*, in the sense of so much. Stroth points the sentence as we have done, connecting *tantum* with *timebat*: the same critic destroys *que* after *tum*.

¹ In the capitol there were temples erected to these three divinities. ² The *Penates* were either *publici*, that is, they were either gods worshipped by the state, and its supposed protectors, or *privati*, gods standing in the same relation to private families. ³ Gronovius, in order to preserve the anti-climax, reads *cives*. For this there seems to be no necessity, as, immediately after, Valerius invokes one of the gods, Romulus.

‘augustissimam illam domum Jovis optimi maximi decuit ¹ ?
 ‘Romule pater, tu mentem tuam, quâ quondam arcem, ab
 ‘his iisdem Sabinis auro captam, recepisti ², da stirpi tuæ.
 ‘Jube hanc ingredi viam, quam tu dux, quam tuus ingressus
 ‘exercitus est. Primus, en, ego consul, quantum mortalis
 ‘Deum possum, te, ac tua vestigia sequar.’ Ultimam ora-
 tionis fuit, ‘Se arma capere, vocare omnes Quirites ad ar-
 ‘ma. Si quis impediât, jam se consularis imperii, jam
 ‘tribunicia potestatis sacratarumque legum oblitum, quis-
 ‘quis ille sit, ubicunque sit, in Capitolio, in foro, pro hoste
 ‘habiturum. Juberent ³ tribuni, quoniam in Ap. Herdo-
 ‘nium vetarent, in P. Valerium consulem sumi arma. Au-
 ‘surum se in tribunis, quod princeps familiae suae ⁴ ausus in
 ‘regibus esset.’ Vim ultimam apparebat futuram, specta-
 culoque seditionem Romanam hostibus fore. Nec lex tamen
 ferri, nec ire in Capitolium consul potuit. Nox certamina
 coepta oppressit: tribuni cessere nocti, timentes consulum
 arma. Amotis inde seditionis auctoribus, Patres circumire
 plebem, inferentesque se in circulos, sermones temporis aptos
 serere: admonere, ‘Ut viderent, in quod discrimen rempub-
 ‘licam adducerent. Non inter Patres ac plebem certamen
 ‘esse, sed simul Patres plebemque, arcem urbis, templa Deo-
 ‘rum, penates publicos privatosque hostibus dedi.’ Dum
 haec in foro sedandae discordiae causâ aguntur, consules in-
 terim, ne Sabini, ne Vejens hostis moveretur, circa portas
 murosque discesserant.

XVIII. Eâdem nocte et Tusculum de arce captâ, Capito-
 lioque occupato, et alio turbatae urbis statu nuncii veniunt.
 L. Mamilius Tusculi tum dictator erat. Is, confestim con-
 vocato senatu, atque introductis nunciis, magno opere censet,
 ‘Ne expectent, dum ab Româ legati, auxilium petentes, ve-
 ‘niant: periculum ipsum discrimenque, ac sociales Deos,

¹ See p. 38, end of note 1, the construction of *decet* being similar to that of *oportet*. ² See I. 11, 12. ³ By one of those transitions so common to Livy and all historical writers, the tense is changed from the historical past, (see p. 10, note 1.) to the grammatical past. The reader will find no difficulty in understanding this seeming inconsistency, if he remember, that in all cases a historian using the present for the purpose of adding to the effect of his narration, is speaking, in reality, of past time, and consequently may, with perfect propriety, pass from the one to the other. See also p. 119, note 3. ⁴ His father, P. Valerius Publicola.

'fidemque foederum id poscere. Demerendi beneficio tam 'potentem, tam propinquam civitatem, nunquam parem occasionem daturus Deos.' Placet ferri auxilium; juvenus conscribitur, arma dantur. Romam primâ luce venientes, procul speciem hostium praebuere. Aequi aut Volsci venire visi sunt. Deinde, ubi vanus terror abiit, accepti in urbem, agmine in forum descendunt. Ibi jam P. Valerius, relicto ad portarum praesidia collegâ, instruebat aciem. Auctoritas viri moverat, affirmantis, 'Capitolio recuperato, et urbe pacatâ, si edoceri se sissent¹, quae fraus a tribunis occulta in lege ferretur, memorem se majorum suorum, memorem cognominis, quoddam populi colendi² velut hereditaria cura sibi a majoribus tradita esset, concilium plebis non impediturum.' Hunc ducem secuti, nequicquam reclamantibus tribunis, in clivum Capitolinum erigunt aciem³. Adjungitur et Tusculana legio. Certare socii civesque, utri recuperatae arcis suum decus facerent. Dux uterque suos adhortatur. Trepidare tum hostes; nec ulli satis rei, praeterquam loco, fidere. Trepidantibus inferunt signa Romani sociique. Jam in vestibulum perruperant templi, quum P. Valerius, inter primores pugnam ciens, interficitur. P. Volumnus consularis vidit cadentem. Is, dato negotio suis, ut corpus obtegerent, ipse in locum vicemque consulis provolat. Prae ardore impetuque tantae rei sensus non pervenit ad militem: prius vicit, quam se pugnare sine duce sentiret. Multi exsulum caede suâ foedavere templum; multi vivi capti; Herdonius interfec-tus. Ita Capitolium recuperatum. De captivis, ut quisque liber aut servus esset, suae fortunae a quoque sumptum supplicium est⁴. Tusculanis gratiae actae: Capitolium purga-

¹ *Sissent*; for *sivissent*. *Se* is used here, as applied to the *people*, in a clause immediately after, as applied to *Valerius*. Instances similar to this are by no means rare. All ambiguity is removed by observing this rule: When the accusative before the infinitive refers to the same person as the nominative to the governing verb, *se* and *suus* are used. In similar circumstances the Greeks omit the accusative altogether. Here the rule is easily applied, *si sissent se (sinentes) edoceri*; affirmantis *se affirmantem* memorem. ² The cognomen, being *Publicola*. See II. Chap. 8. ³ See p. 31, note 1. ⁴ For the notion conveyed by *sumere supplicium ab aliquo*, see p. 25, note 1. The meaning of the clause *suae*, &c. is, each man suffered the punishment suited to his condition. Dionysius tells us that the free men were beheaded, and the slaves crucified.

tum atque lustratum. In consulis domum plebes quadrantibus, ut funere ampliore efferretur, jactâsse fertur¹.

XIX. Pace partâ, instare tum tribuni Patribus, 'ut P. Valerii fidem exsolverent:' instare Claudio, 'ut collegae Deos manes fraude liberaret, agi de lege sineret.' Consul, 'antequam collegam sibi subrogâset,' negare, 'passurum agi de lege.' Hae tenuere² contentiones usque ad comitia consulis subrogandi. Decembri mense³, summo Patrum studio, L. Quinctius Cincinnatus, pater Kaesonis, consul creatur, qui magistratum statim occiperet. Percussa erat plebes, consulem habitura iratum, potentem favore Patrum, virtute suâ, tribus liberis, quorum nemo Kaesoni cedebat magnitudine animi; consilium et modum adhibendo, ubi res posceret, priores erant. Is, ut magistratum iniit, assiduis concionibus pro tribunali, non in plebe coërcendâ, quàm senatu castigando, vehementior fuit: 'cujus ordinis languore perpetui jam tribuni plebis, non ut in republicâ populi Romani, sed ut in perditâ domo, linguâ criminibusque regnarent. Cum Kaesone filio suo virtutem, constantiam, omnia juventutis belli domique decora pulsa ex urbe Romanâ et fugata esse. Loquaces, seditiosos, semina discordiarum, iterum ac tertium tribunos pessimis artibus regiâ licentiâ vivere. A.' inquit, 'ille Virginus⁴, quia in Capitolio non fuit, minus supplicii, quàm Ap. Herdonius, meruit? plus hercule aliquanto⁵, qui vere rem aestimare velit. Herdonius, si nihil aliud, hostem se fatendo prope denunciavit; ut arma caperetis: hic, negando bella esse, arma vobis ademit, nudosque servis vestris et exsulibus objecit. Et vos (C. Claudii pace, et P. Valerii mortui loquar) prius in clivum Capitolinum signa intulistis, quàm hos hostes de foro tolleretis? Pudet Deorum hominumque. Quum hostes in arce, in Capitolio essent, exsulum et servorum dux, profanatis omnibus, in cellâ Jovis optimi maximi habitaret, Tusculi antè, quàm Romae, sumpta sunt arma. In dubio fuit, utrùm L. Mamilius Tusculanus dux, an P. Valerius et C. Claudius consules Romanam

¹ 43 years before his father was buried at the public expense; II. 16. Plutarch mentions that his family obtained a burial-place in the city as a gift from the state. ² See p. 74, note 1. ³ The ordinary time for the consuls to assume office was on the 1st of September. See Chap. 6. ⁴ The tribune, who had fixed a day for the trial of Kaeso. See Chap. 11. ⁵ Supply *respondebit aliquis*.

'*arcem liberarent : et qui antè Latinos, ne pro se quidem
 ' ipsis, quum in finibus hostem haberent, attingere arma pas-
 ' si sumus ; nunc, nisi Latini suâ sponte arma sumpsis-
 ' senti et deleti eramus*¹. Hoc est, tribuni, auxilium plebi

¹ *Nunc, &c.* We had now been captured and destroyed, if the Latins had not taken up arms of their own accord. It will be observed, that both the Latin and the English idioms employ the indicative, (*capti et deleti eramus, we had been taken and destroyed,*) with a force equivalent to the subjunctive, (*capti et deleti essemus, we should have been taken and destroyed.*) For this the philosophy of grammar must furnish us with some reason ; for, in the words of Dr Hunter, ' Can it ' for a moment be supposed, that an enlightened people, provided with ' two forms of the verb for the expression of two different and dis- ' tinct conceptions, should reject the form appropriate to one of them, ' and employ, in preference, the other form, which did not correctly ' and adequately express the conception ? ' The admirable strictures of the writer now quoted, on the moods and tenses of the Greek and Latin verb, furnish us with a key to the difficulty. The conclusion to which we come is, that in all passages similar to the one which we shall now attempt to explain, *the indicative contains the idea involved in the subjunctive, with the additional force which a positive assertion has over a hypothetical one.* Considering the flexions of the verbs in Greek and Latin, as either auxiliary verbs, or similar to our auxiliary verbs, and that the English auxiliaries, *may, can, do, &c.*, being all verbs in the indicative mood, when combined with a noun or subject, *express an assertion*, Dr Hunter concludes, that the tenses of the Latin potential or subjunctive, as well as the subjunctive and optative of the Greek verb, which involve these auxiliaries, and are literally rendered into English by means of them, also *express an assertion*, or, in other words, are also indicative. It follows, that as the English auxiliaries are all of the *present* tense, each of them having a correspondent form appropriated to *past* time, the flexions of the learned languages, which involve those auxiliaries, should also be either of the *present* or of the *past* tense. The following is a table of the tenses, arranged according to this view, modified somewhat to suit the passage at present under discussion :

<i>Present.</i>		<i>Past corresponding.</i>	
Indic.	Pres. CAPIOR,	CAPIEBAR,	Indic. Imperf.
	Per. CAPTUS SUM,	CAPTUS ERAM,	Pluperf.
	Fut. CAPIAR,	CAPERER,	Subj. Imperf.
	Fut. P. CAPTUS ERO,	CAPTUS ESSEM,	Pluperf.
Subj.	Pres. CAPIAR,	CAPERER,	Imperf.
	Perf. CAPTUS SIM,	CAPTUS ESSEM,	Pluperf.

Thus *capior* signifies my capture is going on now, *capiebar*, my capture.

‘ferre, inermem eam hosti trucidandam objicere? Scilicet, si
 ‘quis vobis humillimus homo de vestrâ plebe (quam partem,

was going on at a past time: *captus sum*, my capture is over now, *captus eram*, my capture was over at a past time: *captus sim*, the contingency of my capture is over now, *captus essem*, the contingency of my capture was over at a past time. Without entering further into the illustration of this doctrine, for which the reader is referred to Dr Hunter's Appendix to his edition of Ruddiman's Rudiments, we may now apply it to the present passage. It contains two hypothetical statements, the one a failure of the Latins to take up arms, and the other the capture and destruction of the Romans, the one being dependent on the other. Disregarding the negative, and the hypothetical nature of the sentence, as well as altering the tense, we shall be enabled to see the nature of the passage more clearly.

Latini sumunt arma, } The taking up of arms by the Latins is going
 vel sumpserunt, } on now, or—is over now.

Si (sit)

Grant that, it follows that

Capimur et delemur, vel } Our capture and destruction is going on
Capti et deleti sumus, } now, or—is over now.

Give the sentence at once its hypothetical form, and we have

Si Latini sumant arma, } On the contingency that the taking up of
 vel sumpserint, } arms is going on now, or—is over now ;

Capiemur et delebimur, vel } Our capture and destruction is future
Capti et deleti erimus, } now, or—The futurity of our capture
 and destruction is over now.

This last form leads directly to the form, *capti et deleti sumus* ; for if the futurity is over now, the event is decided ; and in strong language, by the mental destruction of the hypothesis, we may say our capture and destruction is already over. In the same way,

Latini sumebant arma, } The taking up of arms was going on at a
 vel sumpserant, } past time, or—over at a past time.

Si

Grant that, it follows that

Capiebamur et delebamur, vel } Our capture and destruction was go-
Capti et deleti eramus, } ing on at a past time, or—over at
 a past time.

Give the sentence at once its hypothetical form, and we have

Si Latini sumerent arma, } On the contingency that the taking up of
 vel sumpsissent, } arms was going on at a past time, or—
 was over at a past time ;

Caperemur et deleremur, vel } Our capture and destruction were
Capti et deleti essemus, } contingent at a past time, or—The
 contingency of our capture and de-
 struction was over at a past time.

As before, this last form leads directly to the form in the text, *capti et deleti eramus* ; for if the contingency of our capture and destruction was over at the time when, hypothetically, the taking of arms was over, i. e. at a past time, in strong language we may say, that not only

'velat abruptam a cetero populo, vestram patriam peculia-remque rempublicam fecistis) si quis ex his domum suam obsessam a familiâ armatâ nunciaret, ferendum auxilium putaretis. Jupiter optimus maximus, exulum atque servorum septus armis, nullâ humanâ ope dignus erat? et hi postulant, ut sacrosancti habeantur, quibus ipsi Dii neque sacri, neque sancti sunt¹? At enim, divinis humanisque obruti sceleribus, legem vos hoc anno perlaturos dictitatis? Tum hercule illo die, quo ego consul sum creatus, malè gesta respublica est, pejùs multo, quàm quum P. Valerius consul periit, si tuleritis. Jam primam omnium,' inquit, Quirites, in Volscos et Aequos mihi atque collegae legiones ducere in animo est. Nescio quo fato magis bellantes, quàm pacati, propitios habemus² Deos. Quantum periculum ab illis populis fuerit, si Capitolium ab exsulibus obsessum scissent, suspicari de praeterito, quàm re ipsâ experiri, est melius.'

XX. Moverat plebem oratio consulis: erecti Patres restitutam credebant rempublicam: consul alter, comes animosior, quàm auctor, suscepisse collegam priorem actionem tam gravis rei facile passus, in peragendis consularis officii partem ad se vindicabat³. Tum tribuni, eludentes velut vana dicta, persequi quaerendo, 'quonam modo exercitum educturi consules essent, quos delectum habere nemo passurus esset? Nobis verò,' inquit Quinctius, 'nihil delectu opus est; quum, quo tempore P. Valerius ad recipiendum Capitolium arma

the contingency of the events was over, but the events themselves were over at a past time. If the length of this note demands an apology, it may be found, in the importance of such discussions to prevent looseness of reasoning on grammatical subjects, the novelty and truth of Dr Hunter's views, and the frequency of similar passages in the classics.

¹ *Sacri*, worthy of divine worship; *sancti*, inviolable. ² *Quo*, as an indefinite, would require the subjunctive; but in such expressions, it has no influence on the verb. The leading assertion is contained in the verb following *nescio*, not in *nescio* itself. Thus the sentence here is not, I do not know by what fate it is that we have, but, we have, I do not know by what fate. ³ According to Gronovius, In the discharge of the general duties of a consul, claimed a share to himself.

According to others, and more probably as a contrast to *priorem*. In carrying through the measures of his colleague, claimed to himself a share in the exercise of the consular duties. Sigonius suggests, *in peragendis consiliis, consularis officii partem*.

'plebi dedit¹, omnes in verba juraverint, conventuros se jussu consulis, nec injussu abituros². Edicimus itaque, omnes, qui in verba jurastis, crastinâ die armati ad lacum Regillum aditis.' Cavillari tum tribuni, et populum exsolvere religione velle: 'privatum eo tempore Quinctium fuisse, quum sacramento adacti sint.' Sed nondum haec, quae nunc tenet saeculum, negligentia deum venerat: nec interpretando sibi quisque jussurandum et leges aptas faciebat, sed suos potius mores ad ea accommodabat. Igitur tribuni, ut impediendae rei nulla spes erat, de proferendo exercitu³ agere; eo magis, quod, 'et augures jussos adesse ad Regillum lacum,' fama exierat, 'locumque inaugurari, ubi auspicio cum populo agi posset; ut, quicquid Romae vi tribunicia rogatum esset, id comitiis ibi abrogaretur. Omnes id jussuros, quod consules vellent. Neque enim provocationem esse longius ab urbe mille passuum: et tribunos, si eò adveniant, in aliâ turbâ Quiritium subjectos fore consulari imperio.' Terrebant haec: sed ille maximus terror animos agitabat, quod saepius Quinctius dictitabat, 'Se consulum comitia non habiturum. Non ita civitatem aegram esse, ut consuetis remediis sisti possit. Dictatore opus esse reipublicae, ut, qui se moverit ad sollicitandum statum civitatis, sentiat, sine provocatione dictaturam esse.'

XXI. Senatus in Capitolio erat. Eò tribuni cum perturbata plebe veniunt. Multitudo clamore ingenti, nunc consulum, nunc Patrum, fidem implorant. Nec antè moverunt de sententia consulem, quam tribuni, 'se in auctoritate Patrum futuros esse⁴,' polliciti sunt. Tunc, referente consule de tribunorum et plebis postulatis, senatus consulta fiunt: 'Neque tribuni legem eo anno ferrent, neque consules ab urbe exercitum educerent. In reliquum magistratus continuari, et eosdem tribunos refici, judicare senatum contra rempublicam esse.' Consules fuere in Patrum potestate⁵:

¹ See Chap. 18. ² See p. 105, note 1. ³ *Proferre exercitum*, explained by Doëring, as here meaning, to lead the army forward past the lake Regillus; by Ruperti, to put off the departure of the army. Gronovius conjectures *perterrendo*, Perizonius, *exercitus exitu*, and Duker, *de proferenda cum exercitu*. Of the explanations, Ruperti's seems to be preferable; of the conjectures, Duker's.

⁴ *Se, &c.* that they would submit to the decision of the Senators. ⁵ *Consules, &c.* The consuls submitted to the authoritative will of the Senate.

tribuni, reclamantibus consulibus, refectioni. Patres quodque, ne quid cederent plebi, et ipsi L. Quinctium consulem reficiebant¹. Nulla toto anno vehementior actio consulis fuit. 'Mirer,' inquit, 'si vana vestra, Patres conscripti, auctoritas ad plebem est? Vos elevatis² eam. Quippe, quia plebs senatusconsultum in continuandis magistratibus solvit, ipsi quodque solutum vultis, ne temeritati multitudinis cedatis: tanquam id sit plus posse in civitate, plus levitatis ac licentiae habere. Levius enim vaniusque profectò est, sua decreta et consulta tollere, quàm aliorum. Imitamini, Patres conscripti, turbam inconsultam: et, qui exemplo aliis esse debetis, aliorum exemplo peccetis potius, quàm alii vestro rectè faciant; dum ego ne imiter tribunos, nec me contra senatusconsultum consulem renunciari patiar. Te verò C. Claudii, adhortor, ut et ipse populum Romanum hâc licentiâ arceas: et de me hoc tibi persuadeas, me ita accepturum, ut non honorem meum a te impeditum, sed gloriam sprete honoris auctam, invidiamque, quae ex continuato eo impenderet, levatam putem.' Communiter inde edicunt, 'Ne quis L. Quinctium consulem faceret. Si quis fecisset, se id suffragium non observaturos.'

XXII. Consules creati Q. Fabius Vibulanus tertium u. c. et L. Cornelius Maluginensis. Census actus eo anno. 295. Lustrum, propter Capitolium captum, consulem occisum, condi religiosum fuit³. Q. Fabio, L. Cornelio consulibus, principio anni statim res turbulentae. Instigabant plebem tribuni. Bellum ingens a Volscis et Aequis. Latini atque Hernici nunciabant; 'jam Antii Volscorum legiones esse:' et ipsam coloniam ingens metus erat defecturam. Aegreque impetratum a tribunis, ut bellum praeverti sine- rent. Consules inde partiti provincias. Fabio, ut Antium legiones duceret, datum: Cornelio, ut Romae praesidio esset; ne qua pars hostium, qui Aequis mos erat, ad populandum

¹ *Reficiebant*, were re-electing.

² *Elevare*, levem facere.

³ *Eo anno* must refer to the natural, not the consular year, as, in the 24th Chapter, we find that at the conclusion of the *census* the lustrum was closed. The census, then, was begun in this year, and the closing of it left to the next, under the same consuls. The passage has misled Ruperti, who, referring to Chap. 15 and 18, thinks that the census was begun and interrupted a year earlier. For *condere lustrum*, see p. 51, note 2: for *religiosum*, p. 75, note 1.

veniret. Hernici et Latini jussi milites dare ex foedere : duaeque partes ¹ sociorum in exercitu, tertia civium fuit. Postquam ad diem praestitutum venerunt socii, consul extra portam Capenam castra locat. Inde, lustrato exercitu, Antium profectus, haud procul oppido stativisque hostium consedit. Ubi quum Volsci, 'quia nondum ab Aequis venisset 'exercitus,' dimicare non ausi, quemadmodum quieti vallo se tutarentur, pararent; postero die Fabius, non permixtam unam sociorum civiumque, sed trium populorum tres separatim acies circa vallum hostium instruxit. Ipse erat medius cum legionibus Romanis. Inde signum observare jussit, ut pariter et socii rem inciperent, referrentque pedem, si receptui cecinisset. Equites item suae cuique parti post principia collocat ². Ita trifariam adortus castra, circumvenit; et, quum undique instaret, non sustinentes impetum Volscos vallo deturbat. Transgressus inde munitiones, pavidam turbam, inclinatamque in partem unam, castris expellit. Inde effusè fugientes eques, cui superare vallum haud facile fuerat, quum ad id spectator pugnae adstitisset, libero campo adeptus, parte victoriae fruitur territos caedendo. Magna et in castris et extra munimenta caedes fugientium fuit: sed praeda major, quia vix arma secum efferre hostis potuit; deletusque exercitus foret, ni fugientes silvae texissent.

XXIII. Dum ad Antium haec geruntur, interim Aequi, robore juventutis praemisso, arcem Tusculanam improvise nocte capiunt; reliquo exercitu haud procul moenibus Tusculi considunt, ut distenderent hostium copias. Haec celoriter Romam, ab Roma in castra Antium perlata, movent Romanos haud secus, quam si Capitolium captum nunciaretur; adeò et recens erat Tusculanorum meritum, et similitudo ipsa periculi reposcere datum auxilium videbatur. Fabius, omissis omnibus, praedam ex castris raptam Antium convehit. Ibi modico praesidio relicto, citatum agmen Tusculum rapit. Nihil praeter arma, et quod cocti ad manum fuit cibi, ferre militi licuit. Commeatum ab Româ consul Cornelius subvehit. Aliquot menses Tusculi bellatum. Parte exercitûs

¹ See p. 115, note 4. ² *Equites*, &c. Collocat item post principia equites parti suae cuique. He stations also behind the front ranks, the cavalry for the support of division, which each man was instructed to regard as assigned to himself. Gronovius reads *sua*, referring to *principia*; Sabellicus, *quemque*.

consul castra Aequorum oppugnabat : partem Tusculanis dederat ad arcem recuperandam. Vi nunquam eò subiri potuit. Fames postremo inde detraxit hostem ¹. Quò postquam ventum ad extremum est, inermes nudique omnes sub jugum ² ab Tusculanis missi. Hos, ignominiosâ fugâ domum se recipientes, Romanus consul, in Algidio consecutus, ad unum omnes occidit. Victor ad Columen (id loco nomen est) exercitu relicto castra locat. Et alter consul, postquam moenibus jam Romanis, pulso hoste, periculum esse desierat, et ipse ab Roma profectus. Ita bifariam consules ingressi hostium fines, ingenti certamine hinc Volscos, hinc Aequos, populantur. Eodem anno 'descisse Antiates,' apud plerosque actores invenio. L. Cornelium consulem id bellum gessisse, oppidumque cepisse, certum affirmare, quia nulla apud vetustiores scriptores ejus rei mentio est, non ausim.

XXIV. Hoc bello perfecto, tribunicium domi bellum Patres territat. Clamant 'fraude fieri, quod foris teneatur exercitus: frustrationem eam legis tollendae esse: se nihilo minus rem susceptam peracturos.' Obtinuit tamen P. Lucretius, praefectus urbis, ut actiones tribuniciae in adventum consulum differrentur. Erat et nova exorta causa motûs. A. Cornelius et Q. Servilius quaestores M. Volscio, 'quod falsus haud dubie testis in Kaesonem extitisset,' diem dixerant. Multis enim emanabat indiciis, 'neque fratrem Volscii, ex quo semel fuerit aeger, unquam non modo visum in publico, sed ne assurrexisse quidem ex morbo, multorumque tabe mensium mortuum: nec his temporibus, in quae testis crimen conjecisset, Kaesonem Romae visum:' affirmantibus, qui unâ mernerant, 'secum eum tum frequentem ad signa sine ullo commeatu fuisse.' Ni ita esset, multi privatim ferebant Volscio iudices ³. Quum ad iudicium ire non

¹ Vi, &c. An entrance to the citadel could never have been effected by force: hunger at last dislodged the enemy from it. ² Jugum, the yoke, is thus described by Livy in the 28th Chapter: Tribus hastis jugum fit, humi fixis duabus, superque eas transversâ unâ deligatâ. ³ Affirmantibus, &c. Whilst those who had served along with him averred, that during the time in question Kaeso had been regularly at his post along with them, without any leave of absence. Many individuals in private stations proposed to Volscius judges, to decide if it were not so, (ni, si non). Privatim is here opposed to Quaestores in the former part of the chapter. In a private suit it was customary for the plaintiff to propose certain persons, (ferre iudices,) for

auderet, omnes eae res, in unum congruentes, haud magis dubiam damnationem Volscii, quàm Kaesonis Volscio teste fuerat, faciebant. In morâ tribuni erant, qui 'comitia quae-stores habere de reo, nisi priùs habita de lege essent, pas-suros' negabant. Ita extracta utraque res in consulum ad-ventum est. Qui ubi triumphantes victore cum exercitu ur-bem inierunt, quia silentium de lege erat, perculosos magna pars credebant tribunos. At illi (etenim extremum anni jam erat) quantum affectantes tribunatum, in comitiorum discep-tationem ab lege certamen averterant; et, quum consules ni-hilo minùs adversus continuationem tribunatûs, quàm si lex, minuendae suae majestatis causâ promulgata, ferretur, teten-dissent, victoria certaminis penes tribunos fuit. Eodem an-no Aequis pax est petentibus data. Census, res priore anno inchoata, perficitur¹; idque lustrum ab origine urbis decimum conditum. Fuerunt censa civium capita centum septemdecim millia trecenta novemdecim². Consulum magna domi belli-que eo anno gloria fuit: quod et foris pacem peperere, et domi, etsi non concors, minùs tamen, quàm aliàs, infesta ci-vitas fuit.

XXV. L. Minucius inde et C. Nautius consules facti u. c. 296. duas residuas anni prioris causas exceperunt. Eodem modo consules legem, tribuni iudicium de Volscio, im-pediebant: sed in quaestoribus novis major vis, major auctoritas erat. Cum M. Valerio, Valerii filio, Volesi nepote, quaestor erat T. Quinctius Capitolinus, qui ter Consul fuerat. Is, 'quo-niam neque Quinctiae familiae Kaeso, neque reipublicae maxi-mus juvenum, restitui posset³,' falsum testem, 'qui dicendae causae innoxio potestatem ademisset,' justo ac pio bello per-sequebatur. Quum Virginius maxime et tribuni 'de lege agerent, duûm mensium spatium consulibus datum est ad in-

the purpose of deciding the disputed point, (*ni ita esset.*) Sometimes the plaintiff desired the defendant to name the judges, (*ut iudices diceret.*) For the accusation against Kaeso, see Chapter 13.¹ See p. 171, note 3.

² According to Gronovius, *centum triginta duo millia quadringenta novem.*

³ Cicero expressly states that Kaeso was recalled. As we nowhere else find any mention of this circumstance, we must imâgine, with Father Catrou, that in Livy's opinion he had died.

⁴ *Virginius maxime et tribuni*, must mean, Vir-ginius especially as well as the other tribunes, as he was one of those who continued so long in office. See Chapter 11.

spiciendam legem : ut, quum edocuissent populum, quid fraudis occultae ferretur, sinerent deinde suffragium inire. Hoc intervalli datum res tranquillas in urbe fecit. Nec diuturnam quietem Aequi dederant : qui, rupto foedere, quod ictum erat priore anno cum Romanis, imperium ad Gracchum Cloelium deferunt. Is tum longè princeps in Aequis erat. Graccho duce in Lavicanum agrum, inde in Tusculanum, hostili populatione veniunt, plenique praedae in Algido castra locant. In ea castra Q. Fabius, P. Volturnius, A. Postumius, legati ab Roma, venerunt, questum injurias, et ex foedere res repetitum. Eos Aequorum imperator, 'quae mandata habeant ab senatu Romano, ad quercum' jubet 'dicere : se alia interim acturum.' Quercus ingens arbor praetorio imminebat, cujus umbrâ opaca sedes erat. Tum ex legatis unus abiens, 'et haec,' inquit, 'sacrata quercus, et quicquid deorum est, audiant foedus a vobis ruptum : nostrisque et nunc querelis adsint, et mox armis ; quum deorum hominumque simul violata jura exsequemur.' Romam ut redire legati, senatus jussit alterum consulem contra Gracchum in Algidam exercitum ducere : alteri populationem finium Aequorum provinciam dedit. Tribuni suo more impedire delectum. Et forsitan ad ultimum impedissent ; sed novus subito additus terror est.

XXVI. Vis Sabinorum ingens prope ad moenia urbis infestâ populatione venit. Foedati agri, terror injectus urbi est. Tum plebs benignè arma cepit. Reclamantibus frustra tribunis, magni duo exercitus scripti. Alterum Nautius contra Sabinos duxit : castrisque ad Eretum positis, per expeditiones parvas, plerumque nocturnis incursionibus, tantam vastitatem in Sabino agro reddidit, ut, comparati ad eam, prope intacti bello fines Romani viderentur. Minucio neque fortana nec vis animi eadem in gerendo negotio fuit. Nam, quum haud procul ab hoste castra posuisset, nullâ magnopere clade acceptâ, castris se pavidus tenebat. Quod ubi senserant hostes, crevit ex metu alieno ; ut fit, audacia : et, nocte adorti castra, postquam parum vis aperta profecerat, munitiones postero die circumdant. Quae priusquàm undique vallo objecto clauderent exitus, quinque equites, inter stationes hostium emissi, Romam pertulere, consulem exercitumque obsideri. Nihil nec tam inopinatum, nec tam inspera-

tum¹, accidere potuit. Itaque tantus pavor, tanta trepidatio fuit, quanta, si urbem, non castra, hostes obsiderent. Nautium consulem arcessunt. In quo quum parum praesidii videretur, dictatoremque dici placeret, qui rem perculsam restitueret, L. Quinctius Cincinnatus consensu omnium dicitur. Operae pretium est audire, qui² omnia prae divitiis humana spernunt, neque honori magno locum, neque virtuti, putant esse, nisi ubi effuse affluant opes. Spes unica imperii populi Romani, L. Quinctius, trans Tiberim, contra eum ipsum locum, ubi nunc navalia sunt, quatuor jugerum colebat agrum, quae prata Quinctia vocantur. Ibi ab legatis, seu fossam fodiens palae innisus, seu quum araret; operi certè, id quod constat, agresti intentus; salute datâ in vicem redditâque, rogatus, 'ut, quod bene verteret ipsi rei publicae, togatus mandata senatûs audiret,' admiratus, rogatusque, 'satin' 'salva essent omnia,' togam propere e tugurio proferre uxorem Raciliam jubet. Quâ simul, absterso pulvere ac sudore, velatus processit, dictatorem eum legati gratulantes consalutant: in urbem vocant: qui terror sit in exercitu, exponunt. Navis Quinctio publice parata fuit, transvectumque tres, obviam egressi, filii excipiunt; inde alii propinqui atque amici; tum Patrum major pars. Eâ frequentia stipatus, antecedentibus lictoribus, deductus est domum. Et plebis concursus ingens fuit: sed ea nequaquam tam laeta Quinctium vidit; et imperii nimium³, et virum in ipso imperio vehementiorem, rata. Et illâ quidem nocte nihil praeterquam vigilatum est in urbe⁴.

XXVII. Postero die dictator, quum ante lucem in forum venisset, magistrum equitum dicit L. Tarquitium, patriciae gentis, sed qui, quum stipendia pedibus propter paupertatem fecisset, bello tamen primus longè Romanae juventutis habitus esset. Cum magistro equitum in concionem venit, justitium⁵ edicit, claudi tabernas totâ urbe jubet, vetat quemquam privatae quicquam rei agere. Tum, 'quicumque aetate 'militari essent, armati, cum cibariis in dies quinque coctis 'vallis quae duodenis, ante solis occasum Martio in campo

¹ *Nihil nec.* A double negative, without its usual force of affirmation. *Insuperatum*, unexpected. *Spero*, used as the Greek *ἐλπίζω*, simply to expect.

² *Operae*, &c. Those (iis) would do well to listen to the following account, who, &c. ³ *Imperii nimium*, his power too great.

⁴ *Nihil -atum est praeter quam vigil-*. See p. 105, note 3. ⁵ See p. 147, note 2.

'adessent; quibus aetas ad militandum gravior esset, vicino 'militi, dum is arma pararet, vallumque peteret, cibaria co- 'quere' jussit. Sic juvenus discurrit ad vallum petendum. Sumpsere, unde cuique proximum fuit: prohibitus nemo est: impigreque omnes ad edictum dictatoris praesto fuere. Inde composito agmine, non itineri magis apti¹, quam proelio, si res ita tulisset, legiones ipse dictator, magister equitum suos equites ducit. In utroque agmine, quas tempus ipsum poscebat, adhortationes erant: 'adderent gradum, maturato opus 'esse, ut nocte ad hostem pervenire possent. Consulem ex- 'ercitumque Romanum obsideri. Tertium diem jam clausos 'esse: quid quaeque nox aut dies ferat, incertum esse: punc- 'to saepe temporis maximarum rerum momenta verti.' 'Ac- 'celera, signifer,' 'sequere, miles,' inter se quoque, gratifi- cantes ducibus, clamabant. Mediâ nocte in Algidum per- veniunt: et, ut sensere se jam prope hostes esse, signa con- stituunt.

XXVIII. Ibi dictator, quantum nocte prospici poterat, equo circumvectus, contemplatusque, qui tractus castrorum, quaeque forma esset, tribunis militum imperavit, ut sarcinas in unum conjici jubeant, militem cum armis valloque redire in ordines supe. Facta, quae imperavit. Tum, quo fuerant ordine in via, exercitum omnem longo agmine circumdat hos- tium castris, et, 'ubi signum datum sit, clamorem omnes tol- 'lere' jubet; 'clamore sublato, ante se quemque ducere fos- 'sam, et jacere vallum.' Edito imperio, signum secutum est. Jussa miles exsequitur, clamor hostes circumsonat. Superat inde castra hostium, et in castra consulis venit: alibi pavo- rem, alibi gaudium ingens, facit. Romani, 'civilem esse cla- 'morem, atque auxilium adesse,' inter se gratulantes, ultro ex stationibus ac vigiliis territant hostem. Consul differen- dum negat: 'Illo clamore non adventum modo significari, 'sed rem ab suis coeptam; mirumque esse, ni jam exteriore 'parte castra hostium oppugnentur. Itaque arma suos ca- 'pere, et se subsequi,' jubet. Nocte initum proelium est a legionibus: dictatore clamore significant, ab ea quoque parte rem in discrimine esse. Jam se ad prohibenda circumdari opera Aequi parabant, quum, ab interiore hoste proelio coop-

¹ *Apti* in the plural, referring to *dictator* and *magister*: *ducit* in the singular, agreeing, by a common construction, with the latter of the two nouns, to both of which it refers.

to, ne per media sua castra fieret eruptio, a munientibus ad pugnantes introrsum versi, vacuum noctem operi dedere¹; pugnatumque cum consule ad lucem est. Luce primâ jam circumvallati ab dictatore erant, et vix adversus unum exercitum pugnam sustinebant. Tum a Quinctiano exercitu, qui confestim a perfecto opere ad arma rediit, invaditur vallum. Hic instabat nova pugna: illa nihil remiserat prior². Tum, ancipiti malo urgente, a proelio ad preces versi, hinc dictatorem, hinc consulem orare, ne in occisione victoriam ponerent, ut inermes se inde abire sinerent. Ab consule ad dictatorem ire jussis ignominiam infensus addidit. Gracchum Cloelium ducem, principesque alios, vinctos ad se adduci jubet, oppido Corbione decedi; 'Sanguinis se Aequorum non egere: licere abire: sed, ut exprimatur tandem confessio, subactam domitamque esse gentem, sub jugum abituros.' Tribus hastis jugum fit, humi fixis duabus, superque eas transversâ unâ deligatâ. Sub hoc jugo dictator Aequos misit.

XXIX. Castris hostium receptis³, plenis omnium rerum, (nudos enim emiserat,) praedam omnem suo tantum militi dedit: consularem exercitum ipsumque consulem increpans, 'Carebis,' inquit, 'praedae parte, miles, ex eo hoste, cui prope praedae fuisti. Et tu, L. Minuci, donec consularem animum incipias habere, legatus his legionibus praeeris.' Ita se Minucius abdicat consulatu, jussusque ad exercitum manet. Sed adeo tum imperio meliori animus mansuete obediens erat, ut beneficii magis, quam ignominiae, hic exercitus memor, et coronam auream dictatori libram pondo⁴ decreverit, et proficiscentem eum patronum salutaverit. Romae a Q. Fabio, praefecto urbis, senatus habitus triumphantem Quinctium, quo veniebat agmine, urbem ingredi jussit. Ducti ante currum hostium duces: militaria signa praelata: secutus exercitus, praedâ onustus. Epulae instructae dicuntur fuisse ante omnium domos: epulantesque cum carmine triumphali et solennibus jocis, comissantium modo, currum secuti sunt. Eo die L. Mamilius Tusculano⁵, approbantibus cunctis, civitas data est. Confestim se dictator magistratu abdicasset,

¹ *Vacuum*, &c. enabled the dictator's party to work uninterruptedly all night. ² *Hic*, on the side where the dictator's army was posted; *illa prior pugna*, the former battle with the consul. ³ See

p. 74, note 2. ⁴ *Coronam habentem libram pondo* (pondere).

⁵ For the services of Mamilius, see beginning of Chapter 18.

ni comitia M. Volscii, falsi testis, tenuissent¹: ea ne impedirent tribuni, dictatoris obstitit metus. Volscius damnatus Lanuvium in exsilium abiit. Quintius sexto decimo die dictaturâ, in sex menses acceptâ, se abdicavit. Per eos dies consul Nautius ad Eretum cum Sabinis egregie pugnat. Ad vastatos agros ea quoque clades accessit Sabinis. Minucio Fabius Quintus successor in Algidum missus. Extremo anno agitatum de lege ab tribunis est; sed, quia duo exercitus aberant, ne quid ferretur ad populum, Patres tenuere. Plebes vicit, ut quintum eosdem tribunos crearent. 'Lupos visos in Capitolio ferunt a canibus fugatos; ob id prodigium lustratum Capitolium esse.' Haec eo anno gesta.

XXX. Sequuntur consules Q. Minucius C. Horatius Pulvillus. Cujus initio anni, quum foris otium esset, domi seditiones iidem tribuni, eadem lex faciebat. Ulteriusque ventum foret, (adeo exarserant animis,) ni, velut deditâ operâ, 'nocturno impetu Aequorum Corbione amissum 'praesidium' nunciatum esset. Senatum consules vocant. Jubentur subitarium scribere exercitum, atque in Algidum ducere. Inde, posito legis certamine, nova de delectu contentio orta. Vincebaturque consulare imperium tribunicio auxilio, quum alius additur terror: 'Sabinum exercitum praedatum descendisse in agros Romanos, inde ad urbem venire.' Is metus perpulit², ut scribi militem tribuni sinerent; non sine pactione tamen, 'ut, quoniam ipsi quinquentium elusi essent, parvumque id plebi praesidium foret, decem deinde tribuni plebis crearentur.' Expressit hoc necessitas Patribus. Id modo excepere, ne postea eosdem tribunos juberent. Tribunicia comitia (ne id quoque post bellum, ut cetera, vanum esset) extemplo habita. Tricesimo sexto³ anno a primis tribunis plebis, decem creati sunt, bini

¹ Here, *tenerē*, to hold in office, to withhold from resigning;—a few sentences below: to hold a purpose, to gain a point. ² The old

reading was *perculit*, and was changed by Gronovius on these grounds: *Percelli* est everti, subverti, affligi; *perpelli* est adigi, permoveri ad aliquid. *Percellere ut facias* juxta est ineptum ac si dicas, *affligere ut facias, prosternere ut facias*. *Perculit*, after all, seems to be the better reading, because it expresses more strongly the consternation of the tribunes. The sentence is not, *ut facerent*, but *ut sinerent*, with which *perculit* may be joined with perfect propriety. ³ According to the

chronology which we have followed throughout, (that of Glareanus,) we must, by a process not uncommon in Roman computation, add the

ex singulis classibus¹. Itaque² cautum est ut postea crearentur. Delectu deinde habito, Minucius, contra Sabinos profectus, non invenit hostem. Horatius, quum jam Aequi, Corbione interfecto praesidio, Ortonam etiam cepissent, in Algido pugnat: multos mortales occidit; fugat hostem non ex Algido modo, sed a Corbione Ortonaque. Corbionem etiam diruit propter proditum praesidium.

XXXI. Deinde M. Valerius Sp. Virginii consules u. c. facti. Domi forisque otium fuit. Annonâ propter 298. aquarum intemperiem³ laboratum est. De Aventino publicando⁴ lata lex est. Tribuni plebis iidem, refectione sequente anno, T. Romilio C. Veturio consulibus, legem u. c. omnibus concionibus suis celebrabant: 'Pudere se 299. 'numeri sui nequicquam aucti, si ea res aequae suo 'biennio jaceret, ac toto superiore lustro jacuisset.' Quum maxime haec agerent, trepidi nuncii ab Tusculo veniunt, Ae-

thirty-five years here mentioned, both to the year from which, and that to which, the period is reckoned. The first tribunes were appointed, according to Dionysius, u. c. 261. Hence, $261 + 35 + 1$, (that is, the first year of the additional tribunes) = 297. The reader will perceive, that in order to bring the Livian chronology to agree with the Dionysian, three years are supposed to have been omitted by Livy, one, u. c. 248, (II. 16.), two, 264, 265. (See p. 113, note 4.) Sigonius admits the former, but denies the latter, and adduces the passage now illustrated as a proof of Livy's consistency. He computes the creation of tribunes from u. c. 260, (and either year may be assigned from Livy's account, II. 33.): consequently, (by the common mode of reckoning time among the Romans,) $260 + 35 = 295$, the year in which, according to him, the new tribunes were added. Glareanus himself is puzzled with the discrepancy between the result of the computation according to the common mode of computing time, and his insertion of the two years, which he supposes to have been omitted; he therefore reads *octavo* instead of *sexto*, dating the erection of the tribuneship from 260. We have adopted the order of years drawn up by Glareanus, and sanctioned by all the more recent annotators; but the strict Livian chronology may easily be found, by subtracting three from every year after 266 inclusive. ¹ Excluding the lowest class, on account of its insignificance. ² *Itaque*, et ita. ³ *Intemperies*, a want of due tempering, as excessive heat or cold when applied to the atmosphere, excessive moisture or drought when applied to rain. Here probably excessive rains. ⁴ *De Aventino publicando*, about dividing the Aventine amongst the people. The law, according to Dionysius, was proposed by C. Icilius, and was not carried without great difficulty, being a compromise on the part of the Patricians, to get rid of any renewal of the discussions concerning the Agrarian law.

quos in agro Tusculano esse. Fecit pudorem recens ejus populi meritum morandi auxilii: ambo consules, cum exercitu missi, hostem in suâ sede in Algido inveniunt. Ibi pugnatum. Supra septem millia hostium caesa: alii fugati: praedam parta ingens. Eam propter inopiam aerarii consules vendiderunt. Invidiae tamen res ad exercitum fuit. Eademque tribunis materiam criminandi ad plebem consules prae-

buit¹. Itaque ergo, ut magistratu abiêre, Sp. Tarpeio,
 u. c. A. Aterio consulibus, dies dicta est Romilio ab C.
 300.

Claudio Cicerone, tribuno plebis; Veturio ab L. Alieno, aedile plebis. Uterque magnâ Patrum indignatione damnatus, Romilius decem millibus aeris, Veturius quindecim. Nec haec priorum calamitas consulum segniores novos fecerat consules: 'Et se damnari posse' aiebant: 'et plebem et tribunos legem ferre non posse.' Tum, abjectâ lege, quae promulgata consenuerat², tribuni leniùs agere cum Patribus. 'Finem tandem certaminum facerent. Si plebeiae leges displicerent, at illi communiter legum latores, et ex plebe, et ex Patribus, qui utrisque utilia ferrent, quaeque aequandae libertatis essent, sinerent creari.' Rem non aspernabantur Patres: 'datum leges neminem, nisi ex Patribus,' aiebant. Quum de legibus conveniret, de latore tantum discreparet; missi legati Athenas Sp. Postumius Albus, A. Manlius, P. Sulpicius Camerinus; jussique inclytas leges Solonis describere, et aliarum Graeciae civitatum instituta, mores, juraque noscere.

¹ Livy has been severely censured for omitting, in this account of the consulship of Romilius and Veturius, to narrate a revival of the disputes concerning the Agrarian law,—violence offered to the consuls,—fines imposed on three young Patricians for interrupting the Comitia,—an animated address of an old soldier Siccius Dentatus,—the extraordinary success of this veteran against the Aequi, in an attack treacherously assigned to him by the consul for the purpose of destroying him. These supposed faults of omission are easily accounted for by Hook's supposition that Livy did not believe the statements. In two points Livy is at express variance with Dionysius. The latter states that Siccius destroyed the booty found in the camp captured by him, to prevent the consuls from obtaining the honour of a triumph, and that, being elected tribune of the people, he was the accuser of Romilius.

² See p. 155, note 4.

XXXII. Ab externis bellis quietus annus fuit : *quietior insequens*, P. Curiatio et Sex. Quinctilio consilibus, perpetuo silentio tribunorum : quod primò legatorum, qui Athenas ierant, legumque peregrinarum expectatio prae-buit ; dein duo simul mala ingentia exorta, fames pestilentiaque, foeda homini, foeda pecori. Vastati agri sunt : urbs assiduè exhausta funeribus ; multae et clarae lugubres domus. Flamen Quirinalis Ser. Cornelius mortuus ; augur C. Horatius Pulvillus : in cuius locum C. Veturium eo cupidius, quia damnatus a plebe erat, augures legere. Mortuus consul Quinctilius, quatuor tribuni plebis. Multiplici clade foedatus annus. Ab hoste otium fuit. Inde consules

u. c. 301. C. Menenius, P. Sestius Capitolinus. Neque eo anno quicquam belli externi fuit. Domi motus orti. Jam redierant legati cum Atticis legibus. Eo intentius instabant tribuni, ut tandem scribendarum legum initium fieret. Placet creari decemviros sine provocatione, et ne quis eo anno alius magistratus esset. Admischerentur plebei, controversia aliquamdiu fuit. Postremò concessum Patribus, modò ne lex Icilia de Aventino¹, aliaeque sacrae leges abrogarentur.

XXXIII. Anno trecentesimo² altero, quàm condita Roma erat, iterum mutatur forma civitatis, ab consulibus ad decemviros, quemadmodum ab regibus antè ad consules venerat, translato imperio. Minùs insignis, quia non diuturna, mutatio fuit. Laeta enim principia magistratùs ejus nimis luxuriare. Eo citius lapsa res est, repetitumque, duobus uti mandaretur consulum nomen imperiumque. Decemviri creati Ap. Claudius, T. Genucius, P. Sestius, L. Veturius, C. Julius, A. Manlius, Ser. Sulpicius, P. Curiatius, T. Romilius, Sp. Postumius. Claudio et Genucio, quia designati consules in eum annum fuerant, pro honore

¹ See p. 180, note 4. ² This date is accompanied with some difficulties. Sigonius, Perizonius, with others, (and they seem to be borne out by classical usage,) understand *trecentesimo altero* to mean, the 301st, Glarean and his supporters the 302d year. The former will coincide with the chronology of Sigonius, who deducts two years from Glarean's chronology : the latter is reconciled with the views of its proposers, by supposing that Livy means the completion of the 302d year, beginning with the 303d. They overlook another defence. The change of government may be said to have begun in the year in which the creation of decemvirs was determined on, viz. the 302d.

honos redditus : et Sestio alteri consulum prioris anni, quòd eam rem collegâ invito ad Patres retulerat. His proximi habiti legati tres, qui Athenas ierant. Simul ut pro legatione tam longinquâ præmio esset honos : simul peritos legum peregrinarum ad condenda nova jura usui fore credebant. Supplevere ceteri numerum. Graves quòque ætate electos novissimis suffragiis ferunt, quo minùs ferociter aliorum scitis adversarentur¹. Regimen totius magistratûs penes Appium erat favore plebis. Adeòque novum sibi ingenium induerat, ut plebicola repentè omnisque auræ popularis captator evaderet, pro truci saevoque insectatore plebis. Decimo die jus populo singuli reddebant. Eo die penes præfectum juris fæces duodecim erant² : collegis novem singuli accensi apparebant. Et in unicâ concordia inter ipsos (qui consensus privatis interdum inutilis esset) summa adversus alios æquitas erat. Moderationis eorum argumentum exemplo unius rei notâsse, satis erit. Quum sine provocatione creati essent, defosso cadavere, domi apud P. Sestium, patriciæ gentis virum, invento, prolatoque in concionem, in re juxtâ manifestâ atque atroci, C. Julius decemvir diem Sestio dixit, et accusator ad populum exstitit, cujus rei judex legitimus erat : decessitque jure suo, ut demptum de vi magistratûs populi libertati adjiceret.

XXXIV. Quum promptum hoc jus velut ex oraculo in-corruptum pariter ab his summi infimique ferrent³, tum legibus condendis opera dabatur : ingentique hominum expectatione propositis decem tabulis, populum ad concionem advocaverunt : et, 'quod bonum, faustum, felixque reipublicæ, 'ipsis, liberisque eorum esset, ire, et legere leges propositas' jussere. 'Se, quantum decem hominum ingeniis provideri 'potuerit, omnibus summis infimisque jura æquâsse. Plus 'pollere multorum ingenia consiliaque. Versarent in animis 'secum unamquamque rem, agitarent deinde sermonibus :

¹ *Graves quòque, &c.* They state that (four) men also, advanced in life, were elected by the last votes, in order that they might be less vehement in opposition to the enactments of the others. ² *Decimo die, &c.* Every tenth day each decemvir administered justice to the people. During that day as supreme judge he had the twelve fæces.

³ *Quum, &c.* Whilst the highest and the lowest alike were receiving, at the hands of the decemvirs, this administration of justice, as incorruptible as the voice of an oracle.

‘atque in medium, quid in quâque re plus minuisse esset, conferrent. Eas leges habiturum populum Romanum, quas consensus omnium non jussisse latas¹ magis, quàm tulisse, videri posset.’ Quum ad rumores hominum de unoquoque legum capite edito satis correctae viderentur, centuriatis comitiis decem tabularum leges perlatae sunt: qui nunc quòque, in hoc immenso aliarum super alias acervatarum legum cumulo, fons omnis publici privatique est juris². Vulgatur deinde rumor, ‘duas deesse tabulas; quibus adjectis, absolvi posse velut corpus omnis Romani juris.’ Ea exspectatio, quum dies comitiorum appropinquaret, desiderium decemviro iterum creandi fecit. Jam plebs, praeterquam quòd consulum nomen, haud secus quàm regum, perosa erat, ne tribunicium quidem auxilium, cedentibus in vicem appellatione decemviris³, quaerebat.

XXXV. Postquam verò comitia decemviris creandis in trinum nundinum indicta sunt⁴; tanta exarsit ambitio, ut primores quòque civitatis (metu credo, ne tanti possessio imperii, vacuo ab se relicto loco, haud satis dignis pateret) pressarent homines; honorem, summâ ope a se impugnatum, ab eâ plebe, cum quâ contenderant, suppliciter petentes. Demissa jam in discrimen dignitas, eâ aetate, iisque honoribus actis, stimulabat Ap. Claudium⁵. Nescires⁶, utrùm inter

¹ *Ferre legem*, here signifies, to propose a law for enactment, applied to the mover of the law: *jubere*, to enact a law, applied to the people.

² Crassus, in Cicero's Dialogue *De Oratore*, is introduced as saying concerning these laws, *Bibliothecas omnium philosophorum, unus mihi videtur tabellarum libellus superare*: and Tacitus calls them, *Finis aequi juris*.

³ *Cedentibus*, &c. The decemviri making concessions in their turn, by (giving them) the right of appeal to their colleagues. Most of the critics thinking that *cedentibus* influences *appellatione*, (departing from the right of appeal,) read *appellationi*. This, by our translation, seems unnecessary. One manuscript has *appellationem*.

⁴ ‘The country people came to Rome every ninth day, whence these days were called NUNDINAE, quasi NOVENDINAE, having seven intermediate days for working. The time between the promulgation and passing of a law was called TRINUM NUNDINUM, or TRINUNDINUM.’ Dr ADAM. It here signifies the time between the proclamation of the decemviral comitia and the election, occupying at least a space of seventeen days, as the second market day counted twice.

⁵ *Demissa*, &c. The dignified office of decemvir having become a matter of contention, urged on Ap. Claudius, of such an age, and after having held such high offices, (as of themselves sufficiently to urge him on to seek the continuance of his power.) ⁶ See p. 157, note 3.

decemviros, an inter candidatos, numerares. Propior interdum petendo, quàm gerendo, magistratui erat. Criminari optimates, extollere candidatorum levissimum quemque humillimumque. Ipse medius inter tribunicios Duilios Iciliosque in foro volitare, per illos se plebi venditare: donec collegae quòque, qui unicè illi dediti fuerant ad id tempus, conjecere in eum oculos, mirantes quid sibi vellet. Apparere, nihil sinceri esse; 'Profectò haud gratuitam in tantâ superbâ comitatem fore. Nimiùm in ordinem se ipsum cogere¹, et vulgari cum privatis, non tam properantis abire magistratu, quàm viam ad continuandum magistratum quaerentis, esse.' Propalam obviàm ire cupiditati parum ausi, obsecundando mollire impetum aggrediuntur. Comitiorum illi habendorum, quando minimus natu sit, munus consensu injungunt. Ars haec erat, ne semet ipse creare posset; 'quod praeter tribunos plebis (et id ipsum pessimo exemplo) nemo unquam fecisset.' Ille enimvero, 'quod bene vertat², habiturum se comitia' professus, impedimentum pro occasione arripuit. Dejectisque honore per coitionem duobus Quinctiis, Capitolino et Cincinnato, et patruo suo C. Claudio, constantissimo viro in optimatum causâ, et aliis ejusdem fastigii civibus, nequaquam splendore vitae pares decemviros creat: se in primis, quod haud secus factum improbabant boni, quàm nemo facere ausurum crediderat. Creati cum eo M. Cornelius Maluginensis, M. Sergius, L. Minucius, Q. Fabius Vibulanus, Q. Poetelius, T. Antonius Merenda, K. Duilius, Sp. Oppius Cornicen³, M. Rabuleius.

XXXVI. Ille finis Appio alienae personae ferendae fuit⁴. Suo jam inde vivere ingenio coepit, novosque collegas jam prius, quàm inirent magistratum, in suos mores formare. Quotidie coibant remotis arbitris: inde impotentibus instructi consiliis, quae secretò ab aliis coquebant⁵, jam haud dissimulando superbiam, rari aditùs, colloquentibus difficiles, ad

¹ *Cogere in ordinem*, a military phrase, to drive straggling soldiers on their march to the ranks, to reduce to the rank of common men.

² See p. 32, note 2. ³ Poetelius, Duilius and Oppius, are said by Dionysius to have been plebeians. ⁴ *Ille*, &c. This last event led Appius to throw off the mask. A metaphor taken from the Roman practice of wearing masks (*personae*) on the stage.

⁵ *Impotentia consilia*, measures of unrestrained oppression;—*coquevere consilia*, to cook, artfully to contrive measures.

Idus Maias rem perduxere. Idus tum Maias solennes in-
eundis magistratibus erant. Initio igitur magistratûs
u. c. primum honoris diem denunciatione ingentis terroris
304. insignem fecere. Nam quum ita priores decemviri ser-
vâssent, ut unus fasces haberet, et hoc insigne regum in or-
bem, suam cujusque vicem, per omnes iret¹, subito omnes
cum duodenis fascibus prodiere. Centum viginti lictores
forum impleverant, et fascibus secures illigatas praeferebant.
'Nec attinuisse demi securim, quum sine provocatione creati
'essent,' interpretabantur. Decem regum species erat, mul-
tiplicatusque terror non infimis solùm, sed primoribus Patrum,
ratis 'caedis causam ac principium quaeri; ut, si quis me-
'morem libertatis vocem aut in senatu aut in populo misisset,
'statim virgae securesque etiam ad ceterorum metum expe-
'direntur².' Nam, praeterquam quòd in populo nihil erat
praesidii, sublata provocatione, intercessionem³ quòque con-
sensu sustulerant: quum priores decemviri appellatione col-
legae corrigi reddita ab se jura tulissent⁴; et quaedam, quae
sui iudicii videri possent, ad populum rejecissent. Aliquam-
diu aequatus inter omnes terror fuit: paulatim totus verteret
in plebem coepit. Abstinebatur a Patribus: in humiliores
libidinosè crudeliterque consulebatur: hominum, non causa-
rum, toti erant⁵; ut apud quos gratia vim aequi haberet.
Iudicia domi conflabant, pronunciabant in foro. Si quis col-
legam appellâssent, ab eo, ad quem venerat, ita discedebat,
ut poeniteret non prioris decreto stetisse. Opinio etiam sine
auctore exierat, 'non in praesentis modò temporis eos in-
'juriam conspirâsse, sed foedus clandestinum inter ipsos jure-
'jurando ictum, ne comitia haberent, perpetuoque decemvi-
'ratu possessum semel obtinerent⁶ imperium.'

XXXVII. Circumspectare tum patriciorum vultus plebei,
et inde libertatis captare auram, unde servitutem timendo in
eum statum rempublicam adduxerant. Primores Patrum

¹ See Chapter 33. ² See p. 133, note 6. ³ *Provocatio*, an appeal from a magistrate to the people; *intercessio*. See p. 133, note 2. ⁴ *Tulissent*, had permitted. ⁵ *Hominum*, &c. Men, not causes, received their whole consideration. *Erant hominum*, a common mode of expression; literally, they were the property of men, i. e. Men occupied their attention as if by right. ⁶ *Obtinere* here signifies, to keep firmly. A similar expression occurs iv. 16. Nec, deinde id plebem concessum semel, obtinuisse.

odisse decemviros, odiase plebem ; nec probare, quae fierent : et credere, haud indignis accidere. Avidè ruendo ad libertatem in servitutem elapsos juvare nolle ; cumulare quòque injurias, ut taedio praesentium consules duo tandem et status pristinus rerum in desiderium veniant. Jam et processerat pars major anni, et duae tabulae legum ad prioris anni decem tabulas erant adjectae¹ : nec quicquam jam supererat, si hae quòque leges centuriatis comitiis perlatæ essent, cur eo magistratu reipublicae opus esset. Expectabant, quàm mox consulibus creandis comitia edicerentur. Id modò plebes agitabat, quonam modo tribuniciam potestatem, munimentum libertati, rem intermissam, repararent, quum interim mentio comitiorum nulla fieri, et decemviri, qui primò tribunicios homines, quia id populare habebatur, circum se ostentaverant

¹ A summary of the contents of these tables, as far as they have come down to us, is thus given by Dr Ferguson, in his Roman Republic. ' This code appears in some clauses to have been a first draft of the regulations which are necessary in the establishment of property, and in making private parties answerable to public judicatures in all their disputes. The property of land was established by a fair prescription of two years, and that of other effects, by a prescription of one year. / Any controversy concerning the boundaries of land property was to be determined by arbiters or jurymen appointed by the magistrate. 2 Parties cited to a court of justice were not at liberty to decline attendance. 3 Judgment in capital cases was competent only to the assembly of the people in their centuries ; but this supreme tribunal might delegate its powers by a special commission. 4 The distinction of patrician and plebeian was so great, that persons in these different orders were not permitted to intermarry. The father being considered as the absolute master of his child, had a right even to kill or expose him to sale. 5 The interest of money was limited to one per cent. : but bankruptcy was treated as a crime, and without any distinction of fraud or misfortune, exposed the insolvent debtor to the mercy of his creditors, who might put him to death, dissect or quarter him, and distribute his members among them.' (Exceedingly doubtful.) 6 In private every family were free to worship the gods their own way. 7 And in public, though certain forms were required, yet there was not any penalty annexed to the commission of them, as the punishment of offences in this matter was left to the offended god. 8 The people were required to build their houses two feet asunder, to leave eight feet for the ordinary breadth of streets and highways, and double this breadth at the turnings. 9 They were forbid to dress or to polish the wood employed in funeral piles, or to express their sorrow for the dead by wounding their flesh, tearing their hair, or by uttering indecent or lamentable cries.'

plebei, patriciis juvenibus sepserant latera. Eorum catervae tribunalia obsederant. Hi ferre, agere¹ plebem plebisque res; quum fortuna, quâ quicquid cupitum foret, potentioris esset². Et jam ne tergo quidem abstinebatur: virgis caedi, alii securi subjici; et, ne gratuita crudelitas esset, bonorum donatio sequi domini supplicium. Hâc mercede juvenus nobilis corrupta, non modò non³ ire obviâ injuriæ, sed propalam licentiam suam malle, quàm omnium libertatem. f b

XXXVIII. Idus Maiæ venere. Nullis subrogatis magistratibus, privati pro decemviris, neque animis ad imperium inhibendum⁴ imminutis, neque ad speciem honoris insignibus, prodeunt. Id verò regnum haud dubiè videri. Deploratur in perpetuum libertas; nec vindex ququam existit, aut futurus videtur. Nec ipsi solùm desponderant animos, sed contemni coepti erant a finitimis populis: imperiumque ibi esse, ubi non esset libertas, indignabantur⁵. Sabini magnâ manu incursionem in agrum Romanum fecere: latèque populati, quum hominum atque pecudum inulti prædas egissent, recepto ad Eretum, quod passim vagatum erat, agmine, castra locant, spem in discordiâ Romanâ ponentes, eam impedimentum delectui fore. Non nuncii solùm, sed per urbem agrestium fuga trepidationem injectit. Decemviri consultant, quid opus facto sit. Destitutis inter Patrum et plebis odia addidit terrorem insuper alium fortuna. Aequi aliâ ex parte castra in Algidio locant: depopulatumque inde excursionibus Tusculanum agrum legati ab Tusculo, præsidium orantes, nunciant. Is pavor perpulit decemviros, ut senatum, simul duobus circumstantibus urbem bellis, consularent. Citari jubent in curiam Patres, haud ignari, quanta invidiæ immineret tempestas: 'omnes vastati agri periculorumque imminentium causas in se congesturos, tentatio-

¹ *Ferre, agere*, similar to the Greek *φάσκειν καὶ ἄγειν*, and the Scotch stealing and lifting.—applied, the former to plundering goods that can be carried, the latter to plundering cattle, &c. which are driven.

² As the passage stands, we must understand it with Stroth to mean, when the fortune with which any thing might be *successfully* desired was on the side of the more powerful party. In the crowd of emendations, his reading of *cum fortunâ* seems the best,—with a success such that whatever, &c. ³ See p. 46, note 1, Canon 2. ⁴ *Inhibere imperium, habere imperium in*, to exercise. ⁵ Livy inaccurately changes the nominative to the two connected verbs, the first being ipsi *Romani*, the second *finitimi*. The suggestion of *qui* for *que* seems plausible.

'nemque eam fore abolendi sibi magistratûs, ni consensu re-
 'sisterent, imperioque inhibendo¹ acriter in paucos prae-
 'fecis animi, conatus aliorum comprimerent.' Postquam
 audita vox in foro est praeconis, Patres in curiam ad decem-
 viros vocantis; velut nova res, quia intermiserant jam diu
 morem consulendi senatûs, mirabundam plebem convertit,
 'quidnam incidisset, cur ex tanto intervallo rem desuetam
 'usurparent. Hostibus belloque gratiam habendam, quò so-
 'litum quicquam liberae civitatis fieret.' Circumspectare om-
 nibus fori partibus senatorem, raròque usquam noscitare: cu-
 riam inde ac solitudinem circa decemviros intueri; quum et
 ipsi 'invisum consensu imperium,' et plebs, 'quia privatis
 'jus non esset vocandi senatum,' non convenire Patres inter-
 pretarentur²; 'jam caput fieri libertatem repetentium, si se
 'plebs comitem senatui det, et, quemadmodum Patres vocati
 'non coëant in senatum, sic plebs abnuat delectum.' Haec
 fremunt plebes. Patrum haud ferè quisquam in foro, in urbe
 rari erant. Indignitate rerum cesserant in agros; suarum-
 que rerum erant³, amissâ publicâ: tantum ab injuriâ se
 abesse rati, quantum a coetu congressuque impotentium do-
 minorum se amovissent. Postquam citati non conveniebant,
 dimissi circa domos apparitores, simul ad pignora⁴ capienda,
 sciscitandumque, 'num consultò detrectarent?' referunt, 'se-
 'natum in agris esse.' Laetius id decemviris accidit, quàm
 si praesentes detrectare imperium referrent. Jubent acciri
 omnes, senatumque in diem posterum edicunt; qui aliquan-
 tò spe ipsorum frequentior convenit. Quo facto proditam a
 Patribus plebs libertatem rata, 'quòd iis, qui jam magistratu
 'abissent, privatisque, si vis abesset, tanquam jure cogenti-
 'bus, senatus paruisset⁵.'

¹ See p. 188, note 4.

² *Quum, &c.* When, on the one hand, the decemvirs themselves regarded the failure of the senators to assemble, (supply quod non convenirent Patres,) as a proof of their government being unanimously detested; and the common people regarded it as arising from the circumstance, that as private individuals they had no right to summon the senate.

³ See p. 186, note 5.
⁴ 'If any senator refused or neglected to attend, he was punished by a fine and distraining his goods, unless he had a just excuse. The fine was imposed by him who held the senate, and pledges (*pignora*) were taken till it was paid. But after sixty or sixty-five years of age, senators might attend or not, as they pleased.' Dr ADAM.
⁵ *Quod iis, &c.* Because (in their opinion) the senate had obeyed

XXXIX. Sed magis obedienter ventum in curiam est, quàm obnoxio¹ dictas sententias accepimus. 'L. Valerium Potitum,' proditum memoriae est, 'post relationem Ap. Claudii, priùs quàm ordine sententiae rogarentur, postulando ut de republicâ liceret dicere², prohibentibus minaciter decemviris, proditurum se ad plebem denunciantem, tumultum excivisse. Nec minùs ferociter M. Horatium Barbatum ìsse in certamen, "Decem Tarquinius" appellan-tem, admonentemque, "Valeriis et Horatiis³ ducibus pulsos reges. Nec nominis homines tum pertaesum esse; quippe quo Jovem appellari fas sit, quo Romulum conditorem urbis, deincepsque reges appellatos, quod sacris etiam, ut solenne, retentum sit⁴. Superbiam violentiamque tum per-rosos regis. Quae si in rege tum eodem, aut in filio regis, ferenda non fuerint, quem laturum in tot privatis? Viderent, ne, vetando in curiâ libere homines loqui, extra curiam etiam moverent vocem. Neque se videre, quì sibi minùs privato ad concionem populum vocare, quàm illis senatum cogere, liceat. Ubi vellent, experirentur, quanto ferocior dolor libertate suâ vindicandâ, quàm cupiditas injustâ dominatione, esset⁵. De bello Sabino eos referre⁶; tanquam magis ullum populo Romano bellum sit, quàm cum iis, qui, legum ferendarum causâ creati, nihil juris in civitate reliquerint; qui comitia, qui annuos magistratus, qui vicissitudinem imperitandi (quod unum exaequandae sit libertatis) sustulerint; qui privati fasces et regium imperium habeant. Fuisse, regibus exactis, patricios magistratus creatos; postea, post secessionem plebis, plebeios. Cujus illi partis essent," rogitare.' "Populares? quid enim⁷ eos per po-

men, who had already quitted office, and were in private stations, if lawless violence did not support them, as if they were legally empowered to assemble them. ¹ *Obnoxius*, (ob noxam,) exposed to punishment for a fault, under obligations, submissive. ² *Ut*, &c.

That he might be allowed to speak on the condition of public affairs. As the decemviri had summoned the senate, to consider the best means of repelling the enemy, this inconvenient demand was resisted by the decemviri. ³ For the *Valerii*, see i. 58, ii. 2; the *Horatii*, ii. 8, 10.

⁴ See ii. 2. ⁵ *Quanto*, &c. how much more impetuous would be the indignation with which the Roman people would assert their liberty, than the ambition with which the decemvirs would maintain their usurped power. ⁶ See note 2. ⁷ *Enim* is often used to import that an objection to something going before is understood, and

"populum egisse? Optimates? qui anno jam propè senatum non habuerint; tunc ita habeant, ut de republicâ loqui prohibeant? Ne nimium in metu alieno spei ponerent. Graviores, quae patiantur, videri jam hominibus, quàm quae metuant."

XL. Haec vociferante Horatio, quum decemviri nec irae nec ignoscendi modum¹ reperirent, nec, quò evasura res esset, cernerent; C. Claudii², qui patruus Appii decemviri erat, oratio fuit precibus, quàm jurgio, similis, orantis per sui fratris parentisque ejus manes; 'Ut civilis potiùs societatis, in quâ natus esset, quam foederis, nefariè icti cum collegis, meminisset. Multò id magis se illius causâ orare, quàm reipublicae. Quippe rempublicam, si a volentibus nequeat, ab invitis jus expetituram. Sed ex magno certamine magis nas excitari ferme iras; earum eventum se horrere.' Quum aliud, praeterquam de quo retulissent, decemviri dicere prohiberent, Claudium interpellandi verecundia fuit. Sententiam igitur peregit, 'nullum placere senatûs consultum fieri.' Omnesque ita accipiebant, privatos eos a Claudio judicatos: multique ex consularibus verbo assensi sunt. Alia sententia, asperior in speciem, vim minorem aliquanto habuit, quae 'patricios coire ad prodendum interregem' jubebat. Censendo enim, quoscunque magistratus esse, qui senatum haberent, judicabat; quos privatos fecerat auctor nullius senatûs consulti faciendi³. Ita labante jam causâ decemvirorum, L. Cornelius Maluginensis, M. Corneli decemviri frater, quum ex consularibus ad ultimum dicendi locum con-

to usher in the reason for the objection. Thus, in Virgil, Aen. vi. 27.

Hic labor ille domûs, et inextricabilis error.

Magnum reginae sed enim miseratus amorem

Daedalus, &c.

The poet here tells us first that the error was *inextricabilis*, and then starts an objection, but *inextricable* it was not, giving his reason, for Daedalus, &c. So in the sentence in Livy: Of the popular faction? That may not be for what, &c.¹ *Irae*, &c. By what bounds they should measure either their resentment or their indulgence.² See c. 15 and 35. ³ *Censendo*, &c. For by making a motion, this opinion implied a judgment that those who held the senate were magistrates of some sort, whilst they had been reduced to the rank of private individuals, by him who had advised that no decree of the senate should be made.

sultò servatus esset, simulando curam belli, fratrem collegasque ejus tuebatur: ' quonam fato incidisset, mirari se' dictitans, ' ut decemviros, qui decemviratum petissent, aut socii, ' aut hi maximè oppugnarent ¹ ? aut quid ita, quum per tot ' menses vacuâ civitate nemo, justine magistratus summae ' rerum praeessent, controversiam fecerit; nunc demum, ' quum hostes propè ad portas sint, civiles discordias serant: ' nisi quòd in turbido minùs perspicuum fore putent, quid ' agatur. Ceterum neminem, majore curâ occupatis animis, ' verum esse, praejudicium rei tantae afferre. Sibi placere, ' de eo, quod Valerius Horatiusque ante Idus Maias decem- ' viros abisse magistratu insimulent, bellis, quae immineant, ' perfectis, republicâ in tranquillum redactâ, senatu discep- ' tante, agi: et jam nunc ita se parare Ap. Claudium, ut co- ' mitiorum, quae decemviris creandis decemvir ipse habuerit, ' sciat sibi rationem reddendam esse, utrùm in unum annum ' creati sint, an donec leges, quae deessent, perferrentur. In ' praesentiâ omnia praeter bellum omitti placere: cujus si ' falsò famam vulgatam, vanaque non nuncios solùm, sed Tus- ' culanorum etiam legatos, attulisse putent, speculatores mit- ' tendos censere, qui certius explorata referant. Sin fides et ' nunciis et legatis habeatur, delectum primo quoque tempore ' haberi; decemviros, quòd cuique eorum videatur, exercitus ' ducere; nec rem aliam praeverti.'

XLI. In hanc sententiam ut discederetur ²; juniores Patrum evincebant. Ferociores iterum coörti Valerius Horatiusque vociferari, ' ut de republicâ liceret dicere. Dicturos ad po-

¹ There seems to be no real difficulty in this passage, although the critics have been much puzzled with its meaning, and have proposed various emendations. There were three parties attacking the decemvirs, in three different ways. Valerius Potitus and Horatius wish to fly in the face of the decemvirs' authority, by bringing a question before the senate, apart from that, for the consideration of which they had been summoned. Claudius with greater gentleness simply proposes that the senate should make no decree, leaving his opinion of the authority of the decemvirs to be implied. The third opinion seemed more severe, (*asperior in speciem*.) but in reality was more favourable to the decemvirs, as it recognised them to be magistrates. In the speech of Cornelius he alludes to Claudius by the words *qui decemviratum petissent*, to Horatius and Potitus by *socii*, the partners of Claudius, to the proposers of the seemingly most severe measure, by *aut hi*, or these last.

² See p. 36, note 4.

'pulum, si in senatu per factionem non liceat. Neque enim 'sibi privatos aut in curiâ, aut in concione, posse obstare ; 'neque se imaginariis fascibus eorum cessuros esse.' Tum Appius, jam propè esse ratus, ut, ni violentiæ eorum pari resisteretur audaciâ, victum imperium esset : ' Non erit me- 'lius,' inquit, ' nisi de quo consulimus, vocem misisse ¹.' Et ad Valerium, negantem se privato reticere ², lictorem accedere jussit. Jam Quiritium fidem implorante Valerio a curiæ limine, L. Cornelius complexus Appium, non, simulabat quod, consulendo ³, diremit certamen ; factaque per Cornelium Valerio dicendi gratia, quæ vellet, quum libertas non ultra vocem excessisset, decemviri propositum tenere. Consulares quòque ac seniores ab residuo tribuniciaæ potestatis odio ⁴, 'cu- 'jus desiderium plebi multo acrius, quàm consularis imperii,' rebantur 'esse,' prope malebant, postmodo ipsos decemviros voluntate abire magistratu, quàm invidiâ eorum exsurgere rur-

¹ *Non*, &c. It will not be for the advantage of any senator, that he has uttered a word, except on the subject, about which we are consulting you. ² *Reticere privato*, to keep silence for a man in a private station.

³ In this difficult passage, a number of the MSS., Stroth and Ruperti read *quod* ; Stroth explaining it, Appius did not consult the senate farther about the war, about which he pretended still to consult them : Sigonius, and almost all the other editors read *cui*, with this meaning : Cornelius, by providing for the safety of Appius (in reality,) for whose safety he pretended that he did not intend to provide,—his pretence being that he wished to provide for the safety of Valerius. I should be inclined to retain Stroth's reading with a different reference. The decemvirs wished to consult the senate about the war, Valerius about the condition of the state. The decemvirs ultimately prevailed—*propositum tenere*, words inconsistent with Stroth's interpretation. But this was done by Appius pretending to yield to Valerius, and consult the senate *de republica*. He accordingly gave Valerius an opportunity of speaking on that subject, as if it were formally before the senate, but no more. The words then would mean, By Appius not consulting the senate on the general question of the state's condition, whilst by allowing Valerius to speak he pretended to do so.

⁴ *Caritas*, (see p. 58, note 2.) *odium*, *gratia*, *invidia*, and other nouns expressive of affections of the mind, are used indifferently in an active or a passive sense. *Odium potestatis* is here passive ; hatred suffered by the power. So in a sentence in the 43d Chapter, *per invidiam decemviralem*, through hatred suffered by,—towards the decemvirs : it might likewise mean through hatred proceeding from—felt by the decemvirs. So in English, the love of God ; either actively the love emanating from God, or passively love towards God.

sus plebem. ' Si leniter ducta res sine populari strepitu ad consules redisset, aut bellis interpositis, aut moderatione consulum in imperiis exercendis, posse in oblivionem tribunorum plebem adduci.' Silentio Patrum edicatur delectus. Juniores, quum sine provocatione imperium esset, ad nomina respondent. Legionibus scriptis, inter se decemviri comparabant, quos ire ad bellum, quos praeesse exercitibus oporteret. Principes inter decemviros erant Q. Fabius et Ap. Claudius. Bellum domi majus, quàm foris, apparebat. Appii violentiam aptiorem rati ad comprimendos urbanos motus: in Fabio minùs in bono constans, quàm gnarum in militiâ, ingenium esse. Hunc enim virum, egregium olim domi militiaeque, decemviratus collegaeque ita mutaverant, ut Appii, quàm sui, similis mallet esse. Huic bellum in Sabinis, M. Rabuleio et Q. Poetilio additis collegis, mandatum. M. Cornelius in Algidum missus cum L. Minucio et T. Antonio et K. Duilio et M. Sergio: Sp. Oppium Ap. Claudio adiutorem ad urbem tuendam, aequo omnium decemvirorum imperio, decernunt.

XLII. Nihilo militiae, quàm domi, meliùs respublica administrata est. Illa modò in ducibus culpa, quòd, ut odio essent civibus, fecerant. Alia omnis penes milites noxa erat: qui, ne quid ductu atque auspicio decemvirorum prospere usquam gereretur, vinci se per suum atque illorum dedecus patiebantur. Fusi et ab Sabinis ad Eretum, et in Algido ab Aequis, exercitus erant. Ab Ereto per silentium noctis profugi, propius urbem, inter Fidenas Crustumariamque, loco edito castra communierant. Persecutis hostibus nusquam se aequo certamine committentes, naturâ loci ac vallo, non virtute aut armis, tutabantur. Majus flagitium in Algido, major etiam clades accepta: castra quòque amissa erant; exutusque omnibus utensilibus miles, Tusculum se, fide misericordiâque victurus¹ hospitum, (quae tamen non fefellerunt,) contulerat. Romam tanti erant terrores allati, ut, posito jam decemvirali odio², Patres vigiliis in urbe habendas censerent: omnes, qui per aetatem arma ferre possent, custodire moenia, ac pro portis stationes agere juberent: arma Tusculum ad supplementum³ decernerent, decemvirosque ab arce Tusculi

¹ *Victurus from vivo.*

² See p. 193, note 4.

³ *Ad supplementum*, in addition to reinforcements. Gronovius ingeniously conjectures ac.

degressos, in castris militem habere: castra alia a Fidenis in Sabium agrum transferri: belloque ultro inferendo deterreri hostes a consilio urbis oppugnandae.

XLIII. Ad clades ab hostibus acceptas duo nefanda facinora decemviri belli domique adjiciunt. L. Siccium¹ in Sabinis, per invidiam decemviralem² tribunorum creandorum secessionisque mentiones ad vulgus militum sermonibus occultis serentem, prospeculatum ad locum castris capiendum mittant. Datur negotium militibus, quos miserant expeditionis ejus comites, ut eum opportuno adorti loco interficerent. Haud inultum interfecere. Nam circa repugnantem aliquot insidiatore cecidere, quam ipse se praevalidus, pari viribus animo, circumventus tutaretur. Nunciant in castra ceteri, praecipitatum in insidias esse Siccium egregiè pugnantem, militesque quosdam cum eo amissos. Primò fides nunciantibus fuit. Profecta deinde cohors ad sepeliendos, qui ceciderant, decemvirorum permissa, postquam nullum spoliatum ibi corpus, Sicciumque in medio jacentem armatumque, omnibus in eum versis corporibus, videre; hostium neque corpus ullum, nec vestigia abeuntium; profectò 'ab suis interfectum' memorantes, retulere corpus. Invidiaeque plena castra erant, et Romam ferri protinus Siccium placebat³, ni decemviri funus militare ei publicâ impensâ facere maturâssent. Sepultus ingenti militum moestitiâ, pessimâ decemvirorum in vulgus famâ, est.

XLIV. Sequitur aliud in urbe nefas, ab libidine ortum, haud minùs foedo eventu, quàm quod per stuprum caedemque Lucretiae urbe regnoque Tarquinius expulerat: ut non suis solùm idem decemviris, qui regibus, sed causa etiam eadem imperii amittendi esset. Ap. Claudium virginis plebeiae stuprandae libido cepit. Pater virginis L. Virginus honestum ordinem in Algido ducebat⁴, vir exempli recti domi militiaeque. Perinde uxor instituta fuerat, liberique instituebantur. Desponderat filium L. Icilio tribunicio, viro acri, et pro causâ plebis expertae⁵ virtuti. Hanc virginem adultam, formâ excellentem, Appius, amore ardens, pretio ac spe pellicere adortus, postquam omnia pudore septa animadverterat, ad crudelem superbamque vim animum convertit. M. Clau-

¹ See p. 181, note 1.

² See p. 193, note 4.

³ See

p. 128, note 2, p. 167, note 1.
note 5.

⁴ See p. 95, note 1.

⁵ See p. 41,

dio clienti negotium dedit, ut virginem in servitutem assereret, neque cederet secundum libertatem postulantibus vindicias¹: 'quòd pater puellae abesset, locum injuriae esse' ratus. Virgini, venienti in forum (ibi namque in tabernis literarum ludi² erant) minister decemviri libidinis manum iniecit; 'servâ suâ natam' (servamque appellans) 'esse.' Sequique se jubebat, 'cunctantem vi abstracturam.' Pavidâ puellâ stupente, ad clamorem nutricis, fidem Quiritium implorantis, fit concursus. Virginii patris sponsique Icillii populare nomen celebratur. Notos gratia eorum, turbam indignitas rei virgini conciliat. Jam a vi tuta erat; quum assertor 'nihil opus esse multitudine concitatâ' ait, 'se jure grassari, non vi.' Vocat puellam in jus; auctoribus, qui aderant, ut sequeretur³. Ad tribunal Appii perventum est. Notam judici fabulam petitor, quippe apud ipsum auctorem argumenti, peragit⁴; 'puellam, domi suae natam, furtoque inde in domum Virginii translata, suppositam ei esse. Id se indicio compertum afferre, probaturumque vel ipso Virginio judice, ad quem major pars injuriae ejus pertineat. Interim dominum sequi ancillam, aequum esse.' Advocati puellae, quum Virginium reipublicae causâ 'dixissent 'abesse, biduo ad futurum, si nunciatum ei sit; iniquum esse, absentem de liberis dimicare;' postulant, 'ut rem integram in patris adventum differat; lege ab ipso latâ vindicias det secundum libertatem; neu patiatur, virginem adultam famae priùs, quàm libertatis, periculum adire.'

XLV. Appius decreto praefatus, 'quàm libertati faverit,

¹ *Asserere in servitutem*, to claim as a slave, opposed to *asserere in libertatem* vel *vindicare* to claim as free. *Vindiciae* are, according to Bauer, an interim decision of the judge, decreeing that until proof appear, the person, whose condition is in question, shall retain the same station as he has hitherto held, whether that of a slave or a free-man. This, according to Dionysius, and Livy himself, was one of the laws of the twelve tables; and it was ultimately irresistible. Hence the meaning of *postulare vindicias secundum libertatem*; to demand a decision, that in the meanwhile the girl was in the station of one free born, applied to the advocates of the claimed person; *dare vindicias*, (in the last sentence of the chapter,) to pronounce that decision, applied to the judge.

² *Literarum ludi*, schools. ³ *Auctoribus*, &c. Those who advocated her cause, or the bystanders, advising her to follow. ⁴ *Peragere fabulam*, a metaphor taken from the stage:—so *argumenti*.

‘*eam ipsam legem declarare, quia Virginii amici postulati-
oni suae praetendant. Ceterum ita in eâ firmum libertati
fore praesidium, si nec causis, nec personis variet. In his
causis, quae asserantur in libertatem, quia quivis lege agere
possit, id juris esse: in eâ, quae in patrie manu sit, nemi-
nem esse alium, cui dominus possessione cedat*¹. Placere
itaque patrem arcessi; interea juris sui jacturam assertorem
non facere, quin ducat puellam, sistendamque in adventum
ejus, qui pater dicatur, promittat.’ Adversus injuriam de-
creti quum multi magis fremerent, quàm quisquam unus re-
clamare auderet; P. Numitorius, puellae avunculus, et spon-
sus Icilius interveniunt. Datâque inter turbam viâ, quum
multitudo Iciliû maximè interventu resisti posse Appio cre-
deret, lictor ‘*decrêsse*’ ait: vociferantemque Icilium submo-
vet. Placidum quodque ingenium tam atrox injuria accendie-
ret. ‘*Ferro hinc tibi submovendus sum, Appi,*’ inquit, ‘*ut
tacitum feras, quod celari vis. Virginem ego hanc sum
ducturus, nuptam*² pudicamque habiturus. Proinde omnes
collegarum quodque lictores convoca, expediri virgas et se-
cures’³ jube: non manebit extra domum patris sponsa Iciliû.
‘*Non, si tribuniciû auxilium et provocationem, plebi Ro-*

¹ Appius, for his own purposes, in interpreting his own law, intro-
duces a distinction betwixt those who were *sui juris*, entirely free, and
those who were subject to the *patria potestas*. The law, according to
him, can apply only to the former, because in them only is there a true
claim for liberty, and in them only could a judge give an interim de-
cision *secundum libertatem*. To give such a decision in the case of
Virginia, would be a *variatio personarum*: it would be introducing, as
entitled to the benefit of the law, a class of persons, who were, even
according to their statements, not entitled to *vindictae secundum liber-
tatem*. Besides, and most important of all, the law could act in the for-
mer, as any citizen was entitled to plead the case of one presumptively
free. But, in this case, no one could plead, but either the father
as master on the one hand, or the alleged master on the other: as the
father was not present, consequently no one had any legal claim to
urge the law. We may translate the sentence thus: For, in the case
of those persons, whose complete liberty is claimed, the law holds that any
one is entitled by law to act for them; in the present case, where the
young woman is at her father's disposal, there is no other than her
father to whom the claimant can yield possession. ² *Nuptam*,
veiled, the symbol of a regular marriage, which was legal only between
freeborn Roman citizens. ³ See p. 133, note 6.

‘manae duas arces libertatis tuendae ademistis, ideo in liberos quòque nostros conjugesque regnum vestrae libidini datum est. Saevite in tergum et in cervices nostras, pudicitia saltem in tuto sit. Huic si vis afferetur, ego praesentiam Quiritium pro sponsâ, Virginius militum pro unica¹ filiâ, omnes Deorum hominumque implorabimus fidem. Neque tu istud unquam decretum sine caede nostrâ referes. Postulo, Appi, etiam atque etiam consideres, quò progrediare. Virginius viderit, de filiâ, ubi venerit, quid agat. Hoc tantum sciat, sibi, si hujus vindiciis cesserit, conditionem filiae quaerendam esse². Me, vindicantem sponsam in libertatem, vita citiùs deseret, quàm fides.’

XLVI. Concitata multitudo erat, certamenque instare videbatur. Lictores Icilium circumsteterant: nec ultra minas tamen processum est. Quum Appius, ‘Non Virginiam defendi ab Icilio, sed inquietum hominem, et tribunatum etiam nunc spirantem³, locum seditionis quaerere,’ diceret; non praebiturum se illi eo die materiam: sed ut jam sciret, non id petulantiae suae, sed Virginio absenti et patrio nomini et libertati, datum, jus eo die se non dicturum, neque decretum interpositurum: a M. Claudio petiturum, ut decederet jure suo, vindicarique puellam in posterum diem pateretur. Quòd nisi pater postero die adfuisset, denunciare se Icilio similibusque Icili, neque legi suae latorem, neque decemviro constantiam defore: nec se utique collegarum lictores convocaturum ad coërcendos seditionis auctores. Contentum se suis lictoribus fore.’ Quum dilatum tempus injuriae esset, secessissentque advocati puellae, placuit omnium primum, ‘fratrem Icili filiumque Numitorii, impigros juvenes, pergere inde rectâ ad portam, et, quantum accelerari posset, Virginium acciri e castris. In eo verti puellae salutem, si postero die vindex injuriae ad tempus praesto esset.’ Jussi pergunt, citatisque equis nuncium ad patrem perferunt. Quum instaret assertor puellae, ut vindicaret⁴,

¹ See p. 137, note 7. ² *Conditionem*, &c. That he must seek another marriage for his daughter. ³ *Tribunatum*, &c. Even still breathing the spirit of the tribuneship. ⁴ *Assertor puellae*, Claudius, ut vindicaret Icilius, vindicaret vindicias postulare. See p. 196, note 1. So below, *Virginia vindicatur*. Virginia vindiciis postulatis dimittitur.

sponsoresque daret; atque 'id ipsum agi' diceret Icilius, sedulò tempus terens, dum praeciperent iter nuncii missi in castra, manus tollere undique multitudo, et se quisque paratum ad spondendum Icilio ostendere. Atque ille lacrimabundus, 'Gratum est,' inquit; 'crastinâ die vestrâ operâ utar. Sponsorura nunc satis est.' Ita vindicatur Virginia, spondentibus propinquis. Appius, paullisper moratus, ne ejus rei causâ sedisse videretur, postquam, omissis rebus aliis praecurâ unius, nemo adibat, domum se recepit: collegisque in castra scribit, 'ne Virginio commeatum dent, atque etiam in custodiâ habeant.' Improbum consilium serum, ut debuit, fuit: et jam commeatu sumpto profectus Virginus primâ vigiliâ erat, quum postero die mane de retinendo eo nequicquam literae redduntur.

XLVII. At in urbe primâ luce, quum civitas in foro expectatione erecta staret, Virginus sordidatus ¹ filiam suam obsoletâ veste, comitantibus aliquot matronis, cum ingenti ad-vocatione in forum deducit ². Circumire ibi et prensare homines coepit; et non orare solùm precariam opem, sed pro debitâ petere, 'Se pro liberis eorum ac conjugibus quotidie in acie stare: nec alium virum esse, cujus strenuè ac ferociter facta in bello plura memorari possent. Quid prodesse, ei, incolumi urbe, quae, captâ, ultima timeantur, liberis suis sint patienda?' Haec prope concionabundus circumibat homines. Similia his ab Icilio jactabantur. Comitatus muliebris plus tacito fletu, quàm ulla vox, movebat. Adversus quae omnia obstinato animo Appius (tanta vis amentiae verius, quàm amoris, mentem turbaverat) in tribunal ascendit: et, ultro querente pauca petitor, 'quòd jus sibi pridie per ambitionem ³ dictum non esset,' priùs quàm aut ille postulatum perageret, aut Virginio respondendi daretur locus, Appius interfatur. Quem decreto sermonem praetenderit, forsan aliquem verum auctores antiqui tradiderint ⁴. Quia nusquam ullum in tantâ foeditate decreti verisimilem invenio; id, quod constat, nudum videtur proponendum, 'decrêsse vindicias secundum servitutem.' Primò stupor omnes admiratione rei tam atrocis defixit. Silentium inde aliquamdiu

¹ See p. 132, note 3.

² See p. 132, note 5.

³ *Per ambitionem*,

through improper partiality.

⁴ *Quem, &c.* Perhaps the

ancient historians may have recorded some plausible introduction, with which he prefaced his decree.

tenuit. Deim quum M. Claudius, circumstantibus matronis, iret ad prehendendam virginem, lamentabilisque eum mulierum comploratio excepisset; Virginius, intentans in Appium manus, 'Icilio,' inquit, 'Appi, non tibi, filiam despondi: et ad nuptias, non ad stuprum, educavi. Placet pecudum ferarumque ritu promiscuè in concubitus ruere? Passurine haec isti sint, nescio. Non spero esse passuros illos, qui arma habent.' Quum repelleretur assertor virginis a globo mulierum circumstantiumque advocatorum, silentium factum per praeconem.

XLVIII. Decemvir, alienatus ad libidinem animo, negat¹, 'hesterno tantum convicio Icili violentiæque Virginii, cujus testem populum Romanum habeat, sed certis quoque indicis compertum se habere, nocte totâ coetus in urbe factos esse ad movendam seditionem. Itaque se, hand inscium ejus dimicationis, cum armatis descendisse²; non ut quemquam quietum violaret, sed ut turbantes civitatis otium pro majestate imperii coerceret. Proinde quiescere erit melius. 'I,' inquit, 'lictor, submove turbam; et da viam domino ad prehendendum mancipium.' Quum haec intonuisset plenus irae, multitudo ipsa se suâ sponte dimovit, desertaque praeda injuriae puella stabat. Tum Virginius, ubi nihil usquam auxilii vidit, 'Quaeso,' inquit, 'Appi, primum ignosce patrio dolori, si quid inclementius in te sum invectus: deinde sinas hîc coram virgine nutricem percontari, quid hoc rei sit? ut, si falsò pater dictus sum, aequiore hinc animo discedam.' Datâ veniâ, seducit filiam ac nutricem prope Cloacinae³ ad tabernas, quibus nunc Novis est nomen. Atque ibi ab lanio cultro arrepto, 'Hoc te uno, que possum,' ait, 'modo, filia, in libertatem vindico.' Pectus deinde puellae transfigit, respectansque ad tribunal, 'Te,' inquit, 'Appi, tuumque caput sanguine hoc consecro.' Clamore ad tam atrox facinus orto excitus Appius, comprehendi Virginium jubet. Ille ferro, quâcunque ibat, viam facere: donec, multitudine etiam prosequentium tuente, ad portam perrexit. Icilius Numitoriusque exsanguis corpus sublatum ostentant populo: scelus Appii, puellae infelicem formam, necessitatem patris deplorant. Sequentes clamitant matronae, 'Eamne liberorum præcreandorum conditionem? ea pudicitiae prae-

¹ *Negat, dicit non.*
note 2.

² See p. 132, note 5.

³ See p. 47,

'mia esse?' ceteraque, quae in tali re muliebris dolor, quo est moestior imbecillo animo, eo miserabilia magis querentibus subjicit. Virorum et maximè Iciliï vox tota, tribuniciae potestatis ac provocationis ad populum ereptae, publicarumque indignationum, erat ¹.

XLIX. Concitatur multitudo partim atrocitate sceleris, partim spe per occasionem repetendae libertatis. Appius nunc vocari Icilium, nunc retractantem arripi; postremò, quum locus adeundi apparitoribus non daretur, ipse, cum agmine patriciorum juvenum per turbam vadens, in vincula duci jubet. Jam circa Icilium non solàm multitudo, sed duces quòque multitudinis erant L. Valerius et M. Horatius. Qui, repulso lictore, si jure ageret, vindicare se a privato Icilium aiebant ²; si vim afferre couaretur, ibi quòque se haud impares fore. Hinc atrox rixa oritur. Valerium Horatiumque lictor decemviri invadit. Franguntur a multitudine fascēs. In concionem Appius ascendit. Sequuntur Horatius Valeriusque. Eos concio audit: decemviro obstrepitur ³. Jam pro imperio Valerius discedere a privato lictores jubebat: quum, fractis animis, Appius, vitae metuens, in domum se propinquam foro, insciis adversariis, capite obvoluto, recepit. Sp. Oppius, ut auxilio collegae esset, in forum ex alterâ parte irrumpit. Videt imperium vi victum. Agitatus deinde consiliis, ad quae ex omni parte assentiendo multis auctoribus trepidaverat, senatum postremò vocari jussit ⁴. Ea res, quòd magnae parti Patrum displicere acta decemvirorum videbantur, spe per senatum finiendae potestatis ejus multitudinem sedavit. Senatus nec plebem irritandam censuit; et multo magis providendum, ne quid Virginii adventus in exercitu motus faceret.

L. Itaque missi juniores Patrum in castra, quae tum in monte Vecilio erant, nunciant decemviris, 'ut omni ope ab 'seditione milites contineant:' ubi Virginii majorem, quàm

¹ *Virorum, &c.* The clamours of the men, and of Icilius above all, was wholly directed against the abrogation of the tribunicial power, and the appeal to the people, and echoed the public causes of indignation. ² *Qui, &c.* Who, having driven back the lictor, said, that

if Appius was acting in consistency with law, they defended Icilius from him, being in a private station. ³ *Obstrepere alicui*, to shout down a speaker. So in Sallust, Cat. 31. *obstrepere pene omnes*. ⁴ This

reading seems to be the best. Some read *agitatis*,—*atque*,—*trepidus*.

reliquerat in urbe, motum exiit. Nam, praeterquam quod agmine prope quadriagentorum hominum veniens, qui ab urbe indignitate rei accensi comites ei se dederant, conspectus est; strictum etiam telum, respersusque ipse cruore, tota in se castra convertit. Et togae¹, multifariam in castris visse, majoris aliquanto, quàm erat, speciem urbanae multitudinis fecerant. Quaerentibus, 'quid rei esset,' flens diu vocem non misit: tandem, ut jam ex trepidatione concurrentium turba constitit, ac silentium fuit, ordinae cuncta, ut gesta erant, exposuit. Supinas deinde tendens manus, commilitones appellans, orabat, 'Ne, quod scelus Ap. Claudii esset, sibi attribuerent: neu se, ut parricidam liberum, aversarentur. 'Sibi vitam filiae suae cariorem fuisse, si liberae ac pudicae vivere licitum fuisset. Quum, velut servam, ad stuprum rapi videret, morte amitti melius ratum, quàm contumeliâ, liberos, misericordiâ se in speciem crudelitatis lapsum. Nec se superstitem filiae futurum fuisse, nisi spem ulciscendae mortis ejus in auxilio commilitonum habuisset. Illis quodque enim filias, sorores, conjugesque esse. Nec cum filiâ suâ libidinem Ap. Claudii extinctam esse; sed, quo impunitior sit, eo affrenatiorem fore. Alienâ calamitate documentum datum illis cavendae similis injuriae. Quod ad se attineat, uxorem sibi fato ereptam: filiam, quia non ultrâ pudica victura fuerit, miseram, sed honestam, mortem occubuisse. Non esse jam Appii libidini locum in domo suâ. Ab aliâ violentiâ ejus eodem se animo suum corpus vindicaturum, quo vindicaverit filiae. Ceteri sibi ac liberis suis consulere.' Haec Virginio vociferanti succlamabat multitudo, 'nec illius dolori nec suae libertati se defuturos.' Et immixti turbae militum togati, quum² eadem illa quaerendo, docendoque, quanto vis, quàm audita, indigniora potuerint videri, simul³ 'profligatam' jam rem nunciando 'Romae esse,' insecutique, qui 'Appium prope interemptum in exsilium abisse' dicerent, perpulerunt, ut 'ad arma' conclamaretur, vellerentque signa, et Romam proficiscerentur. De-

¹ See p. 157, note 2.

² Quum—simul, according to Gronovius, the same as cum-tum. ³ Profligare, (pro, fligo,) to dash forward, to give an impulse to; hence *profligare hostes*, passim, to rout an enemy; *bellum profligatum conficere*, Livy, to give a successful impulse to a war, and bring it to a conclusion. Here *rem profligatam*, that the matter had made great progress.

centuri simul his, quae videbant, simul his, quae acta Romae audierant, perturbati, alius in aliam partem castrorum, ad sedandos motus discurrunt: et leniter agentibus responsum non redditur: imperium si quis inhiheret, 'et viros et armatos se esse,' responderetur. Ennt agmine ad urbem, et Aventinum insidunt; ut quisque occurrerat, plebem ad repetendam libertatem creandosque tribunos plebis adhortantes. Alia vox nulla violenta audita est. Senatum Sp. Oppius habet: nihil placet asperere agi; quippe ab ipsis datum locum seditionis esse. Mittuntur tres legati consulares, Sp. Tarpeius, C. Julius, P. Sulpicius, qui quaererent senatus verba, 'cujus jussu castra deseruissent? aut quid sibi vellent, qui armati Aventinum obsedissent? belloque averso ab hostibus patriam suam cepissent?' Non defuit, quid responderetur: deerat, qui daret responsum, nullo dum certo duce, nec satis audentibus singulis invidiae se offerre. Id modò a multitudine conclamatum est, 'ut L. Valerium et M. Horatium ad se mitterent. His se daturus responsum.'

LI. Dimissis legatis, admonet milites Virginius, 'in re non maximâ paullò antè trepidatum esse, quia sine capite multitudo fuerit: responsumque, quanquam non inutiliter, fortuito tamen magis consensu, quàm communi consilio, esse. Placere decem creari, qui summae rei praecessent, militarique honore tribunos militum appellari.' Quum ad eum ipsum primum is honos deferretur, 'Melioribus meis vestrisque rebus reservate,' inquit, 'ista de me judicia. Nec mihi filia multa honorem ullam jucundum esse patitur; nec in perturbatâ republicâ eos utile est praeesse vobis, qui proximi invidiae sint. Si quis usus mei est, nihilo minor ex privato capietur.' Ita decem numero tribunos militares creant. Neque in Sabinis quievit exercitus. Ibi quòque, auctore Icilio Numitorioque, secessio ab decemviris facta est, non minore motu animorum Sicci¹ caedis memoriâ revocatâ, quàm quem nova fama de virgine adeò foedè ad libidinem petità accenderat. Icilius ubi audit, tribunos militum in Aventino creatos, ne comitiorum militarium praerogativam² urbana

¹ See Chap. 43. ² 'Anciently the centuries were called to give their votes according to the institution of Servius Tullius; first the Equites, and then the centuries of the first class, but afterwards it was determined by lot in what order they should vote. When this was first done is uncertain. The names of the centuries were thrown

comitia iisdem tribunis plebis creandis sequerentur, peritus rerum popularium imminensque¹ ei potestati, et ipse prius, quàm iretur ad urbem, pari potestate eundem numerum ab suis creandum curat. Portâ Collinâ urbem intravere sub signis, mediâque urbe agmine in Aventinum pergunt. Ibi, conjuncti alteri exercitui, viginti tribunis militum negotium dederunt, ut ex suo numero duos crearent, qui summae rerum praessent. M. Oppium, Sex. Manilium creant. Patres, solliciti de summâ rerum, quom senatus quotidie esset, jurgiis saepius terunt tempus, quàm consiliis. Sicci caedes decemviris, et Appiana libido, et dedecora militiae objiciebantur. Placebat, Valerium Horatiumque ire in Aventinum. Illi negabant se aliter ituros, quàm si decemviri deponerent insignia magistratûs ejus, quo anno jam antè abissent. Decemviri, querentes se in ordinem cogi², non antè, quàm perlatis legibus, quarum causâ creati essent, deposituros imperium se aiebant.

LII. Per M. Duilium, qui tribunus plebis fuerat, certior facta plebs, contentionibus assiduâs nihil transigi, in Sacrum montem ex Aventino transit; affirmante Duilio, 'non prius, quàm deseri urbem videant, curam in animos Patrum de-scensuram. Admoniturum Sacrum montem constantiae plebis: scituros, quòd sine restitutâ potestate redigi in-cordiam res nequeant³. Viâ Nomentanâ, cui tum Ficulensi nomen fuit, profecti, castra in monte Sacro locavere; modestiam patrum suorum nihil violando imitati. Secuta exercitum plebs, nullo, qui per aetatem ire posset, retractante. Prosequuntur conjuges liberique, 'cuinam se relinquerent in

'into a box, and then the box being shaken, so that the lots might lie equally, the century which came out first gave its vote first, and hence was called *PRAEROGATIVA*. Those centuries which followed next *primo vocatae*. The rest *jure vocatae*. But all the centuries are usually called *jure vocatae*, except the *praerogativa*. Its vote was held of the highest importance. Hence *praerogativa* is put for a sign or pledge, a favourable omen or intimation of any thing future; for a precedent or example, or favour, and among later writers, for a peculiar or exclusive privilege.' Dr ADAM. ¹ *Imminere*, to hang over; hence, probably, from birds of prey, to hanker after. ² See p. 185, note 1. ³ From the rareness of such an expression as *scituros*, quod in pure Latinity, Gronovius suggests *sciturosque quam*. Bauer conjectures that *scituros* comes from *scisco*. This word, however, is not applicable, as he remarks, to the decrees of the senate.

‘eâ urbē, in quâ nec pudicitia, nec libertas sancta esset,’ miserabiliter rogantes. Quum vasta Romae omnia insueta solitudo fecisset, in foro praeter paucos seniorum nemo esset; vocatis utique in senatum Patribus, desertum apparuisset forum: plures jam, quàm Horatius et Valerius, vociferabantur; ‘Quid expectabitis. Patres conscripti? Si decemviri finem pertinaciae non faciunt, ruere ac deflagrare omnia passuri estis? Quod autem istud imperium est, decemviri, quod amplexi tenetis? Tectis ac parietibus jura dicturi estis? Non pudet, lictorum vestrorum majorem prope numerum in foro conspici, quàm togatorum aliorumque? Quid, si hostes ad urbem veniant, facturi estis? quid, si plebs mox, ubi parum secessionē moveamur, armata veniat? Occasune urbis vultis finire imperium? Atqui aut plebs non est habenda, aut habendi sunt tribuni plebis. Nos citiùs caruerimus patriciis magistratibus, quàm illi plebeiis. Novam inextertamque eam potestatem eripuerē patribus nostris, ne¹ nunc, dulcedine semel capti, ferant desiderium; quum praesertim nec nos temperemus imperiis, quo minùs illi auxilii egeant.’ Quum haec ex omni parte jactarentur, victi consensu decemviri, ‘futuros se, quando ita videatur, in potestate Patrum’² affirmant. Id modò simul orant ac movent, ‘ut ipsis ab invidiâ caveatur: nec suo sanguine ad supplicia Patrum plebem assuefaciant.’

LIII. Tum Valerius Horatiusque, missi ad plebem conditionibus, quibus videretur, revocandam componendasque res, decemviris quòque ab irâ et impetu multitudinis praecavere jubentur. Profecti gaudio ingenti plebis in castra accipiuntur; quippe liberatores haud dubiè et motûs initio, et exitu rei. Ob haec advenientibus gratiae actae. Icilius pro multitudine verba facit. Idem, quum de conditionibus ageretur, quaerentibus legatis, ‘quae postulata plebis essent,’ composito jam ante adventum legatorum consilio, ea postulavit, ut appareret, in aequitate rerum plus, quàm in armis, reponi spei. Potestatem enim tribuniciam, provocationemque repetebant, quae ante decemviros creatos auxilia plebis fuerant, et ne cui fraudi esset, concisise milites aut plebem ad repetendam per secessionem libertatem. De decemvirorum modò supplicio atrox postulatum fuit. Dedi quippe eos aequum censebant,

¹ Ne, (for *nedum*) much less.

² See p. 170, note 4.

‘ vivosque igni concrematurus’ minabantur. Legati ad ea :
 ‘ Quae consilii’ fuerunt, adeo aequa postulastis, ut ultro vo-
 ‘ bis deferenda fuerint. Libertati enim ea praesidia petitis,
 ‘ non licentiae ad impugnandos alios. Irae vestrae magis ig-
 ‘ noscendum, quam indulgendum est. Quippe qui crudeli-
 ‘ tatis odio in crudelitatem ruitis, et prius penè, quam ipsi
 ‘ liberi sitis, dominari jam in adversarios vultis. Nunquamne
 ‘ quiescet civitas nostra a suppliciis, aut Patrum in plebem
 ‘ Romanam, aut plebis in Patres? Scuto vobis magis, quam
 ‘ gladio, opus est. Satis superque humilis est, qui jure ae-
 ‘ quo in civitate vivit, nec inferendo injuriam, nec patiendo.
 ‘ Etiam, si quando metuendos vos praebituri estis, quum, re-
 ‘ cuperatis magistratibus legibusque vestris, judicia penes vos
 ‘ erunt de capite nostro fortunisque ; tunc, ut quaeque causa
 ‘ erit, statuetis. Nunc libertatem repeti satis est.’

LIV. Facerent, ut vellent, permittentibus cunctis, ‘ mox
 ‘ redituros se’ legati ‘ rebus perfectis’ affirmant. Profecti quum
 mandata plebis Patribus exposuissent, alii decemviri, quan-
 doquidem praeter spem ipsorum supplicii sui nulla mentio
 fieret, haud quicquam abnuere. Appius, truci ingenio et in-
 vidia praecipua, odium in se aliorum suo in eos metiens odio,
 ‘ Haud ignaro²,’ inquit, ‘ imminet fortuna. Video, donec
 ‘ arma adversariis tradantur, differri adversus nos certamen.
 ‘ Dandus invidiae est sanguis. Nihil ne ego quidem moror,
 ‘ quo minùs decemviratu abeam.’ Factum senatùs consul-
 tum, ‘ Ut decemviri se primo quoque tempore magistratu
 ‘ abdicarent. Q. Furius pontifex maximus tribunos plebis
 ‘ crearet, et ne cui fraudi esset secessio militum plebisque.’
 His senatùs consultis perfectis, dimisso senatu, decemviri
 prodeunt in concionem, abdicantque se magistratu, ingenti
 hominum laetitia. Nunciantur haec plebi. Legatos, quic-
 quid in urbe hominum supererat, prosequitur. Huic multi-
 tudini laeta alia turba ex castris occurrit. Congratulantur
 libertatem concordiamque civitati restitutam. Legati pro
 concione : ‘ Quod bonum, faustum, felixque sit vobis, reique
 ‘ publicae, redite in patriam ad penates, conjuges, liberosque
 ‘ vestros : sed, quâ hîc modestiâ fuistis, ubi nullius ager in
 ‘ tot rerum usu necessario tantae multitudini est violatus,
 ‘ eam modestiam ferte in urbem. In Aventinum ite, unde

¹ *Consilii*, opposed to *irae* in the second sentence below.
naro, supply *mihi*.

² *Ig-*

'profecti estis. Ibi felici loco, ubi prima initia inchoastis
'libertatis vestrae, tribunos plebi creabitis. Praesto erit
'pontifex maximus, qui comitia habeat.' Ingens assensus
alacritasque cuncta approbantium fuit. Convellunt inde signa,
profectique Romam certant cum obviis gaudio. Armati
per urbem silentio in Aventinum perveniunt. Ibi extemplo,
pontifice maximo comitia habente, tribunos plebis creaverunt,
omnium primum A. Virginium, inde L. Icilium, et P. Numitorium
avunculum Virginiae, auctores secessionis. Tum C. Sicinium,
progeniem ejus¹, quem 'primum tribunum plebis
'bis creatum in Sacro monte,' proditum memoriae est; et
M. Duilium, qui tribunatum insignem ante decemviros creatos
gesserat, nec in decemviralibus certaminibus plebi defuerat.
Spe deinde magis, quàm meritis, electi, M. Titinius,
M. Pomponius, C. Apronius, P. Villius, C. Oppius. Tribu-
nату inito, L. Icilius extemplo plebem rogavit, et plebs
scivit, ne cui fraudi esset secessio ab decemviris facta. Con-
festim de consulibus creandis cum provocatione M. Duilius
rogationem² pertulit. Ea omnia in pratis Flaminiis concilio
plebis acta, quem nunc circum Flaminium appellant.

LV. Per interregem deinde consules creati, L. Valerius,
M. Horatius; qui extemplo magistratum occiperunt:
306. quorum consulatus popularis sine ullâ Patrum
injuriâ, nec sine offensione fuit. Quicquid enim libertati
plebis caveretur, id suis decedere opibus credebant. Omnium
primum, quum veluti in controverso jure esset, tenerentur
Patres plebiscitis, legem centuriatis comitiis tulere, 'Ut,
'quod tributim plebes jussisset, populum teneret.' Quâ lege
tribuniciiis rogationibus telum acerrimum datum est. Aliam
deinde consularem legem de provocatione, unicum praesidium
libertatis, decemvirali potestate eversam, non restituunt
modo, sed etiam in posterum muniunt, sanciendo novam legem,
'Ne quis ullum magistratum sine provocatione crearet. Qui
creâset, eum jus fasque esset occidi: neve ea caedes capitalis
noxae haberetur.' Et quum plebem hinc provocatione,
hinc tribunicio auxilio satis firmâssent, ipsis quodque tribunis,
ut sacrosancti viderentur, (cujus rei prope jam memoria abo-
leverat,) relatis quibusdam ex magno intervallo ceremoniis,
renovârunt; et quum religione inviolatos eos, tum lege etiam

¹ See II. 33.² See p. 134, note 2.

fecerunt, sanciendo, ' Ut, qui tribūis plebis, aedilibus, judi-
 ' cibus, decemviris ¹ nocuisset, ejus caput Jovi sacrum esset :
 ' familia ad aedem Cereris, Liberi, Liberaeque venum iret.'
 Hâc lege juris interpretes negant ' quemquam sacrosanctum
 ' esse : sed eum, ' qui eorum cuiquam nocuerit, sacrum san-
 ' ciri. Itaque aedilem prehendi ducique a majoribus magis-
 ' tratibus : quòd etsi non jure fiat, (noceri enim ei, cui hâc
 ' lege non liceat,) tamen argumentum esse, non haberi pro
 ' sacrosancto aedilem : tribunos vetere jurejurando plebis,
 (quum primùm eam potestatem creavit,) ' sacrosanctos esse.
 ' Fuere, ' qui interpretarentur ², ' eâdem hâc Horatiâ lege con-
 ' sulibus quòque et praetoribus, quia iisdem auspiciis, quibus
 ' consules, crearentur, cautum esse : judicem enim consulem
 ' appellari.' Quae refellitur interpretatio, ' quòd his tempo-
 ' ribus nondum consulem judicem, sed praetorem, appellari
 ' mos fuerit ³. Hae consulares leges fuere. Institutum etiam
 ab iisdem consulibus, ut senatûs consulta in aedem Cereris ad
 aediles plebis deferrentur ; quae antea arbitrio consulum sup-
 primebantur vitiabanturque. M. Duilius deinde tribunus
 plebis plebem rogavit, plebesque scivit : ' qui plebem sine
 ' tribunis reliquisset, quique magistratum sine provocatione
 ' creâsset, tergo ac capite puniretur.' Haec omnia ut invitis,
 ita non advereantibus, patriciis transacta ; quia nondum in
 quemquam unum saeviebatur.

¹ Who were the *judices*, and the *decemviri*? With regard to the former, even in Livy's time we find, from the subsequent passage, there were doubts ; and the latter word does not occur in the old MSS. Ruperti thinks that the *judices* are the aediles, called by Dionysius *δικασται*, and the *decemviri* are the ten tribunes of the people, both mentioned twice for the sake of emphasis. ² The reasoning of the lawyers seems to have been : To make a man *sacrosanctus* requires a religious consecration : (relatis quibusdam ex magno intervallo ceremoniis) : hence the tribunes were *sacrosancti*, not by this law, but *vetere jurejurando plebis* : (See II. 33) : the aediles, again, only protected by this law, were liable to seizure at the hands of the *maiores magistratus*, which exposed indeed the latter to punishment, but could not have been done at all, had the law extended to making the aediles *sacrosancti*. The distinction is too subtle to be easily understood by us, when it puzzled the Roman lawyers. ³ Quae, &c. Which interpretation is refuted, on the ground that, in these early times, the term praetor, not judge, was applied to the consul. So Cicero : Regio imperio duo sunt ; iique, praeundo, judicando, consulendo, *praetores*, *judices*, *consules* adpellantur. Leg. 3. 3.

LVI. Fundatâ deinde et potestate tribuniciâ, et plebis libertate, tum tribuni aggredi singulos tutum maturumque jam rati, accusatorem primum Virginium et Appium reum deligunt. Quum diem Appio Virginium dixisset, et Appias, stipatas patriciis juvenibus, in forum descendisset; rediitegrata extemplo est omnibus memoria foedissimae potestatis, quum ipsam satellitesque ejus vidissent. Tum Virginium, 'Oratio,' inquit, 'rebus dubiis inventa est. Itaque neque ego accusando apud vos eam tempus teram, a cujus crudelitate vosmet ipsi armis vindicâstis: nec ictum ad cetera acclera impudentiam in defendendo se adjicere patiar. Onus igitur tibi, Ap. Claudii, quae impiè nefarièque per biennium alia super alia es ausus, gratiam facio. Unius tantum criminis¹, ni judicem dices², te ab libertate in servitutem contra leges vindiciae non dedisse³, in vincula te duci jubeo.' Nec in tribunicio auxilio Appius, nec in judicio populi ullam spem habebat. Attamen et tribunos appellavit; et, nullo morante, arreptus a viatore, 'Provoco,' inquit. Audita vox una vindex libertatis, ex eo missa ore, quo vindiciae nuper ab libertate dictae erant⁴, silentium fecit. Et, dum pro se quisque, 'Deos tandem esse, et non negligere humana,' fremunt, 'et superbiae crudelitati, etsi seras, non leves tamen venire poenas; provocare, qui provocationem sustulisset; et implorare praesidium populi, qui omnia jura populi obrisset; rapique in vincula egentem jure libertatis, qui liberum corpus in servitutem addixisset;' ipse Appii, inter concionis murmur fidem populi Romani implorantis, vox audiebatur. Majorum merita in rempublicam domi militiaeque commemorabat: 'suum infelix erga plebem Romanam studium, quod aequandarum legum causâ cum maximâ offensione Patrum consulatu abisset⁵: suas leges, quibus manentibus lator earum in vincula ducatur. Ceterum sua propria bona malaque, quum causae dicendae data facultas sit, tum se experturum. In praesentiâ se communi jure civitatis civem Romanum die dictâ postulare, ut dicere liceat, ut iudicium populi Romani experiri. Non ita se invidiam perstimuisse, ut nihil in aequitate et misericordiâ civium suorum spei habeat. Quod si indictâ causâ in vincula ducatur, iterum se tribunos plebei appellare, et monere, ne imitentur,

¹ Supply *causâ*.² See p. 173, note 3.³ See p. 196, note 1.⁴ See p. 196, note 1.⁵ See Chap. XXXIII.

‘ quos oderint. Quòd si tribuni eodem foedere obligatos se fateantur tollendae appellationis causâ, in quam ¹ conspirâsse decemviros criminati sint;’ ait ‘ se provocare ad populum : implorare leges de provocatione, et consulares, et tribunicias, eo ipso anno latas. Quem enim provocaturum, si hoc ² indemnato indictâ causâ non liceat ? Cui plebeio et humili praesidium in legibus fore, si Ap. Claudio non sit ? se documento ³ futurum, utrùm novis legibus dominatio, an libertas firmata sit : et appellatio provocatioque adversus injuriam magistratuum ostentata tantùm inanibus literis, an verè data sit.’

LVII. Contra ea Virginus, unum Ap. Claudium et legum expertem et civilis et humani foederis esse, aiebat. ‘ Respicerent ⁴ tribunal homines, castellum omnium scelerum : ubi decemvir ille perpetuus, bonis, tergo, sanguini civium infestus, virgas securesque omnibus minitans, Deorum hominumque contemptor ; carnificibus, non lictoribus, stipatus, jam ab rapinis et caedibus animo ad libidinem verso, virginem ingenuam in oculis populi Romani, velut bello captam, ab complexu patris abreptam, ministro cubiculi sui clienti dono dederit. Ubi crudeli decreto nefandisque vindiciis dexteram patris in filiam armaverit ; ubi, tollentes corpus semianime virginis, sponsum avunculumque in carcerem duci jusserit ; stupro interpellato magis, quàm caede, motus. Et illi carcerem aedificatum esse, quod domicilium ⁵ plebis Romanae vocare sit solitus. Proinde, ut ille iterum ac saepius provocet, sic se iterum ac saepius judicem illi ferre ⁶, ni vindicias ab libertate in servitutem dederit ⁷. Si ad iudicem non eat, pro damnato in vincula duci jubere.’ Ut haud quoquam improbante, sic ⁸ magno motu animorum, quum tanti viri supplicio suamet plebi jam nimia libertas videretur, in carcerem est conjectus. Tribunus ei diem prodixit ⁹. Inter haec ab Latinis et Hernicis legati gratulatum de concordia Patrum ac plebis Romam venerunt ; donumque

¹ *Quam.* Doering suggests *quod* with a reference to *eodem foedere*. Mark, *appellare tribunos—provocare ad populum.* ² *Hoc*, namely, *provocare.* ³ See p. 33, note 1. ⁴ See p. 119, note 3.

⁵ Probably taken by Livy from an expression of Cicero's, (*Lib. v. In Verrem*,) quoted by Gronovius, where he calls a Syracusan prison *domicilium civium Romanorum*, ⁶ See p. 173, note 3. ⁷ See p. 196, note 1. ⁸ See p. 28, note 1. ⁹ See p. 109, note 2.

ob eam Jovi optimo maximo coronam auream in Capitolium tulere parvi ponderis, prout res haud opulentae erant, colebanturque religiones piè magis, quàm magnificè. Iisdem auctoribus cognitum est, Aequos Volcosque summâ vi bellum apparare. Itaque partiri provincias¹ consules jussi. Horatio Sabini, Valerio Aequi Volscique evenere. Quum ad ea bella delectum edixissent, favore plebis non juniores modò, sed emeritis etiam stipendiis², pars magna voluntariorum, ad nomina danda praesto fuere. Eoque non copiâ modò, sed genere etiam militum, veteranis admistis, firmior exercitus fuit. Priùs quàm urbem egrederentur, leges decemvirales, quibus 'tabulis duodecim' est nomen, in aes incisas in publico proposuerunt. Sunt, qui 'jussu tribunorum aediles 'functos eo ministerio' scribant.

LVIII. C. Claudius, (qui, perosus decemvirorum scelera, et ante omnes fratris filii superbiae infestus, Regillum, anti-quam in patriam, se contulerat,) is magno jam natu, quum ad pericula ejus deprecanda redisset, cujus vitia fugerat, sortidatus cum gentilibus clientibusque in foro prensabat singulos; orabatque, 'Ne Claudiae genti eam inustam maculam vellent, ut carcere et vinculis viderentur digni; virum, 'honoratissimae imaginis futurum ad posteros, legum latorem 'conditoremque Romani juris, jacere vinctum inter fures 'nocturnos ac latrones. Averterent ab irâ parumper ad cognitionem cogitationemque animos: et potiùs unum tot Claudis deprecantibus condonarent, quàm propter unius odium 'multorum preces aspernarentur. Se quoque id generi ac 'nomini dare, nec cum eo in gratiam redisse, cujus adversae 'fortunae velit succursum. Virtute libertatem recuperatam 'esse: clementiâ concordiam ordinum stabiliri posse.' Erant, quos moveret suâ magis pietate³, quàm ejus pro quo agebat, causâ. Sed Virginius, 'sui potiùs ut misererentur,' orabat, 'filiaeque: nec gentis Claudiae, regnum in plebem sortitae; 'sed necessariorum Virginiae trium tribunorum preces audirent: qui, ad auxilium plebis creati, ipsi plebis fidem atque 'auxilium implorarent.' Justiores hae lacrimae videbantur.

¹ See p. 115, note 3. ² Ten campaigns as a horseman, and twenty as a foot-soldier, exempted the Romans from further service. Those who had so completed their time were called *emeriti*, and the campaigns themselves *stipendia emerita*. ³ *Pietas*, natural affection, either towards the gods, or here, towards one's family.

Itaque, spe incisâ, priùs quàm predicta dies adesset, Appius sibi mortem conscivit¹. Subinde arreptus a P. Numitorio Sp. Oppias, proximas invidiae, quòd in urbe fuerat, quam injustae vindiciae a collegâ dicerentur. Plus tamen facta injuria Oppio, quàm non prohibita, invidiae fecit. Testis productus, qui, septem et viginti enumeratis stipendiis, octies extra ordinem donatus², donaque ea gerens in conspectu populi, scissâ veste tergum laceratum virgis ostendit, nihilum deprecans, 'quin, si quam suam noxam reus dicere posset, 'privatus iterum in se saeviret.' Oppius quòque ductus in vincula est, et ante iudicii diem finem ibi vitae fecit. Bona Claudii Oppiique tribuni publicavere. Collegae eorum exsilii causâ solum verterant: bona publicata sunt. Et M. Claudius, assertor Virginiae, die dictâ damnatus, ipso remittente Virginio ultimam poenam, dimissus Tibur exsulatum abiit: manesque Virginiae, mortuae quàm vivae felicioris, per tot domos ad petendas poenas vagati, nullo relicto sote tandem quieverunt.

LIX. Ingens metus incesserat Patres, vultusque jam iidem tribunorum erant, qui decemvirorum fuerant, quam M. Duilius tribunus plebis, inhibito salubriter modo nimiae potestatis, 'Et libertatis,' inquit, 'nostrae et poenarum ex inimicis satis est. Itaque hoc anno nec diem dici cuiquam, nec in vincula dari quemquam sum passurus. Nam neque vetera peccata repeti jam oblitterata placet, quam nova expiata sint decemvirorum suppliciis; et nihil admissum iri, quod vim tribuniciam desideret, spondet perpetua consulum amborum in libertate vestrâ tuendâ cura.' Ea primùm moderatio tribuni metum Patribus dempsit, eademque auxit consulum invidiam; 'quòd adedò toti plebis fuissent³, ut Patrum salutis libertatisque prior plebeio magistratui, quàm patricio, cura fuisset; et antè inimicos satietas poenarum suarum cepisset, quàm obviam ituros licentiae eorum consules appareret.' Multique erant, qui 'mollius consultum' dicerent, 'quòd legem ab iis latarum Patres auctores fuissent.' Neque erat dubium, quin, turbato reipublicae statu, tempori succubuissent⁴.

¹ According to Dionysius, there were reports that his death was ordered by the decemvirs.

² *Octies*, &c. having received eight rewards for extraordinary services.

³ See p. 186, note 5. ⁴ According to the general understanding of this passage, the consuls are

LX. Consules, rebus urbanis compositis, fundatoque plebis statu, in provincias diversi abiêre. Valerius adversus conjunctos jam in Algido exercitus Aequorum Volscorumque sustinuit consilio bellum¹. Quòd si extemplo rem fortunae commisisset, haud scio, an (qui tum animi ab decemvirorum infelicibus auspiciis Romanis hostibusque erant) magno detrimento certamen staturum fuerit². Castris, mille passuum ab hoste positis, copias continebat. Hostes medium inter bina castra spatium acie instructâ complebant. Provocantibusque ad proelium responsum Romanus nemo reddebat. Tandem fatigati stando, ac nequicquam expectando certamen, Aequi Volscique, postquam concessum propemodum de victoriâ credebant, pars in Hernicos, pars in Latinos praedatum abeunt. Relinquitur magis castris praesidium, quàm satis virium ad certamen. Quod ubi consul sensit, reddit illatum antea terrorem, instructâque acie ultro hostem lacescit. Ubi illi, conscientiâ quid abesset virium, detractavere pugnam, crevit extemplo Romanis animus, et pro victis habebant paventes intra vallum. Quum per totum diem stetissent intenti ad certamen, nocti cessere: et Romani quidem pleni spei corpora curabant. Haudquaquam pari hostes animo nuncios passim trepidi ad revocandos praedatores dimittunt. Recurritur ex proximis locis; ulteriores non inventi. Ubi illuxit, egreditur castris Romanus, vallum invasurus, ni copia pugnae fieret. Et, postquam multa jam dies erat, neque movebatur quicquam ab hoste, jubet signa inferri consul. Motâque acie, indignatio Aequos et Volscos incessit, si victores exercitus vallum potiùs, quàm virtus et arma tegerent. Igitur et ipsi efflagitatum ab ducibus signum pugnae accipere. Jamque pars egressa portis erat, deincepsque alii ser-

censured from *quod adeo*, to *neque*, where Livy defends them by remarking, that there was, however, no doubt, but the senators would, after all, have been obliged to yield to the troubled state of the times. Would it not, however, be better to commence the defence of the consuls at *multique erant*, referring *mollius consultum* not to the senate but to the people? The translation would then be: And (on the other hand,) there were many, who urged that the people had taken milder measures, because the senators had confirmed, by their authoritative sanction, the laws passed by the consuls. Nor was there a doubt, but, in the troubled state of public affairs, they had given way to the necessity of the time. ¹ *Sustinuit consilio bellum*, purposely prolonged the war. ² See p. 110, note 5.

vabant ordinem, in suum quisque locum descendentes, quum consul Romanus priùs, quàm totis viribus fulta constaret hostium acies, intulit signa: adortusque nec omnes dum eductos, nec, qui erant, satis explicatis ordinibus, prope fluctuantem turbam trepidantium huc atque illuc, circumspectantiumque se ac suos, addito turbatis mentibus clamore atque impetu, invadit. Retulere primò pedem hostes. Deinde, quum animos collegissent, et undique duces, 'victisne cessuri essent,' increparent, restituitur pugna.

LXI. Consul ex alterâ parte Romanos 'meminisse' jubebat, 'illo die primùm liberos pro liberâ urbe Romanâ pugnare. Sibimet ipsis victuros, non ut decemvirorum victores præmium essent. Non Appio duce rem geri, sed consule Valerio¹, a liberatoribus populi Romani orto, liberatore ipso. Ostenderent, prioribus proeliis per duces, non per milites, stetisse, ne vincerent. Tarpe esse, contra cives plus animi habuisse, quàm contra hostes; et domi, quàm foris, servitutem magis timuisse. Unam Virginiam fuisse, cujus pudicitiae in pace periculum esset: unum Appium civem periculosæ libidinis. At, si fortuna belli inclinet, omnium liberis ab tot millibus hostium periculum fore. Nolite ominari, quae nec Jupiter, nec Mars pater passuri sint, iis auspiciis² conditae urbe accidere.' Aventini Sacrique montis admonebat, 'at, ubi libertas parta esset paucis antè mensibus, eò imperium illibatum referrent: ostenderentque, eandem indolem militibus Romanis post exactos decemviros esse, quae ante creatos fuerit; nec, aequatis legibus, immutatam virtutem populi Romani esse.' Haec ubi inter signa peditum dicta dedit; avolat deinde ad equites, 'Agite, juvenes,' inquit, 'praestate virtute peditem, ut honore atque ordine praestatis. Primo concursu pedes movit hostem. Pulsum vos, immissis equis, exigite e campo. Non sustinebunt impetum: et nunc cunctantur magis, quàm resistunt.' Concitant equos, permittuntque in hostem, pedestri jam turbatum pugnâ: et, perruptis ordinibus, elati ad novissimam aciem, pars libero spatio circumvecti, jam fugam undique capessentes plerosque a castris avertunt, praeterequitanterque absterrent. Peditum acies, et consul ipse, visque omnis belli fertur in castra; captisque cum ingenti caede,

¹ Referring to his ancestor Valerius Publicola.

² *Iis auspiciis.* Such (so favourable) auspices.

maiore praedâ potitur. Hujus pugnae fama perlata non in urbem modò, sed in Sabinos ad alterum exercitum. In urbe laetitiâ modò celebrata est: in castris animos militum ad aemulandum decus accendit. Jam Horatius eos, excursionibus sufficiendo¹, proeliisque levibus experiundo assuefecerat sibi potiùs fidere, quàm meminisse ignominiae decemvirosum ductû acceptae; parvaeque certamina in summam totius profecerant spei. Nec cessabant Sabini, feroces ab re priore anno bene gestâ, lacessere atque instare, rogitantes, 'Quid 'latrocinii modo procursantes pauci recurrentesque tererent 'tempus, et in multa proelia parvaeque carperent summam 'unius belli? Quin illi congrederentur acie, inclinandamque 'semel fortunae rem darent?'

LXII. Ad id, quòd suâ sponte satis collectum animorum erat, indignitate etiam Romani accendebantur. 'Jam alterum exercitum victorem in urbem rediturum; sibi ultro 'per contumelias hostem insultare. Quando autem se, si 'tam non sint, pares hostibus fore?' Ubi haec fremere militem in castris consul sensit, concione advocatâ, 'Quemadmodum,' inquit, 'in Alcido res gesta sit, arbitror vos, milites, audisse; qualem liberi populi exercitum decuit esse, 'talis fuit. Consultu collegae, virtute militum victoria parta 'est. Quod ad me attinet, id consilii animique habiturus 'sum, quod vos mihi effeceritis. Et trahi bellum salubriter, 'et maturè perfici potest. Si trahendum est, ego, ut in 'dies spes virtusque vestra crescat, eâdem, quâ institui, disciplina efficiam. Si jam satis animi est, decernique placet, agitedum, clamorem, qualem in acie sublaturi estis, 'tollite hic, indicem voluntatis virtutisque vestrae.' Postquam ingenti alacritate clamor est sublatus, 'Quod bene veritat², gesturum se illis morem, posteroque die in aciem deducturum,' affirmat. Reliquum diei apparandis armis consumptum est. Postero die simul instrui Romanam aciem Sabini videre, et ipsi, jam pridem avidi certaminis, procedunt. Proelium fuit, quale inter fidentes sibimet ambo exer-

¹ *Excursionibus sufficiendo*, according to Duker, by the soldiers finding that in sallies they were a match for the enemy;—according to Stroth, by the consuls supplying them with opportunities enough for sallying. Another interpretation makes it mean, by supplying soldiers to those who wished to head sallies: Duker's explanation seems the least forced. ² See p. 32, note 2.

citus, veteris perpetuaeque alterum gloriae¹, alterum nuper novâ victoriâ elatum. Consilio etiam Sabini vires adjuvere. Nam quum aequâssent aciem², duo extra ordinem millia, quae in sinistrum cornu Romanorum in ipso certamine impressionem facerent, tenuere. Quae ubi, illatis ex transverso signis, degravabant prope circumventum cornu; equites duarum legionum sexcenti fere ex equis desiliunt, cedentibusque jam suis provolant in primum; simulque et hosti se opponunt, et, aequato primùm periculo, pudore deinde animos peditum accendunt. Verecundiae erat, equitem suo alienoque Marte³ pugnare: peditem ne ad pedes quidem degresso equiti parem esse.

LXIII. Vadunt igitur in proelium ab suâ parte omissum: et locum, ex quo cesserant, repetunt: momentoque non restituta modò pugna, sed inclinatur etiam Sabinis cornu. Eques inter ordines peditum tectus se ad equos recipit. Transvolat inde in partem alteram, suis victoriae nuncius; simul et in hostes jam pavidos, quippe fuso suae partis validiore cornu, impetum facit. Non aliorum eo proelio virtus magis enituit. Consul providere omnia, laudare fortes, increpare, sicubi segnior pugna esset. Castigati fortium statim virorum operam edebant; tantumque hos pudor, quantum alios laudes excitabant. Redintegrato clamore, undique omnes connisi hostem avertunt, nec deinde Romana vis sustineri potuit. Sabini, fusi passim per agros, castra hosti ad praedam relinquunt. Ibi non sociorum, sicut in Algido⁴, res, sed suas Romanus, populationibus agrorum amissas, recipit. Geminâ victoriâ duobus bifariam proeliis partâ, malignè senatus in unum diem supplicationes⁵ consulum nomine decrevit. Populus injussu et altero die frequens iit supplicatum. Et haec vaga popularisque supplicatio studiis prope celebratior fuit. Consules, ex composito, eodem biduo ad urbem accessere, senatumque in Martium campum evoca-

¹ Stroth's conjecture of *memoriâ* after *gloriae*, is excellent. ² *Nam*, &c. For when the Sabines had extended their line, so as to equal in length that of the Romans. ³ *Suo alienoque Marte*, in a department of the battle belonging to others, as well as their own. ⁴ See Chapter LXI. ⁵ *Supplicatio*, generally a season of prayer to heaven: either of supplication, as in Chapter VII, or thanksgiving, as here.

vere¹. Ubi quum de rebus ab se gestis agerent, questi priores Patrum, 'senatum inter milites deditâ operâ terroris causâ haberi.' Itaque inde consules, ne criminationi locus esset, in prata Flaminia, ubi nunc aedes Apollinis est, (jam tum Apollinarem appellabant,) advocare senatum. Ubi quum ingenti consensu Patrum negaretur triumphus, L. Icilinus tribunus plebis tulit ad populum de triumpho consulum, multis dissuasum prodeuntibus, maximè C. Claudio vociferante, 'De Patribus, non de hostibus, consules triumphare velle; gratiamque pro privato merito in tribunum, non pro virtute honorem, peti. Nunquam antè de triumpho per populum actum, semper aestimationem arbitriumque ejus honoris penes senatum fuisse. Ne reges quidem majestatem summi ordinis imminuisse. Ne ita omnia tribuni potestatis suae implerent, ut nullum publicum consilium sinerent esse. Ita demum liberam civitatem fore, ita aequatas leges, si sua quisque jura ordo, suam majestatem teneat.' In eandem sententiam multa et a ceteris senioribus Patrum quum essent dicta, omnes tribus eam rogationem acceperunt. Tum primum, sine auctoritate senatûs, populi jussu triumphatum est².

XLIV. Haec victoria tribunorum plebisque prope in haud salubrem luxuriam vertit, conspiratione inter tribunos factâ, ut iidem tribuni reficerentur, et, quo sua minùs cupiditas emineret, consulibus quòque continuarent magistratum. Consensum Patrum causabantur, 'quo per contumeliam consulum jura plebis labefacta essent. Quid futurum, nondum firmatis legibus, si novos tribunos per factiones suas consules adorti essent? Non enim semper Valerios Horatiosque consules fore, qui libertati plebis suas opes postferrent.' Forte quâdam utili ad tempus, ut comitiis praecesset, potissimum M. Duilio sorte evenit, viro prudenti, et ex continuatione magistratûs invidiam imminuentem cernenti. Qui quum ex veteribus tribunis negaret 'ullius se rationem habiturum,' pugnantque collegae, 'ut liberas tribus in suffragium mitteret, aut concederet sortem comitiorum collegis, habituris e lege potius comitia, quàm ex voluntate Patrum;' injectâ con-

¹ *Evocavere*, summoned out of the city. No magistrate invested with military power could enter the city. The consuls were therefore obliged, on this occasion, to convene the senate without the walls.

² See p. 156, note 2.

tentione, Duilius, consules ad subsellia accitos quum interrogasset, 'quid de comitiis consularibus in animo haberent,' respondissentque, 'se novos consules creaturos,' auctores populares sententiae haud popularis nactus, in concionem cum iis processit. Ubi quum consules, producti ad populum, interrogatique, 'si eos populus Romanus, memor libertatis per illos receptae domi, memor militiae rerumque gestarum, consules iterum faceret, quidnam facturi essent,' nihil sententiae suae mutassent; collaudatis consulibus, 'quod per severarent ad ultimum dissimiles decemvirorum esse,' comitia habuit: et, quinque tribunis plebis creatis, quum prae studiis aperte petentium novem tribunorum alii candidati tribus non explerent¹, concilium dimisit; nec deinde comitionum causâ habuit. 'Satisfactum legi' aiebat, 'quae, numero nusquam praefinito tribunis, modò ut relinquerentur, sanciret²; et ab iis, qui creati essent, cooptari collegas juberet.' Recitabatque rogationis carmen³, in quo, 'Si tribunos plebei decem rogabo, si qui vos minus hodie decem tribunos plebei feceritis: hi tum uti, quos sibi collegas cooptassint, ut illi legitimi eadem lege tribuni plebei sint, ut illi, quos hodie tribunos plebei feceritis⁴.' Duilius, quum ad ultimum perseverasset, negando 'quindecim tribunos plebei rempublicam habere posse,' victâ collegarum cupiditate, pariter Patribus plebique acceptus, magistratu abiit.

LXV. Novi tribuni plebis in cooptandis collegis Patrum voluntatem foverunt. Duos etiam patricios consularesque, Sp. Tarpeium et A. Aterium, cooptavere. Consules
 u. c. creati, Lar. Herminius, T. Virginus Coelimonianus,
 307. nihil magnopere ad Patrum aut plebis causam inclinati, otium domi ac foris habuere. L. Trebonius tribunus plebis, infestus Patribus, quod 'se ab iis in cooptandis tribunis

¹ *Quum*, &c. When in consequence of the pretensions of the nine tribunes, who, without concealment, stood for the office, the other candidates did not obtain a legal majority in the tribes.

² *Modo ut relinquerentur, sanciret*: enacted no more, than that the old tribunes should not quit office, without leaving successors.

³ See p. 27, note 3.

⁴ *Si*, &c. If I shall preside at the election of ten tribunes of the commons, if by any means you shall have elected less than the ten tribunes of the commons; then it shall be observed, that they whom the elected shall have chosen (*cooptassint* for *cooptaverint*) as their colleagues, be tribunes of the commons, with the same legality as those whom you to-day shall have elected tribunes.

'fraude captum, proditum a collegis,' aiebat, rogationem talit, 'ut qui plebem Romanam tribunos plebi rogaret, is us-
'que eò rogaret, dum decem tribunos plebi faceret; insectan-
disque Patribus, unde Aspero etiam inditum est cognomen,
tribunatum gessit. Inde M. Geganius Macerinas et

U. C.
308.

C. Julius, consules facti, coitiones tribunorum, adver-
sus nobilium juventutem ortas, sine insectatione po-
testatis ejus, conservatâ majestate Patrum, sedavere. Ple-
bem, decreto ad bellum Volscorum et Aequorum delectu,
sustinendo rem¹, ab seditionibus continuere: 'urbano quòque
'otio foris omnia tranquilla esse' affirmantes, 'per discordias
'civiles externos tollere animos.' Cura pacis, concordiae quò-
que intestinae causa fuit. Sed alter semper ordo gravis al-
terius modestiae erat. Quiescenti plebi ab junioribus Pa-
trum injuriae fieri coeptae. Ubi tribuni auxilio humilioribus
essent, in primis parum proderat²: deinde ne ipsi quidem
inviolati erant, utique postremis mensibus, quum et per coi-
tiones potentiorum injuria fieret, et vis potestatis omnis ali-
quanto posteriore anni parte languidior ferme esset: jamque
plebs ita in tribunatu ponere aliquid spei, 'si similes Icilio
'tribunos haberet: nomina tantum se biennio habuisse.' Se-
niores contra Patrum, ut nimis feroces suos credere juvenes
esse; ita malle, si modus excedendus esset, suis, quam ad-
versariis, superesse animos. Adeò moderatio tuendae liber-
tatis, dum aequari velle simulando ita se quisque extollit, ut
deprimat alium, in difficili est: cavendoque ne metuant ho-
mines, metuendos ultro se efficiunt: et injuriam a nobis re-
pulsam, tanquam aut facere aut pati necesse sit, injungimus
aliis³.

LXVI. T. Quinctius Capitolinus quartum et Agrip-
U. C.
309. pa Furius, consules inde facti, nec seditionem domi,
nec foris bellum, acceperunt: sed imminabat utrum-
que. Jam non ultrâ discordia civium reprimi poterat, et tri-
banis et plebe incitatâ in Patres, quum dies alicui nobilium
dicta novis semper certaminibus conciones turbaret. Ad
quarum primum strepitum, velut signo accepto, arma cepere
Aequi ac Volsci: simul quòd persuaserant iis duces, cupidi

¹ *Sustinendo rem*, by putting off the war. So sustinuit consilio bellum, Chap. LX. ² *In primis*. Either in opposing the leading men, or, more probably, at first. ³ A singularly varied sentence—*quisque extollit—metuant—injungimus*.

praedarum, ' biennio ¹ ante delectum indictum haberi non potuisse, abnuente jam plebe imperium. Eò adversus se non esse missos exercitus. Dissolvi licentiâ militandi morem. Nec pro communi jam patriâ Romam esse. Quicquid irarum simultatumque cum externis fuerit, in ipsos verti. Occaecatos lupos intestinâ rabie opprimendi occasionem esse.' Coniunctis exercitibus Latinum primùm agrum perpopulati sunt: deinde postquam ibi nemo vindex occurrebat, tum verò, exsultantibus belli auctoribus, ad moenia ipsa Romae populabundi regione portae Esquilinae accessere, vastationem agrorum per contumeliam urbi ostentantes. Unde postquam inulti, praedam prae se agentes, retro ad Corbionem agmine ière, Quinctius consul ad concionem populum vocavit.

LXVII. Ibi in hanc sententiam locutum accipio: ' Etsi mihi nullius noxae conscius, Quirites, sum, tamen cum pudore summo in concionem vestram processi. Hoc vos scire, hoc posteris memoriae traditum iri, Aequos et Volscos, vix Hernicis modò pares, T. Quinctio quartùm consule, ad moenia urbis Romae impune armatos venisse. Hanc ego ignominiam, (quanquam jam diu ita vivitur, is status rerum est, ut nihil boni divinet animus,) si huic potissimùm imminere anno scissem, vel exilio, vel morte, si alia fuga honoris non esset, vitâssem. Ergo, si viri arma illa habuissent, quae in portis fuere nostris, capi Roma me consule potuit! Satis honorum, satis superque vitae erat: mori consulem tertium oportuit. Quem tandem ignavissimi hostium contempsere? nos consules? an vos Quirites? Si culpa in nobis est, aufferite imperium indignis; et, si id parum est, insuper poenas expetite. Si in vobis, nemo Deorum nec hominum sit, qui vestra puniat peccata, Quirites; vosmet tantùm eorum poeniteat. Non illi vestram ignaviam contempsere, nec suae virtuti confisi sunt; quippe toties fusi fugatique, castris exuti, agro mulctati, sub jugum missi, et se et vos novere. Discordia ordinum est venenum urbis hujus; Patrum ac plebis certamina: dum nec nobis imperii, nec vobis libertatis est modus, dum taedet vos patriciorum, hos plebeiorum magistratum, sustulere illi animos. Prò Deum fidem, quid vobis vultis? Tribunos plebis concupisti. Concordiae

¹ *Biennio ante*, two years before. As the failure of the levy occurred in the preceding year, this must be obtained by including both the term *from* which, and *to* which the computation is made.

causâ concessimus. Decemviros desiderâstis. Creari passi sumus. Decemvirorum vos pertaesum est. Cœgimus abire magistratu. Manente in eodem privatos irâ vestrâ, mori atque exulare nobilissimos viros honoratissimosque passi sumus. Tribunos plebis creare iterum voluistis. Creâstis. Consules facerestrarum partium, etsi Patribus videbamus iniquum; patricium quodque magistratum plebi donum fieri vidimus¹. Auxilium tribuniciū, provocationem ad populum, scita plebis injuncta patribus, sub titulo æquandarum legum, nostra jura oppressa tulimus et ferimus. Qui finis erit discordiarum? Ecquando unam urbem habere, ecquando communem hanc esse patriam licebit? Victi nos æquiore animo quiescimus, quàm vos victores. Satisne est, nobis vos metuendos esse? Adversus nos Aventinum capitur, adversus nos Sacer occupatur mons. Esquilias quidem ab hoste prope captas, et scandentem in aggerem Volscum hostem nemo submovit². In nos viri, in nos armati estis.

LXVIII. Agitedum, ubi hic curiam circumsederitis, et forum infestum feceritis, et carcerem impleveritis principibus; iisdem istis ferocibus animis egredimini extra portam Esquilinam: aut, si ne hoc quidem audetis, ex muris visite agros vestros ferro ignique vastatos, prædam abigi, fumare incensea passim tecta. At enim³ communis res per hæc loco est pejore: ager uritur, urbs obsidetur, belli gloria penes hostes est. Quid tandem? privatae res vestrae in quo statu sunt? Jam unicuique ex agris sua damna nunciabuntur. Quid est tandem domi, unde ea expleatis? Tribuni vobis amissa reddent ac restituent? Vocis verborumque quantum voletis, ingerent, et criminum in principes, et legum aliarum super alias, et concionum. Sed ex illis concionibus nunquam vestrū quisquam re, fortunâ, domum auctior rediit. Equis retulit aliquid ad conjugem ac libe-

¹ Alluding to the creation of Valerius and Horatius, the protectors of the commons. ² The verb *submovere* here has a double force, *defendere* submovendo, *submovere* defendendo. In the latter notion only is it applied to the words (*Volscum hostem*) nearest it, and the former meaning must be supplied to *Aesquilias*. *Agger*, according to Gronovius, refers to a defence of the Aesquiline hill, erected by Tarquin the Proud. ³ *At enim*. But you will reply, we hereby gain our object of harassing the Patricians,—for. See p. 190, note 7.

'ros, praeter odia, offensiones, simultates publicas privatas-
 'que? a quibus semper non vestrâ virtute innocentiaque,
 'sed, auxilio alieno¹ tuti sitis. At Hercules, quum sti-
 'pendia, nobis consulibus, non tribunis ducibus, et in castris,
 'non in foro, faciebatis, et in acie vestrum clamorem hostes,
 'non in concione Patres Romani horrebant, praedâ partâ,
 'agro ex hoste capto, pleni fortunarum gloriaeque, simul pub-
 'licae, simul privatae, triumphantes domum ad penates re-
 'dibatis. Nunc oneratum vestris fortunis hostem abire sinitis.
 'Haerete affixi concionibus, et in foro vivite: sequitur vos
 'necessitas militandi, quam fugitis. Grave erat in Aequos
 'et Volscos proficisci? ante portas est bellum. Si inde non
 'pellitur, jam intra moenia erit, et arcem et Capitolium scan-
 'det, et in domos vestras vos persequetur. Biennio ante se-
 'natus delectum haberi, et educi exercitum in Algidum jus-
 'sit. Sedemus desides domi, mulierum ritu inter nos alter-
 'cantes; praesenti pace laeti, nec cernentes, ex otio illo bre-
 'vi multiplex bellum rediturum. His ego gratiora dictu alia
 'esse scio; sed me vera pro gratis loqui, etsi meum ingenium
 'non moneret, necessitas cogit. Vellem equidem vobis pla-
 'cere, Quirites; sed multo malo vos salvos esse, qualicunque
 'erga me animo futuri estis. Naturâ hoc ita comparatum
 'est, ut, qui apud multitudinem suâ causâ loquitur, gratior
 'eo sit, cujus mens nihil, praeter publicum commodum, vi-
 'det. Nisi fortè assentatores publicos, plebicolas istos, qui
 'vos nec in armis nec in otio esse sinunt, vestrâ vos causâ
 'incitare et stimulare putatis. Concitati, aut honori, aut
 'quaestui illis estis: et quia in concordia ordinum nullos²
 'se usquam esse vident, malae rei se, quàm nullius, turbarum
 'ac seditionum, duces esse volunt. Quarum rerum si vos
 'taedium tandem capere potest, et patrum vestrosque anti-
 'quos mores vultis pro his novis sumere, nulla supplicia re-
 'cuso, nisi³ paucis diebus hos populatores agrorum nostro-
 'rum fusos fugatosque castris exuero, et a portis nostris moe-
 'nibusque ad illorum urbes hunc belli terrorem, quo nunc
 'vos attoniti estis, transtulero.'

LXIX. Rarè aliàs tribuni popularis oratio acceptior plebi,
 quàm tunc severissimi consulis, fuit. Juventus quòque, quae
 inter tales metus detractationem militiae, telum acerrimum

¹ *Alieno*, of the tribunes.

² So in English we say, of an insignificant person, that he is nobody.

³ *Nisi*, si non.

adversus Patres, habere solita erat, arma et bellum spectabat : et agrestium fuga spoliatique in agris et vulnerati, foediora iis, quas subiciebantur oculis, nunciantes, totam urbem irâ implevere. In senatum ubi ventum est, ibi verò in Quinctium omnes versi, ut unum vindicem majestatis Romanae intueri ; et primores Patrum ‘ dignam’ dicere ‘ concionem imperio ‘ consulari, dignam tot consulatibus anteactis, dignam vitâ ‘ omni, plenâ honorum saepe gestorum, saepius meritorum. ‘ Alios consules aut per prodicionem dignitatis Patrum plebi ‘ adultos, aut acerbè tuendo jura ordinis asperiores domando multitudinem fecisse : T. Quinctium orationem memoriam majestatis Patrum, concordiaeque ordinum, et temporum in primis habuisse. Orare eum collegamque, ut cesserent rempublicam : orare tribunos ¹, ut uno animo cum consulibus bellum ab urbe ac moenibus propulsari vellent, plebemque obedientem in re tam trepidâ Patribus praeberent : appellare tribunos communem patriam ², auxiliumque eorum implorare, vastatis agris, urbe prope oppugnata. Consensu omnium delectus decernitur habeturque. Quum consules in concione pronunciassent, ‘ Tempus non esse causas cognoscendi ; omnes juniores postero die primâ luce in campo Martio adessent ; cognoscendis causis eorum, qui nomina non dedissent, bello perfecto se daturus tempus ; ‘ pro desertore futurum, cujus non probassent causam : ‘ omnis juvenus adfuit postero die. Cohortes sibi quaeque centuriones legerunt : bini senatores singulis cohortibus praepositi. Haec omnia adedò maturè perfecta accepimus, ut signa, eo ipso die a quaestoribus ex aerario prompta delataque in campum, quartâ diei horâ mota ex campo sint ; exercitusque novus, paucis cohortibus veterum militum voluntate sequentibus, manserit ad decimum lapidem. Insequens dies hostem in conspectum dedit, castraque ad Corbionem castris sunt conjuncta. Tertio die, quum ira Romanos, illos, quum toties rebellassent, conscientia culpae ac desperatio irritaret, mora dimicandi nulla est facta.

LXX. In exercitu Romano quum duo consules essent potestate pari ; quod saluberrimum in administratione magna-

¹ From this passage Duker infers that the tribunes had by this time a seat in the senate. ² Either, according to Ruperti, that they appealed to the tribunes, constituting a part of their common country, or, more probably, that their common country appealed to the tribunes.

rum rerum est, summa imperii, concedente Agrippâ, penes collegam erat : et praelatus ille facilitati submittentis se comiter respondebat, communicando consilia laudesque, et aequando imparem sibi. In acie Quinctius dextrum cornu, Agrippa sinistrum tenuit : Sp. Postumio Albo legato datur media acies tuenda ; legatum alterum Ser. Sulpicium equitibus praeficiunt. Pedites ab dextro cornu egregiè pugnare, haud segniter resistentibus Volscis. Ser. Sulpicius per mediam hostium aciem cum equitatu perrupit. Unde quum eâdem reverti posset ad suos, prius quàm hostis turbatos ordines reficeret, terga impugnare hostium satius visum est. Momentoque temporis, in aversam incursando aciem, ancipiti terrore dissipâset hostes, ni suo proprio eum proelio equites Volscorum et Aequorum exceptum aliquamdiu tenuissent. Ibi verò Sulpicius, negare ‘ cunctandi tempus esse, circumventos interclusosque ab suis’ vociferans, ‘ ni equestre proelium connisi omni vi perficerent. ‘ Nec fugare equitem integrum satis esse, conficerent equos ‘ virosque, ne quis reveheretur inde ad proelium, aut integerat pugnam. Non posse illos resistere sibi, quibus ‘ ferta peditum acies cessisset.’ Haud surdis auribus dicta : impressione unâ totum equitatum fudere, magnam vim ex equis praecipitavere, ipsos equosque spiculis confodere. Is finis pugnae equestris fuit. Tunc, adorti peditum aciem, nuncios ad consules rei gestae mittunt, ubi jam inclinabatur hostium acies. Nuncius deinde et vincentibus Romanis animos auxit, et referentes gradum perculit Aequos. In mediâ primùm acie vinci coepti, quâ permissus equitatus turbaverat ordines. Sinistrum deinde cornu ab Quinctio consule pelli coeptum¹ ; in dextro plurimum laboris fuit. Ibi Agrippa, aetate viribusque ferox, quum omni parte pugnae melius resgeri, quàm apud se, videret, accepta signa ab signiferis ipse inferre, quaedam jacere etiam in confertos hostes coepit. Cujus ignominiae metu concitati milites, invasere hostem. Ita aequata ex omni parte victoria est. Nuncius tum a Quinctio venit, ‘ victorem jam se imminere hostium castris ; nolle ir- ‘ rampere, antequam sciat debellatum et in sinistro cornu esse. ‘ Si jam fudisset hostes, conferret ad se signa, ut simul omnis ‘ exercitus praedâ potiretur.’ Victor Agrippa cum mutuâ gratulatione ad victorem collegam castraque hostium venit.

¹ *Vinci coepti, pelli coeptum.* See p. 45, note 3.

Ibi paucis defendentibus, momentoque fuis, sine certamine in munitiones irrumpunt; praedâque ingenti compotem exercitum, suis etiam rebus recuperatis, quae populatione agrorum amissae erant, reducunt. Triumphum nec ipsos postulâsse, nec delatum iis ab senatu, accipio: nec traditur causa spreti aut non sperati honoris. Ego quantum in tanto intervallo temporum conjicio, quum Valerio atque Horatio consulibus, qui praeter Volscos et Aequos Sabini etiam belli perfecti gloriam pepererant, negatus ab senatu triumphus esset, verecundiae fuit pro parte dimidiâ rerum consulibus petere triumphum; ne etiam, si impetrâssent, magis hominum ratio, quàm meritorum, habita videretur.

LXXI. Victoriam honestam, ex hostibus partam, turpe domi de finibus sociorum iudicium populi deformavit. Aricini atque Ardeates de ambiguo agro quum saepe bello certâssent, multis in vicem cladibus fessi, iudicem populum Romanum cepere. Quum ad causam orandam venissent, concilio populi a magistratibus dato, magnâ contentione actum. Jamque editis testibus, quum tribus vocari, et populum inire suffragium oporteret, consurgit P. Scaptius de plebe, magno natu: et, 'Si licet,' inquit, 'consules, de republicâ dicere, 'errare ego populum in hâc causâ non patiar.' Quum, ut vanum, eum negarent consules audiendum esse, vociferantemque, 'prodi publicam causam,' submoveri jussissent, tribunos appellat. Tribuni, ut fere semper reguntur a multitudine magis, quàm regunt, dedere cupidae audiendi plebi, ut, quae vellet, Scaptius diceret. Ibi infit, 'Annum se tertium 'et octogesimum agere, et in eo agro, de quo agitur, militâsse, non juvenem, vicesima jam stipendia merentem, quum 'ad Coriolos sit bellatum¹. Eo rem se vetustate oblitteratam, 'ceterum suae memoriae infixam, afferre; agrum, de quo ambigitur, finium Coriolanorum fuisse, captisque Coriolis², 'jure belli publicum populi Romani factum. Mirari se, quoniam more Ardeates Aricinique, cujus agri jus nunquam 'usurpaverint incolumi Coriolanâ re, eum se a populo Romano, quem pro domino iudicem fecerint, intercepturos 'sperent. Sibi exiguum vitae tempus superesse: non po-

¹ Corioli was taken, *u. c.* 261, 48 years before this. Scaptius had served 19 campaigns, and must have been 16 years old, before he entered the service. $48 + 19 + 16 = 83$, the age, or nearly so, which he here gives himself out to have attained. ² See ii. 33.

‘ tuisse se tamen inducere in animum, quin, quem agrum miles pro parte virili manu cepisset, eum senex quòque voce, quâ unâ posset, vindicaret. Magnopere se suadere populo, ne inutili pudore suam ipse causam damnaret.’

LXXII. Consules quum Scaptium non silentio modò, sed cum assensu etiam, audiri animadvertissent, Deos hominesque testantes flagitium ingens fieri, Patrum primores arcesunt. Cum his circumire tribunos¹, orare, ‘ Ne pessimum facinus pejore exemplo admitterent iudices, in suam rem li-tem vertendo, quum praesertim, etiamsi fas sit, curam emolumenti sui iudici esse, nequaquam tantum agro-intercipiendo acquiratur, quantum amittatur alienandis injuriâ sociorum animis. Nam famae quidem ac fidei damna majora esse, quàm quae aestimari possent. Hoc legatos referre domum : hoc vulgari : hoc socios audire : hoc hostes. Quo cum dolore hos ? quo cum gaudio illos² ? Scaptione hoc, concionali seni, assignaturos putarent finitimos populos ? Clarum hâc fore imagine Scaptium : populum Romanum quadruplatoris et interceptoris litis alienae personam laturam³. Quem enim hoc privatae rei iudicem fecisse, ut sibi controversiosam ad-judicaret rem ? Scaptium ipsum id quidem, etsi praemortui jam sit pudoris, non facturum.’ Haec consules, haec Patres vociferantur. Sed plus cupiditas et auctor cupiditatis Scaptius valet. Vocatae tribus judicaverunt, agrum publicum populi Romani esse. Nec abnuitor ita fuisse, si ad iudices alios itum foret : nunc haud sanè quicquam bono causae levatur dedecus iudicii. Idque non Aricinis Ardeatibusque, quàm Patribus Romanis, foedius atque acerbius visum. Reliquum anni quietum ab urbanis motibus et ab externis mansit.

¹ Perisionius, with the applause of almost all the commentators, proposes *tribus*, as the tribunes were not entitled to the title *iudices* given to the party entreated in the next sentence. This is unnecessary. The tribunes were the representatives of the tribus, and therefore might well enough be termed the *iudices*. ² As *hic* and *ille* refer, the former to near, the latter to distant objects, *hic*, as is well known, generally signifies the *latter*, (the nearest) ; *ille*, the former (the most distant.) They are here reversed. This is not uncommon. ³ *Scaptione*, &c. Did they think that the neighbouring states would attribute this to Scaptius, a mere chatterer in public meetings ? Scaptius would go down to posterity ennobled with this, as an image ; whilst the Roman people would bear the character of mean pettifoggers, and of basely taking advantage of their situation as judges, in usurping what was claimed by others.

LIBER QUARTUS.

EPITOME.

I, &c. *LEX* de connubio Patrum et plebis a tribunis plebis contentione magnâ, Patribus repugnantibus, perlata est. VI, VII. Tribuni militares. Aliquot annis res populi Romani domi militiaeque per hoc genus magistratûs administratae sunt. VIII. Item censores tunc primûm creati sunt. XI. Ager Ardeatibus populi Romani iudicio ablati, missis in eum colonis, restitutus est. XII, XIII, &c. Quum fame populus Romanus laboraret, Sp. Maelius, eques Romanus, frumentum populo suâ impensâ largitus est : et, ob id factum conciliatâ sibi plebe, regnum affectans a C. Servilio Ahala, magistro equitum, jussu Quinctii Cincinnati dictatoris occisus est. XVI. L. Minucius index bove auratâ donatus est. XVII, XVIII. Legatis Romanis a Fidenatibus occisis, quoniam ob rempublicam occubuerant, statuæ in Rostris positaæ sunt. XIX, XX. Cossus Cornelius tribunus militum, occiso Tolumnio rege Vejentium, optima spolia secunda retulit. XXIV. Mam. Aemilius dictator, censurae honore, qui antea per quinquennium gerebatur, anni et sex mensium spatio finito, ob eam rem a censoribus notatus est. XXXI, &c. XXXIV. Fidenæ in potestatem redactæ, eoque coloni missi sunt. Quibus occisis, Fidenates, quum defecissent, a Mam. Aemilio dictatore victi sunt, et Fidenæ captae. XLV. Conjuratio servorum oppressa est. XLIX. L. Postumius, tribunus militum, propter crudelitatem ab exercitu occisus est. LIX. Stipendium ex aerario tum primûm militibus datum est. LX, LXI. Res praeterea gestas adversus Volscos, et Fidenates, et Faliscos, continet.

I. Hos secuti M. Genucius et C. Curtius consules.
 v. c. Fuit annus domi forisque infestus. Nam anni princi-
 310. pio et de connubio Patrum et plebis C. Canuleius tribunus plebis rogationem¹ promulgavit ; quâ ‘contaminari sanguinem suum’ Patres, ‘confundique jura gentium’² reban-

¹ See p. 134, note 2.

² *Jura gentium*, the rights of families. The Patricians were, (probably for political reasons,) divided into *gentes*, bearing the same *nomen*, which were subdivided into *familiae*,

tur : et mentio, primò sensim illata a tribunis, ut alterum ex plebe consulem liceret fieri, eò processit deinde, ut rogationem novem tribuni promulgarent, 'ut populo potestas esset, seu de plebe, seu de Patribus vellet, consules faciendi.' Id verò si fieret, non vulgari modò cum infimis, sed prorsus auferri a primoribus ad plebem, summum imperium credebant. Laeti ergo audiére Patres, Ardeatium populum ob injuriam agri adjudicati descisse, et Vejentes depopulatos extrema agri Romani, et Volscos Aequosque ob communitam Verruginem fremere. Adèd vel infelix bellum ignominiosae paci praeferiebant. His itaque in majus etiam acceptis, ut inter strepitum tot bellorum conticescerent actiones tribuniciae, 'delectus haberi, bellum armaque vi summâ apparari' jubent; 'si quo intentiùs possit, quàm T. Quinctio consule apparatus sit.' Tum C. Canuleius, pauca in senatu vociferatus, 'nequicquam territando consules avertere plebem a curâ novarum legum; nunquam eos se vivo delectum habituros, antequam ea, quae promulgata ab se collegisque essent, plebes scivisset; et confestim ad concionem advocavit.

II. Eodem tempore et consules senatum in tribunalum, et tribunus populum in consules incitabat. Negabant consules, 'jam ultrà ferri posse furores tribunicios. Ventum jam ad finem esse; domi plus belli concitari, quàm foris. Id adèd non plebis, quàm Patrum; neque tribunorum magis, quàm consulum, culpâ accidere. Cujus rei praemium sit in civitate, eam maximis semper auctibus crescere: sic pace bonos, sic bello fieri. Maximum Romae praemium seditionum esse: id et singulis universisque semper honori fuisse. Re-miniscerentur, quam majestatem senatûs ipsi a patribus accepissent, quam liberis tradituri essent, ut, (quemadmodum plebs,) gloriari posset, auctiorem amplioremque esse¹. Fi-

bearing the same *cognomen*. Intermarriage with the Plebeians, who had no *jus gentilitatis*, would, according to the reason of the Patricians, throw these rights into utter confusion. ¹ As this sentence stands, *senatus* must be understood as the nominative to *posset*; nor can we adopt the suggestion of Stroth, that *ut* is used for *quam*, and signifies *quam non*! The sentence evidently means, The senate should remember,—in order that it might be able to boast. Amongst the various opinions on the passage, the best seems to be that which recommends it to be expunged. The reasoning, as Bauer remarks, from *Cujus*, &c. to *Quas*, &c. is in the form of a perfect syllogism; but its connection is totally destroyed by this sentence.

'nem ergo¹ non fieri, nec futuram, donec, quàm felices sedi-
 'tiones, tam honorati seditionum auctores essent. Quas
 'quantasque res C. Canuleium aggressum? colluvionem gen-
 'tiam, perturbationem auspiorum publicorum privatorum-
 'que afferre, ne quid sinceri, ne quid incontaminati sit: ut,
 'discrimine omni sublato, nec se quisquam, nec suos noverit.
 'Quam enim aliam vim connubia promiscua habere, nisi ut
 'ferarum prope ritu vulgentur concubitus plebis Patrumque?
 'ut, qui natus sit, ignoret, cujus sanguinis, quorum sacrorum
 'sit; dimidius Patrum sit, dimidius plebis, ne secum quidem
 'ipse concors. Parum id videri, quòd omnia divina humana-
 'que turbentur: jam ad consulatum vulgi turbatores accingi;
 'et primò, ut alter consul ex plebe fieret, id modò sermoni-
 'bus tentâsse: nunc rogari, ut, seu ex Patribus, seu ex plebe
 'velit, populus consules creet: et creaturos haud dubiè ex
 'plebe seditiosissimum quemque. Canuleios igitur Iciliosque
 'consules fore. Ne id Jupiter optimus maximus sineret, re-
 'giae majestatis imperium eò recidere: et se millies moritu-
 'ros potiùs, quàm ut tantum dedecoris admitti patiantur.
 'Certum habere, majores quòque, si divinâssent, concedendo
 'omnia, non mitiorem in se plebem, sed asperiores alia ex
 'aliis iniquiora postulando, quum prima impetrâssent, futuram,
 'primò quamlibet dimicationem subituros fuisse potiùs, quàm
 'eas leges sibi imponi paterentur. Quia tum concessum sit
 'de tribunis, iterum² concessum esse. Finem non fieri.
 'Posse in eâdem civitate tribunos plebis et Patres esse? aut
 'hunc ordinem, aut illum magistratum tollendum esse: po-
 'tiùsque serò, quàm nunquam obviàm eundum audaciae te-
 'meritatique. Illine ut³ impune primò discordias serentes
 'concitent finitima bella, deinde adversus ea, quae concitave-
 'rint, armari civitatem defendique prohibeant? et, quum
 'hostes tantum non arcessierint, exercitus conscribi adversus
 'hostes non patiantur? Sed audeat Canuleius in senatu pro-
 'loqui, se, nisi suas leges tanquam victoris Patres accipi si-
 'nant, delectum haberi prohibiturum. Quid esse aliud, quàm

¹ Ergo has no reference to the preceding sentence, but to those be-
fore it.

² Quum prima impetrâssent, tum, after the secession to
Mons Sacer. Iterum, alluding to the re-appointment of the tribunes,
after the decemviral power had been abolished.

³ In indignant
questions ut is often thus inserted, with some such words understood
as, An potest fieri ut: so in Terence, Eire ego ut advorser? ANDRIA I.

‘minari, se proditurum patriam? oppugnari atque capi passurum? quid eam vocem animorum, non plebi Romanae, sed Volscis et Aequis et Vejentibus allaturam? Nonne, Canuleio duce, se speraturos Capitolium atque arcem scandere posse, si Patribus tribuni, cum jure ac majestate ademptâ, animos etiam eripuerint? Consules paratos esse duces prius adversus scelus civium, quàm adversus hostium arma.’

III. Quum maximè haec in senatu agerentur, Canuleius pro legibus suis et adversus consules ita disseruit: ‘Quanto pere vos, Quirites, contemnerent Patres, quàm indignos ducerent, qui unâ secum urbe intra eadem moenia viveretis, saepe equidem et antè videor animadvertisse: nunc tamen maximè, quòd adeò atroces in has rogationes nostras coorti sunt: quibus quid aliud quàm admonemus, cives nos eorum esse, et, si non easdem opes habere, eandem tamen patriam incolere? Alterâ connubium petimus, quod finitimis externisque dari solet. Nos quidem civitatem, quae plus quàm connubium est, hostibus etiam victis dedimus. Alterâ nihil novi ferimus; sed id, quod populi est, repetimus atque usurpamus: ut, quibus velit, populus Romanus honores mandet. Quid tandem est, cur coelum ac terras misceant? cur in me impetus modò penè in senatu sit factus? negent se manibus temperaturos, violaturosque denuncient sacrosanc-tam potestatem? Si populo Romano liberum suffragium datur, ut, quibus velit, consulatum mandet, et non praeciditur spes plebeio quòdque, si dignus summo honore erit, apiscendi summi honoris, stare urbs haec non poterit? de imperio actum est? et perinde hoc valet, plebeiusne consul fiat, tantum¹ servum aut libertinum aliquis consulem futurum dicat? Ecquid sentitis, in quanto contemptu vivatis? Lucis vobis hujus partem, si liceat, adimant. Quòd spiratis, quòd vocem mittitis, quòd formas hominum habetis, indignantur. Quin etiam (si Diis placet) nefas aiunt esse, consulem plebeium fieri. Obsecro vos, si non ad fastos, non ad commentarios pontificum² admittimur; ne ea quidem scimus,

¹ *Et perinde, &c.* And has the question, whether a plebeian shall be consul, the same force as if —. Others disjoin *ne* from *plebeius*, with this meaning, And has the law, let not a plebeian be consul, &c.

² ‘The Pontifex Maximus and his college had the care of regulating the year and the public calendar, called *Fasti Kalendares*, because the days of each month from *kalends* to *kalends*, or from beginning to

‘quæ omnes peregrini etiam sciunt? consules in locum regum successisse? nec aut juris, aut majestatis quicquam habere, quod non in regibus antè fuerit? En unquam creditis fando auditum esse, Numam Pompilium, non modò non patricium, sed ne civem quidem Romanum ¹, ex Sabino agro accitum, populi jussu, Patribus auctoribus, Romæ regnâsse? L. deinde Tarquinium, non Romanæ modò, sed ne Italicæ quidem gentis ¹, Damarati Corinthii filium, incolam ab Tarquiniis, vivis liberis Anci, regem factum? Ser. Tullium post hunc, captivâ Corniculânâ natum, patre nullo ², matre servâ, ingenio, virtute regnum tenuisse? Quid enim de T. Tatîo Sabino dicam, quem ipse Romulus, parens urbis, in societatem regni accepit? Ergo, dum nullum fastiditur genus, in quo eniteret virtus, crevit imperium Romanum. Poeniteat nunc vos plebeii consulis, quum majores nostri advenas reges non fastidierint, et ne regibus quidem exactis clausa urbs fuerit peregrinæ virtuti. Claudiam certè gentem, post reges exactos, ex Sabinis non in civitatem modò accepimus, sed etiam in patriciorum numerum ³. Ex peregrinone patricius, deinde consul fiat? civis Romanus si sit ex plebe, præcisa consulatûs spes erit? Utrùm tandem non credimus fieri posse, ut vir fortis ac strenuus, pace belloque bonus, ex plebe, sit Numæ, L. Tarquinio, Ser. Tullio similis? An ne, si sit, quidem ad gubernacula reipublicæ accedere eum patiemur? potiùsque decemviris, teterrimis mortalium, qui tamen omnes ex Patribus erant, quàm optimis regum novis hominibus ⁴, similes consules sumus habituri?

IV. ‘At enim ⁵ nemo post reges exactos de plebe consul fuit. Quid postea ⁶? Nullane res nova institui debet? et, quod nondum est factum (multa enim nondum sunt facta in novo populo) ea, ne si utilia quidem sint, fieri oportet? Pontifices, augures, Romulo regnante, nulli erant: ab Numâ Pompilio creati sunt. Census in civitate et descriptio centuriarum classiumque non erat: ab Ser. Tullio est facta. Consules nunquam fuerant: regibus exactis creati sunt.

‘end, were marked in them through the whole year, what days were *fasti*, and what *nefasti*: the knowledge of which was confined to the Pontifices and Patricians.’ Dr ADAM. Si, although. ¹ See p. 46, note 1, canons i. and ii. ² *Patre nullo*, of a father who was nobody. ³ See ii, 16. ⁴ See p. 40, note 2. ⁵ See p. 190, note 7. ⁶ *Quid postea?* What then?

‘ Dictatoris nec imperium nec nomen fuerat: apud Patres
 ‘ esse coepit. Tribuni plebis, aediles, quaestores, nulli erant:
 ‘ institutum est, ut fierent. Decemviros legibus scribendis
 ‘ intra decem hos annos et creavimus, et e republicâ sustuli-
 ‘ mus. Quis dubitat, quin, in aeternum urbe conditâ, in im-
 ‘ mensum crescente, nova imperia, sacerdotia, jura gentium
 ‘ hominumque instituantur? Hoc ipsum, ne connubium Pa-
 ‘ tribus cum plebe esset, non decemviri tulerunt paucis his
 ‘ annis, pessimo exemplo publico, cum summâ injuriâ plebis?
 ‘ An esse ulla major aut insignitior contumelia potest, quàm
 ‘ partem civitatis, velut contaminatam, indignam connubio
 ‘ haberi? Quid est aliud, quàm exsilium intra eadem mœ-
 ‘ nia, quàm relegationem¹ pati? Ne affinitatibus, ne propin-
 ‘ quitatibus immisceamur, cavent; ne societur sanguis. Quid?
 ‘ hoc si polluit nobilitatem istam vestram, (quam plerique
 ‘ oriundi ex Albanis et Sabinis, non genere nec sanguine,
 ‘ sed per cooptationem in Patres habetis, aut ab regibus lecti,
 ‘ aut post reges exactos jussu populi,) sinceram servare pri-
 ‘ vatis consiliis non poteratis, nec ducendo ex plebe, neque
 ‘ vestras filias sororesque enubere sinendo e Patribus? Nemo
 ‘ plebeius patriciae virgini vim afferret: patriciorum ista li-
 ‘ bido est. Nemo invitum pactionem nuptialem quemquam
 ‘ facere coëgisset. Verùm enim verò lege id prohiberi, et
 ‘ connubium tolli Patrum ac plebis, id demum contumeliosum
 ‘ plebi est. Cur enim non confertis², ne sit connubium di-
 ‘ vitibus ac pauperibus? Quod privatorum consiliorum ubi-
 ‘ que semper fuit, ut, in quam cuique feminae convenisset do-
 ‘ mum, nuberet, ex quâ pactus esset vir domo, in matrimo-
 ‘ nium duceret; id vos sub legis superbissimae vincula con-
 ‘ jicitis, quâ dirimatis societatem civilem, duasque ex unâ
 ‘ civitate faciatis. Cur non sancitis, ne vicinus patricio sit
 ‘ plebeius? ne eodem itinere eat? ne idem convivium ineat?
 ‘ ne in foro eodem consistat? Quid enim in re est aliud, si
 ‘ plebeiam patricius duxerit, si patriciam plebeius? quid juris
 ‘ tandem mutatur? nempe patrem sequuntur liberi. Nec,
 ‘ quod nos ex connubio vestro petamus, quicquam est, prae-
 ‘ terquam ut hominum, ut civium numero simus. Nec, vos

¹ *Relegatio* is simple banishment, without the deprivation of the rights of citizenship: *Exsilium* implies both. ² *Confertis*, (fertis, con,) at the same time pass a law.

‘(nisi in contumeliam ignominiamque nostram certare juvat)
‘quod contendatis, quicquam est.

V. ‘Denique, utrū tandem populi Romani, an vestrum
‘summum imperium est? Regibus exactis, utrū vobis do-
‘minatio, an omnibus aequa libertas parta est? Oportet li-
‘cere populo Romano, si velit, jubere legem. An, ut quae-
‘que rogatio promulgata erit, vos delectum pro poenā decer-
‘netis? et, simul ego tribunus vocare tribus in suffragium
‘coepero, tu statim consul sacramento juniores adiges, et in
‘castra educes? et minaberis plebi, minaberis tribuno? Quid,
‘si non, quantum istae minae adversus plebis consensum va-
‘lerent, his¹ jam experti essetis? scilicet, quia nobis consul-
‘tum volebatis, certamine abstinuistis. An idē non est di-
‘micatum, quōd, quae pars firmior, eadem modestior fuit?
‘Nec nunc erit certamen, Quirites. Animos vestros illi ten-
‘tabunt semper, vires non experientur. Itaque ad bella ista,
‘seu falsa, seu vera sunt, consules, parata vobis plebes est,
‘si, connubiis redditis, unam hanc civitatem tandem facitis;
‘si coalescere, si jungi miscerique vobis privatis necessitu-
‘dinibus possunt; si spes, si aditus ad honores viris strenuis
‘et fortibus datur; si in consortio, si in societate reipublicae
‘esse, si, quod aequae libertatis est, in vicem annuis magis-
‘tratibus parere atque imperitare licet. Si haec impedit
‘aliquis, ferte sermonibus, et multiplicata famā bella; nemo
‘est nomen daturus, nemo arma capturus, nemo dimicaturus
‘pro superbis dominis, cum quibus nec in re publicā hono-
‘ram, nec in privatā connubii societas est.’

VI. Quum in concionem et consules processissent, et res
a perpetuis orationibus in altercationem vertisset; interro-
ganti tribuno, ‘cur plebeium consulem fieri non oporteret?’
ut fortasse verē, sic² parum utiliter in praesens certamen re-
spondit³, ‘quōd nemo plebeius auspicia haberet. Idēque
‘decemviros connubium diremisse, ne incertā prole auspicia
‘turbarentur.’ Plebes ad id maximē indignatione exarsit,
‘quōd auspiciari, tanquam invisi Diis immortalibus, negaren-
‘tur posse.’ Nec antē finis contentionum fuit, (quum et tri-
bunum acerrimum auctorem plebes nacta esset, et ipsa cum
eo pertinaciā certaret,) quā victi tandem Patres, ut de con-
nubio ferretur, consensere: ita maximē rati ‘contentionem

¹ See II. 55; III. 11. ² *Ut—sic*, see p. 28, note 1. ³ *Re-*
spondit, supply, alter consulum.

'de plebeiis consulibus tribunos aut totam deposituros, aut post bellum dilaturos esse; contentamque interim connubio plebem paratam delectui fore.' Quum Canuleius victoriâ de Patribus et plebis favore ingens esset, accensi alii tribuni ad certamen, pro rogatione suâ, summâ vi pugnant, et, crescente in dies famâ belli, delectum impediunt. Consules, quum per senatum, intercedentibus tribunis, nihil agi posset, consilia principum domi habebant. Apparebat, aut hostibus, aut civibus de victoriâ concedendum esse. Soli ex consularibus Valerius atque Horatius non intererant consiliis. C. Claudii sententia consules armabat in tribunos: Quinctiorum, Cincinnatique et Capitolini, sententiæ abhorrebant a caede violandisque, 'quos, foedere icto cum plebe, sacrosanctos ac cepissent.' Per hæc consilia eò deducta res est, ut tribunos militum¹ consulari potestate promiscuè ex Patribus ac plebe creari sinerent; de consulibus creandis nihil mutaretur. Eoque contenti tribuni, contenta plebs fuit. Comititia tribunis consulari potestate tribus creandis indicuntur. Quibus indictis, extemplo, quicumque aliquid seditiosè dixerat, aut fecerat, quàm maximè tribunicii, et prensare homines, et concurrare toto foro candidati coepere: ut patricos desperatio primò, irritatâ plebe, adipiscendi honoris, deinde indignatio, si cum his gerendus esset honos, deterreret. Postremò coacti tamen a primoribus petiére, ne cessasse possessione rei publicae viderentur². Eventus eorum comitiorum docuit, alios animos in contentione libertatis dignitatisque, alios, secundum deposita certamina, incorrupto iudicio esse: tribunos enim omnes patricos creavit populus; contentus eo, 'quòd ratio habita plebeiorem esset.' Hanc modestiam æquitatemque et altitudinem animi ubi nunc in uno inveneris, quæ tum populi universi fuit?

VII. Anno-trecentesimo decimo³, quàm urbs Roma con-

¹ By the creation of military tribunes, who had no sacerdotal functions, the Patricians still kept in their own hands the management of the auspices, to which they justly attached the highest importance.

² *Postremo*, &c. At last, however, the Patricians, forced by the leading men of their own body, stood candidates, that they might not seem to have yielded the management of public affairs, then possessed by them.

³ This date corresponds neither with the chronology of Sigonius nor of Glarean, whom I have followed. The former, in order to reconcile it with his statements, is obliged to insert a year, without any authority. The latter confesses the discrepancy, but does not attempt to obviate it.

U. C.
311. dita erat, primùm tribuni militum pro consulibus magistratum ineunt, A. Sempronius Atratinus, L. Atilius, T. Caecilius; quorum in magistratu concordia domi pacem etiam foris praebebat. Sunt, qui 'propter adjectum Aequorum Volscorumque bello et Ardeatium defectioni Vejens bellum, quia duo consules obire tot simul bella nequirent, tribunos militum tres creatos' dicant, sine mentione promulgatae legis de consulibus creandis ex plebe, et imperio et insignibus consularibus usos. Non tamen pro firmato jam stetit magistratûs ejus jus; quia tertio mense, quàm iniêrunt, augurum decreto, perinde ac vitio creati, honore abiêre; 'quòd C. Curtius,' qui comitiis, eorum praefuerat, 'parum rectè tabernaculum cepisset'. Legati ab Ardeâ Romanam venerunt, ita de injuriâ querentes, ut, si demeretur ea, in foedere atque amicitia mansuros, restituto agro, appareret. Ab senatu responsum est, 'judicium populi rescindi ab senatu non posse, praeterquam quòd nullo nec exemplo nec jure fieret, concordiae etiam ordinum causâ. Si Ardeates sua tempora expectare velint, arbitriumque senatui levandae injuriae suae permittant, fore, ut postmodo gaudeant, se irae moderatos; sciantque, Patribus aequè curae fuisse, ne qua injuria in eos oriretur, ac ne orta diuturna esset.' Ita legati, quum se rem integram relatueros dixissent, comiter dimissi. Patricii, quum sine curuli magistratu respublica esset, coiêre, et interregem creavere. Contentio, 'consulesne, an tribuni militum crearentur,' in interregno rem dies complures tenuit. Interrex ac senatus, 'consulum comitia;' tribuni plebis et plebs, 'tribunorum militum ut habeantur,' tendunt. Vicerunt Patres, quia et plebs, patriciis seu hunc seu illum delatura honorem, frustra certare supersedit: et principes

¹ 'On the day of the comitia, he who was to preside at them, attended by one of the augurs, pitched a tent without the city, to observe the omens. If the *tabernaculum*, which perhaps was the same with *templum* or *arr*, the place which they chose to make their observations, had not been taken in due form, (*parum recte captum esset*.) whatever was done at the comitia was reckoned of no effect. Hence the usual declaration of the augurs, *vitio tabernaculum captum*, &c. And so scrupulous were the ancient Romans about this matter, that if the augurs at any time afterwards, upon recollection, declared that there had been any informality in taking the auspices, the magistrates were obliged to resign their office, (*utpote vitio creati*,) even several months after they had entered upon it.' Dr ADAM.

plebis ea comitia malebant, quibus non haberetur ratio sui, quàm quibus ut indigni praeterirentur. Tribuni quòque plebis certamen sine effectu in beneficio apud primores Patrum reliquere. T. Quinctius Barbatus interrex consules creat L. Papirium Mugillanum, L. Sempronium Atratinum. His consulibus cum Ardeatibus foedus renovatum est. Idque monumenti est, consules eos illo anno fuisse, qui neque in annalibus priscis, neque in libris magistratuum inveniuntur. Credo, quòd tribuni militum initio anni fuerunt, eo, perinde ac si totum annum in imperio fuerint, suffectis his consulibus, praetermissa nomina consulum horum. Licinius Macer auctor est, et in foedere Ardeatino, et in linteis libris ad Monetae inventa. Et foris, quum tot terrores a finitimis ostentati essent, et domi otium fuit.

VIII. Hunc annum (seu tribunos modò, seu tribuni suffectos consules quòque habuit) sequitur annus 312. haud dubiis consulibus, M. Geganio Macerino iterum, T. Quinctio Capitolino quintum consulibus. Idem hic annus censurae initium fuit, rei a parvâ origine ortae: quae deinde tanto incremento aucta est, ut morum disciplinaeque Romanae penes eam regimen, senatus, equitumque centuriae¹, decoris dedecorisque discrimen sub ditione ejus magistratûs, publicorum jus privatorumque locorum, vectigalia populi Romani sub nutu atque arbitrio essent. Ortum autem initium rei est, quòd in populo, per multos annos incenso, neque differri census poterat, neque consulibus, quum tot populorum bella imminerent, operae erat id negotium agere. Mentio illata ab senatu est, 'Rem operosam ac minimè consularem suo proprio magistratu egere: cui scribarum ministerium, custodiae et tabularum cura, cui arbitrium formulae cendi subjiceretur.' Et Patres, quanquam rem parvam, tamen, quo plures patricii magistratus in republicâ essent, laeti accepere: id, quod evenit, 'futurum' credo etiam rati, 'ut mox opes eorum, qui praecessent, ipsi honori jus majestatis temque adjicerent.' Et tribuni, (id quod tunc erat,) magis

¹ Most commentators consider *senatus* and *centuriae* as the nominative. Stroth, in order to comprehend all ranks in Livy's definition of the censorship, destroys the *que* of *equitumque*, inserting a comma after *equitum*, and regards *senatus* and *centuriae* as the genitive, governed by *discrimen*. With the same view, others read *centuriarum*.

*necessariam*¹, quàm speciosi ministerii procurationem in-
tuentes, ne in parvis quòque rebus incommodè adversarentur,
haud sanè tetendere. Quum a primoribus civitatis spretus
honor esset, Papirium Semproniumque, quorum de consulatu
dubitatur, ut eo magistratu parum solidum consulatum ex-
plerent, censui agendo populus suffragiis praecepit. Censores
ab re appellati sunt.

IX. Dum haec Romae geruntur, legati ab Ardeâ veniunt,
pro veterrimâ societate renovatoque foedere recenti, auxilium
prope eversae urbi implorantes. Frui namque pace, optimo
consilio cum populo Romano servatâ, per intestina arma non
licuit; quorum causa atque initium traditur ex certamine
factionum ortum: quae fuere eruntque pluribus populis magis
exitio, quàm bella externa, quàm fames morbive, quaeque
alia in Deûm iras, velut ultima publicorum malorum, vertunt.
Virginem plebeii generis, maximè formâ notam, petiêre ju-
venes: alter virgini genere par, tutoribus fretus, qui et ipsi
ejusdem corporis² erant; nobilis alter, nullâ re, praeterquam
formâ, captus. Adjuvabant eum optimatium studia, per quae
in domum quòque puellae certamen partium penetravit. No-
bilibis superior judicio matris esse, quae quàm splendidissimis
nuptiis jungi puellam volebat. Tutores in eâ quòque re par-
tium memores, ad suum tendere³. Quum res peragi intra
parietes nequisset, ventum in jus est. Postulatu audito ma-
tris tutorumque, magistratus secundum parentis arbitrium dant
jus nuptiarum. Sed vis potentior fuit. Namque tutores, inter
suae partis homines de injuriâ decreti palàm in foro concionati,
manu factâ virginem ex domo matris rapiunt. Adversus quos
infestior coorta optimatium acies sequitur accensum injuriâ
juvenem. Fit proelium atrox. Pulsa plebs, nihil Romanae
plebi similis, armata ex urbe profecta, colle quodam capto,
in agros optimatium cum ferro ignique excursiones facit.
Urbem quòque, omnis etiam expertem antè certaminis⁴, mul-
titudine opificum ad spem praedae evocatâ, obsidere parat.
Nec ulla species cladesque belli abest; velut contactâ civitate

¹ *Necessariam*. An enallage, say the critics, for *necessarii*. See p. 126, note 4. ² *Ejusdem corporis*, of the same rank. ³ *Ad suum tendere*, favoured the suit of the lover, who was of the condi-
tion with themselves. ⁴ *Urbem quoque*, &c. According to Stroth,
the city also, and even that part of it which had hitherto kept entirely
clear of the dispute. Others destroy *quoque* and *etiam*.

rabie duorum juvenum, funestas nuptias ex occasu patriae pententium. Parum parti utrique domi armorum bellicue est visum. Optimates, Romanos ad auxilium urbis obsessae, plebs, ad expugnandam secum Ardeam Volscos, excivere. Priores Volsci, duce Aequo Cloelio, Ardeam venire, et moenibus hostium vallum objecere. Quod ubi Romam est nunciatum, extemplo M. Geganius consul, cum exercitu profectus, tria millia passuum ab hoste locum castris cepit, praecipitque jam die curare corpora milites jubet. Quartâ deinde vigiliâ signa profert: coeptumque opus adedò appropriatum est, ut, sole orto, Volsci firmiore se munimento ab Romanis circumvallatos, quàm a se urbem, viderent. Et aliâ parte consul muro Ardeae brachium injunxerat; quâ ex oppido sui¹ commeare possent.

X. Volscus imperator, qui² ad eam diem, non commeatu praeparato, sed ex populatione agrorum raptò in diem frumento, aluisset militem, postquam septus vallo repentè inopem omnium rerum videt, ad colloquium consule evocato, 'si solvendae obsidionis causâ venerit Romanus, abducturum se inde Volscos, ait.' Adversus ea consul, 'victis conditiones accipiendas esse, non ferendas,' respondit; 'neque, ut venerint ad oppugnandos socios populi Romani suo arbitrio, ita abituros Volscos esse. Dedi imperatorem, arma poni,' jubet, 'fatentes victos se esse, et imperio parere. Aliter, tam abeuntibus, quàm manentibus, se hostem infensum, victoriam potius ex Volscis, quàm pacem infidam, Romam relaturum.' Volsci exiguam spem in armis, aliâ undique abscissâ, quum tentâssent, praeter cetera adversa, loco quòque iniquo ad pugnam congressi, iniquiore ad fugam, quum ab omni parte caderentur, ad preces a certamine versi, dedito imperatore traditisque armis, sub jugum³ missi, cum singulis vestimentis ignominiae cladisque pleni dimittuntur. Et, quum haud procul urbe Tusculo consedisent, veterè Tusculanorum odio inermes oppressi dederunt poenas, vix nunciis caedis relictis. Romanus Ardeae turbatas seditione res, principibus ejus motus securi percussis, bonisque eorum in publicum Ardeatium reductis, composuit: demptamque injuriam judicii tanto bene-

¹ *Brachium*, an arm of the circumvallation: *sui*, the party of the nobles favourable to the Romans.

² *Qui* (quippe is) *aluisset*, as he had supported.

³ See p. 173, note 2.

fcio populi Romani Ardeates credebant; senatui superesse aliquid ad delendum publicae avaritiae monumentum videbatur. Consul triumphans in urbem redit, Cloelio duce Volscorum ante currum ducto, praelatisque spoliis, quibus dearmatum exercitum hostium sub jugum miserat. Aequavit, quod haud facile est, Quinctius consul togatus armati gloriam collegae: quia concordiae pacisque domesticam¹ curam, jura infimis summisque moderando, ita tenuit, ut eum et Patres severum consulem, et plebs satis comem crediderint. Et adversus tribunos auctoritate plura, quàm certamine, tenuit. Quinque consulatus, eodem tenore gesti, vitaeque omnis, consulariter acta, verendum penè ipsum magis, quàm honorem, faciebant. Eo tribunorum militarium nulla mentio his consilibus fuit.

XL. Consules creant M. Fabium Vibulanum, Pos-
 tumum Aebutium Cornicinem. Fabius et Aebutius
 consules, quo majori gloriae rerum, domi forisque gestarum, succedere se cernebant, (maximè autem memorabilem annum apud finitimos socios hostesque esse, quòd Ardeatibus in re praecipiti tantà foret curâ subventum,) eo impensius, ut delerent prorsus ex animis hominum infamiam judicii, senatus consultum fecerunt; ut, quoniam civitas Ardeatium intestino tumultu redacta ad paucos esset, coloni eò praesidii causâ adversus Volcos scriberentur. Hoc palàm relatum in tabulas, ut plebem tribunosque falleret² judicii rescindendi consilium initum. Consenserant autem, ut, multo majore parte Rutulorum colonorum, quàm Romanorum, scriptâ, nec ager ullus divideretur, nisi is, qui interceptus judicio infamierat; nec ulli priùs Romano ibi, quàm omnibus Rutulis divisus esset, gleba ulla agri assignaretur. Sic ager ad Ardeates rediit. Triumviri ad coloniam Ardeam deducendam creati Agrippa Menenius, T. Cloelius Siculus, M. Aebutius Elva. Qui, per minimè populare ministerium agro assignando sociis, quem populus Romanus suum judicâset, quum plebem offendissent, ne primoribus quidem Patrum satis accepti, quòd nihil gratiae cujusquam dederant; vexationes, ad populum jam die dictâ ab tribunis, coloni adscripti remanendo in coloniâ, quam testem integritatis justitiaeque habebant, vitare.

¹ Stroth says, that *domesticam* stands for *domesticae*. See p. 126, note 4. ² See p. 91, note 5.

XII. Pax domi forisque fuit et hoc et insequent

U. C. anno, C. Furio Pacilo et M. Papirio Crasso consulibus.
314.

Ludi, ab decemviris, per secessionem plebis a Patribus, ex senatûs consulto voti, eo anno facti sunt. Causa seditionum nequicquam a Poetelio quaesita. Qui, tribunus plebis iterum ea ipsa¹ denunciando factus, neque, ut de agris dividendis plebi referrent consules ad senatum, pervincere potuit: et, quum magno certamine obtinuisset, ut consulerentur Patres, consulum an tribunorum placeret comitia haberi, consules creati jussi sunt. Ludibrioque erant minae tribuni, denunciantis 'se delectum impediturum;' quum, quietis finitimis, neque bello, neque belli apparatu opus esset. Sequitur

hanc tranquillitatem rerum annus, Proculo Geganio
U. C. Macerino, L. Menenio Lanato consulibus, multiplici
315.

clade ac periculo insignis, seditionibus, fame, regno prope per largitionis dulcedinem in cervices accepto. Unum auit bellum externum: quo si aggravatae res essent, vix ope Deorum omnium resisti potuisset. Coepere a fame mala, seu adversus annus frugibus fuit, seu dulcedine concionum et urbis deserto agrorum cultu. Nam utrumque traditur. Et Patres plebem desidem, et tribuni plebis nunc fraudem nunc negligentiam consulum accusabant. Postremò perpulere plebei, haud adversante senatu, ut L. Minucius praefectus annonae crearetur; felicior in eo magistratu ad custodiam libertatis futurus, quàm ad curationem ministerii sui: quanquam postremò annonae² quòque levatae haud immeritam et gratiam et gloriam tulit. Qui quum, multis circa finitimos populos legationibus terrâ marique nequicquam missis, (nisi quòd ex Etruriâ haud ita multum frumenti advectum est) nullum momentum annonae fecisset³, et, revolutus⁴ ad dispensationem inopiae⁵, profiteri cogendo frumentum, et vendere, quod usu⁶ menstruo superesset, fraudandoque parte diurni cibi ser-

¹ *Ea ipsa* is explained in the subsequent clauses, as referring to the division of lands amongst the people, and the appointment of military tribunes. ² See p. 108, note 3. ³ *Facere momentum*, to make

a movement, to give an impulse in either way: here, to lessening the price of corn. ⁴ *Revolutus*, as Minucius does not seem before to

have had recourse to the measures detailed here, we must account for the *re*, in the manner explained, p. 74, note 2. ⁵ *Dispensationem inopiae*, either the distribution of the scanty stores, or an equalization of

the want. ⁶ *Usu*, for *usui*. Examples of this form of the dative abound, especially in Caesar.

vitia, criminando inde et objiciendo irae populi frumentarios, acerbâ inquisitione aperiret magis, quàm levaret, inopiam; multi ex plebe, spe amissâ, potiùs quàm ut cruciarentur trahendo animam, capitibus obvolutis se in Tiberim praecipitaverunt.

XIII. Tum Sp. Maelius ex equestri ordine, ut illis temporibus, praedives, rem utilem, pessimo exemplo, pejore consilio, est aggressus; frumento namque ex Etruriâ privatâ pecuniâ per hospitum clientiumque ministeria coëmpto, (quae, credo, ipsa res ad levandam publicâ curâ annonam impedimento fuerat,) largitiones frumenti facere instituit: plebemque, hoc munere delinitam, quâcunque incederet, conspectus elatusque supra modum hominis privati, secum trahere; haud dubium consulatum favore ac spe despondentem. Ipse, ut est humanus animus insatiabilis eo, quod fortuna spondet, ad altiora et non concessa tendere. Et, 'quoniam consulatus quòque eripiendus invitis Patribus esset,' de regno agitare: 'id unum dignum tanto apparatu consiliorum et certamine, quod ingens exsudandum esset, praemium fore.' Jam comitia consularia instabant. Quae res eum, nec dum compositis maturisve satis consiliis, oppressit. Consul sextum creatus T.

u. c.
316. Quinctius Capitolinus, minimè opportunus vir novanti res: collega additur ei Agrippa Menenius, cui Lanato erat cognomen. Et L. Minucius praefectus annonae, seu refectus, seu, quoad res posceret, in incertum creatus. Nihil enim constat, nisi in libros linteos utroque anno relatum inter magistratus praefecti nomen. Hic Minucius, eandem publicè curationem agens, quam Maelius privatim agendam susceperat, quum in utrâque domo genus idem hominum versaretur, rem compertam ad senatum refert, 'Tela in domum Maelii conferri, eumque conciones domi habere: ac non dubia regni consilia esse. Tempus agenda rei nondum stare; cetera jam convenisse; et tribunos mercede emptos ad prodendam libertatem, et partita ducibus multitudinis ministeria esse. Seriùs se penè, quàm tutum fuerit, ne cujus incerti vanique auctor esset, ea deferre.' Quae postquam sunt audita, et undique primores Patrum et prioris anni consules increpant, 'quòd eas largitiones coetusque plebis in privatâ domo passi essent fieri, et novos consules, quòd exspectâssent, donec a praefecto annonae tantâ res ad senatum deferretur, quae consulem, non auctorem solùm de-

‘sideraret, sed etiam vindicem;’ tum T. Quinctius, ‘Con-
sules immeritò increpari,’ ait, ‘qui, constricti legibus de pro-
vocatione ad dissolvendum imperium¹ latis, nequaquam tan-
tum virum in magistratu ad eam rem pro atrocitate vindi-
candam, quantum animi, haberent. Opus esse non fortì so-
lùm viro, sed etiam libero exsolutoque legum vinculis. Ita-
que se dictatorem L. Quinctium dicturum. Ibi animum
‘parem tantae potestati esse.’ Approbantibus cunctis, primò
Quinctius abnuere: et, ‘quid sibi vellent,’ rogare, ‘qui se
‘aetate exactâ tantae dimicationi objicerent?’ Dein, quum
undique ‘plus in illo senili animo non consilii mœdò, sed
‘etiam virtutis esse, quàm in omnibus aliis’ dicerent, laudi-
busque haud immeritis onerarent, et consul nihil remitteret;
p̄secutus tandem Deos immortales Cincianatus, ne senectus
sua in tam trepidis rebus damno ‘dedecorive reipublicae es-
set,’ dictator a consule dicitur. Ipse deinde C. Servilium
Ahalam magistrum equitum dicit.

XIV. Postero die, dispositis praesidiis, quum in forum de-
scendisset, conversaque in eum plebs novitate rei ac miraculo
esset, et Maeliani atque ipse eorum in se intentam vim
tanti imperii cernerent; expertos consiliorum regni, ‘qui tu-
multus, quod bellum repens, aut dictatoriam majestatem, aut
‘Quinctium post octogesimum annum rectorem reipublicae
‘quaesisset,’ rogarent; missus ab dictatore Servilius magis-
ter equitum ad Maelium, ‘Vocat te,’ inquit, ‘dictator.’
Quum pavidus ille, ‘quid vellet,’ quaereret; Serviliusque
‘causam dicendam esse’ proponeret: ‘crimenque, a Minucio
‘delatam ad senatum, diluendum;’ tunc Maelius recipere se
in catervam suorum, et primùm circumspectans tergiversari:
postremò, quum apparitor jussu magistri equitum duceret,
ereptus a circumstantibus, fugiensque, fidem plebis Romanae
implorare: et ‘opprimi se consensu Patrum’ dicere, ‘quòd
‘plebi benignè fecisset:’ orare, ‘ut opem sibi ultimo in dis-
‘crimine ferrent, neve ante oculos suos trucidari sinerent.’
Haec eum vociferantem assecutus Ahala Servilius obtruncat:
respersusque cruore obtruncati, stipatus catervâ patriciorum
juvenum, dictatori renunciat, ‘vocatam ad eum Maelium, re-
‘pulso apparitore concitantem multitudinem, poenam meritam

¹ *Ad dissolvendum imperium, to enfeeble their power.*

‘habere.’ Tum dictator, ‘Macte¹ virtute,’ inquit, ‘C. Servili, esto, liberatâ republicâ.’

XV. Tumultuantem deinde multitudinem incertâ existimatione facti, ad concionem vocari jussit; et, ‘Maelium jure ‘caesum,’ pronunciavit, ‘etiam si regni crimine insons fuerit; ‘qui vocatus a magistro equitum ad dictatorem non venisset. ‘Se ad causam cognoscendam consedis; quâ cognitâ, habiturum fuisse Maelium similem causae fortunam. Vim parantem, ne judicio se committeret, vi coërcitum esse. Nec cum eo, tanquam cum cive, agendum fuisse; qui natus in libero populo inter jura legesque, ex quâ urbe reges exactos sciret, eodemque anno sororis filios regis, et² liberos consulis liberatoris patriae, propter pactionem indicatam recipiendorum in urbem regum, a patre securi esse percussos; ex quâ Collatinum Tarquinium consulem nominis odio abdicare se magistratu atque exulare jussum³, in quâ de Sp. Cassio⁴, post aliquot annos, propter consilia inita de regno, supplicium sumptum; in quâ nuper decemviros bonis, exsilio, capite mulctatos ob superbiam regiam, in eâ Sp. Maelius spem regni conceperit. Et quis homo? quanquam nullam nobilitatem, nullos honores, nulla merita cuiquam ad dominationem pandere viam; sed tamen Claudios, Cassios, consulatibus, decemviratibus, suis majorumque honoribus, splendore familiarum sustulisse animos, quò nefas fuerit: Sp. Maelium, cui tribunatus plebis magis optandus, quàm sperandus, fuerit, framentariam divitem, bilibris farriis⁵ sperâsse libertatem se civium suorum emisse, ciboque obijciendo ratum victorem finitimorum omnium populum in servitutem perlici posse: ut, quem senatorem concoquere civitas vix posset, regem ferret, Romuli conditoris, ab Diis orti, recepti ad Deos, insignia atque imperium habentem. Non pro scelere id magis, quàm pro monstro, habendum. Nec satis esse sanguine ejus expiatum, nisi tecta parietesque, intra quae tantum amentiae conceptum esset, dissipa-

¹ See p. 84, note 4. ² *Sororis filios regis, et.* If these words are not an interpolation, Livy, either through forgetfulness or carelessness, uses the word *filios* for *nepotes*, as the sons of Tarquin were the grandsons, not the sons, of the king's sister. Sigonius applies the words to the nephews of Collatinus. ³ See II. 2. ⁴ See II. 41. ⁵ *Bilibris farriis*, two pounds of flour to each man. Mark this proof that the ancients weighed, as well as measured, their grain.

'rentur; bonaque, contacta pretiis regni mercandi, publica-
'rentur. Jubere itaque, quaestores vendere ea bona, atque
'in publicum redigere.'

XVI. Domum deinde, ut monumento area esset oppressae
nefariae spei, dirui extemplo jussit. Id Aequimaelium¹ ap-
pellatum est. L. Minucius bove aurato² extra portam Tri-
geminam est donatus, ne plebe quidem invitâ, quia frumen-
tum Maelianum, assibus in modios aestimatum, plebi divisit.
'Hunc Minucium,' apud quosdam auctores, 'transisse a Pa-
'tribus ad plebem, undecimumque tribunum plebis coopta-
'tum seditionem, motam ex Maelianâ caede, sedâsse,' in-
venio. Ceterum vix credibile est, numerum tribunorum
Patres augeri passos, idque potissimum exemplum a patricio
homine introductum; nec deinde id plebem concessum semel
obtinuisse, aut certè tentâsse. Sed ante omnia refellit fal-
sum imaginis titulum paucis antè annis lege cantum³, 'ne
'tribunis collegam cooptare liceret.' Q. Caecilius, Q. Ja-
nius, Sext. Titinius, soli ex collegio tribunorum neque tu-
lerant de honoribus Minucii legem; et criminari nunc Minu-
cium, nunc Servilium apud plebem, quærique indignam ne-
cem Maelii non destiterant. Pervicerunt igitur, ut tribuno-
rum militum potius, quàm consulum, comitiâ haberentur;
haud dubii, quin sex locis (tot enim jam creati licebat) et
plebeiî aliqui, profitendo 'se ultores fore Maelianae caedis,'
crearentur. Plebs, quanquam agitata multis eo anno et va-
riis motibus erat, nec plures, quàm tres, tribunos consulari
potestate creavit, et in iis L. Quinctium Cincinnati filium;
ex cujus dictaturae invidiâ tumultus quaerebatur. Prae-
u. c. latus suffragiis Quinctio Mam. Aemilius, vir summae
317. dignitatis. L. Julium tertium creant.

XVII. In horum magistratu Fidenae, colonia Romana, ad

¹ Domus Maelii solo aequata. ² Bove aurato, this is taken ge-
nerally to mean the gilt statue of an ox. But this interpretation is
rendered doubtful, 1st, By the strangeness of the reward; 2d, By the
agreement of all authors, that gilt statues were not introduced into
Italy till the 562d year of the city. Accordingly, it is probable that the
words import an ox with gilt horns for sacrifice. What then do *extra*
portam Trigeminam mean? A commentator, with great probability,
suggests that the words *et statua* have been omitted by some trans-
criber. Pliny expressly mentions the statue in honour of Minucius.

³ See p. 60, note 1. *Cantum* agrees with *ne tribunis*, &c. For the
law itself, see III. 65.

Lartem Tolumnium Vejentium regem ac Vejentes defecere. Majus additum defectioni scelus. C. Falcinium, Cloelium Tullum, Sp. Ancium, L. Roscium, legatos Romanos, causam novi consilii quaerentes, jussu Tolumnii interfecerunt. Levant quidam regis facinus. 'In tesserarum prospero jactu vocem ejus ambigam, ut occidi jussisse videretur', ab Fidenatibus exceptam, causam mortis legatis fuisse. Rem incredibilem; interventu Fidenatum, novorum sociorum, consulentium de caede rupturâ jus gentium, non aversum ab intentione lusûs animum: nec deinde in horrorem versum facinus. Propius est fidem, obstringi Fidenatum populum, ne respicere spem ullam ab Romanis posset, conscientiam tanti sceleris voluisse. Legatorum, qui Fidenis caesi erant, statuae publicè in Rostris positae sunt. Cum Vejentibus Fidenatibusque, praeterquam finitimis populis, ab causâ etiam tam nefandâ bellum exorsis, atrox dimicatio instabat. Ita-

que ad curam summae rerum, quietâ plebe tribuâque
 U. C. 318. ejus, nihil controversiae fuit, quin consules crearentur

M. Geganus Macerinus tertium et L. Sergius Fidenas; a bello credo, quod deinde gessit, appellatum. Hic enim primus cis Anienem cum rege Vejentium secundo proelio conflixit, nec incruentam victoriam retulit. Major itaque ex civibus amissis dolor, quàm laetitia suis hostibus fuit. Et senatus, ut in trepidis rebus, dictatorem dici Mam. Aemilium jussit. Is magistrum equitum ex collegio prioris anni, quo simul tribuni militum consulari potestate fuerant, L. Quinctium Cincinnatum, dignum parente juvenem, dixit. Ad delectum a consulibus habitum centuriones veteres belli periti adjecti, et numerus amissorum proximâ pugnam expletus. Legatos Quinctium Capitolinum et M. Fabium Vibulanum sequi se dictator jussit. Quam potestas major, tum vir quodque potestati par, hostes ex agro Romano trans Anienem submovere, collesque² inter Fidenas atque Anienem ceperunt, referentes

¹ This, as Stroth explains, might have happened, by the king neglecting the Fidenates, when consulting him as to the propriety of killing the Roman ambassadors, and delighted with some lucky chance in the game, exclaiming '*optime*,' or some such word, mistaken by the Fidenates as the answer to their question. ² *Potestas* and *vir* are the nominative to *submovere*, *hostes* the nominative to *ceperunt*. The change is illogical, but not unfrequent. The inaccuracy may easily be removed by reading *qui* for *que*. See p. 188, note 5.

castra : nec antè in campos degressi sunt, quàm legiones auxilio Faliscorum venerunt¹. Tum demum castra Etruscorum pro moenibus Fidenarum posita. Et dictator Romanus haud procul inde ad confluentes consedit in utriusque ripis amnis, quâ sequi munimento poterat, vallo interposito². Postero die in aciem eduxit.

XVIII. Inter hostes variae fuere sententiae. Faliscus, procul ab domo militiam aegre patiens, satisque fidens sibi, poscere pugnam : Vejenti Fidenatique plus spei in trahendo bello esse. Tolumnius, quanquam suorum magis placebant consilia, ne longinquam militiam non paterentur Falisci, 'postero die se pugnaturum edicit. Dictatori ac Romanis, 'quòd 'detrectâset pugnam hostis,' animi accessere : posteroque die, jam militibus 'castra urbemque se oppugnaturus' frementibus, 'ni copia pugnae fiat,' utrinque acies inter bina castra in medium campi procedunt. Vejens, multitudo abundans, qui inter dimicationem castra Romana aggredierentur, post montes circummisit. Trium populorum exercitus ita stetit instructus, ut dextrum cornu Vejentes, sinistrum Falisci tenerent, medii Fidenates essent. Dictator dextro cornu adversus Faliscos, sinistro contra Vejentem Capitolinus Quinctius intulit signa. Ante mediam aciem cum equitatu magister equitum processit. Parumper silentium et quies fuit, nec Etruscis, nisi cogerentur, pugnam inituris, et dictatore arcem Romanam respectante, ut ab auguribus, simul aves rite admisissent³, ex composito tolleretur signum. Quod simul conspexit, primos equites clamore sublato in hostem emisit. Secuta peditum acies ingenti vi conflixit. Nullâ parte legiones Etruscae sustinere impetum Romanorum. Eques maximè resistebat ; equitumque longè fortissimus ipse rex, ab omni parte effusè sequentibus obequitans Romanis, trahebat certamen.

XIX. Erat tum inter equites tribunus militum A. Cornelius Cossus, eximiâ pulchritudine corporis, animo ac viribus par, memorque generis, quod, amplissimum acceptum, majus auctiusque reliquit posteris. Is quum ad impetum Tolumnii,

¹ Legiones Faliscorum venerunt auxilio. ² Qua, &c. As far as he could keep along the banks, so as to have his camp fortified, by a rampart drawn from one river to the other. ³ Addicere and admittere are both applied to the favourable omens presented by birds. See p. 43, note 2.

quâcunque se intendisset, trepidantes Romanas videret turmas, insignemque eum regio habitu volitantem totâ acie cognosset, 'Hiccinne est,' inquit, 'raptor foederis humani, violatorque gentium juris? jam ego hanc mactatam victimam, (si modò sancti quicquam in terris esse Dii volunt) legatorum manibus dabo.' Calcaribus subditis, infestâ cuspidem in unum fertur hostem. Quem quum ictum equo dejecisset, confestim et ipse hastâ innisus se in pedes excepit. Assurgentem ibi regem umbone resupinat, repetitumque saepius cuspidem ad terram affixit. Tum exsanguem detracta spolia; caputque abscissum victor spiculo gerens, terrore caesi regis hostes fundit. Ita equitum quòque fusa acies, quae una fecerat anceps certamen. Dictator legionibus fugatis instat, et ad castra compulsos caedit. Fidenatium plurimi locorum notitiâ effugere in montes. Cossus, Tiberim cum equitatu transvectus, ex agro Vejentano ingentem detulit praedam ad urbem. Inter proelium et ad castra Romana pugnatum est adversus partem copiarum, ab Tolumnio, ut antè dictum est, ad castra missam. Fabius Vibulanus coronâ primùm vallum defendit; intentos deinde hostes in vallum, egressus dextrâ principali¹ cum triariis repentè invadit. Quo pavore injecto caedes minor, quia pauciores erant; fuga non minùs trepida, quàm in acie, fuit.

XX. Omnibus locis re bene gestâ, dictator senatûs consulto jussuque populi triumphans in urbem rediit. Longè maximum triumphî spectaculum fuit Cossus, spolia opima regis interfecti gerens. In eum milites carmina incondita, aequantes eum Romulo, canere. Spolia in aede Jovis Feretrii, prope Romuli spolia, quae, prima Opima appellata, sola eâ tempestate erant², cum solenni dedicatione dono fixit. Averteratque in se a curru dictatoris civium ora, et celebritatis ejus diei fructum prope solus tulerat. Dictator coronam auream libram pondo³ ex publicâ pecuniâ, populi jussu, in Capitolio Jovi donum posuit. Omnes ante me auctores secutus, A. Cornelium Cossum tribunum militum secunda spolia opima Jovis Feretrii templo intulisse, exposui. Cete-

¹ 'The camp had four gates, one on each side, called *Porta Praetoria*, 'vel *extraordinaria*, next to the enemy; *Decumana*, opposite to the former; *Porta principalis dextra*, and *principalis sinistra*.' Dr ADAM.

² See p. 14, note 1. ³ See p. 178, note 4.

rūm, præterquam quòd ea rite opima spolia habentur, quæ dux duci detraxit; nec ducem novimus, nisi ejus auspicio bellum geritur¹; titulus ipse, spoliis inscriptus, illos meque arguit, consulem ea Cossū cepisse. Hoc ego quum Augustum Caesarem, templorum omnium conditorem aut restitutorem, ingressum aedem Feretrii Jovis, quam vetustate dilapsam refecit², 'se ipsum in thorace linteo scriptum legisse' audissem; propè sacrilegium ratus sum, Cossō spoliōrum suorum Caesarem, ipsius templi auctorem, subtrahere testem. Qui si eā in re sit error, quòd tam veteres annales³, quòdque magistratuum libri, quos linteos in aede repositos Monetæ Macer Licinius citat identidem auctores, nono⁴ post demum anno cum T. Quinctio Penno A. Cornelium Cossū consulem habeant; existimatio communis omnibus est⁵. Nam etiam illud accedit, ne tam clara pugna in eum annum transferri posset, quòd imbelles triennium ferme pestilentia inopiaque frugum circa A. Cornelium consulem fuit: adeò ut quidam annales, velut funesti, nihil præter nomina consulū suggerant. Tertius ab consulatu Cossi annus tribunum eum militum consulari potestate habet; eodem anno magistrum equitum: quo in imperio alteram insignem edidit pugnam equestrem. Ea libera conjectura est. Sed, ut ego arbitror, vana versare in omnes opiniones licet⁶: quum auctor pugnae, recentibus spoliis in sacrâ sede positâ, Jovem prope ipsum, cui vota erant, Romulūque intuens, haud spernendos

¹ This limitation of the use of the word *dux*, is not always observed. Thus Cicero, *De officiis*, III. 27, as mentioned by Perizonius, writes of Regulus having been captured, *Duce Xantippo, imperatore Hamilcare*. ² Supply *dicere*. ³ *Qui*, &c. Whether this error in that matter arise from the circumstance of both, all the ancient annals, &c. ⁴ *Nono*. The old reading was *septimo*, which must have been a mistake, as the consulship of Cossus was in the year 327. Perizonius suggests *decimo*, according to the usual inclusive practice of Roman calculation, which is followed in a subsequent sentence in the words *Tertius ab consulatu, &c.* as the military tribuneship of Cossus happened in the year 329. ⁵ *Existimatio omnibus communis est*. All have an equal right to form an opinion. *Communis* is a law term, signifying what is common property. In the same sense, Livy uses *ea libera conjectura est*, immediately below. ⁶ *Vana*, &c. We may turn and turn groundless conjectures leading to all opinions, i. e. Conjecture after conjecture we may form, leading to all manners of opinion, but after all they must be quite unsatisfactory, seeing that (*quum*.)

falsi tituli testes, se A. Cornelium Cossum consulem scripserit¹.

XXI. M. Cornelio Maluginense, L. Papirio Crasso
 U. C. consulibus, exercitus in agrum Vejentem ac Faliscum
 319. ducti: praedae abactae hominum pecorumque: hostis in agris nusquam inventus, neque pugnandi copia facta. Urbes tamen non oppugnatae, quia pestilentia populum invasit. Et seditiones domi quaesitae sunt, nec motae tamen, ab Sp. Maelio tribuno plebis; qui, favore nominis moturum se aliquid ratus, et Minucio diem dixerat, et rogationem de publicandis bonis Servilii Ahalae tulerat: 'falsis criminibus a Minucio circumventum Maelium' arguens, Servilio caedem civis indemnati objiciens. Quae vaniora ad populum ipso auctore fuere. Ceterum magis vis morbi ingravescens curae erat, terroresque ac prodigia; maxime quod crebris motibus terrae ruere in agris nunciabantur tecta. Obsecratio itaque a populo, duumviris praeestantibus², est facta. Pestilentior inde annus, C. Julio iterum et L. Virginio consulibus, tantum metum vastitatis in urbe agrisque fecit, ut non modò praedandi causâ quisquam ex agro Romano non exiret, bellive inferendi memoria Patribus aut plebi esset; sed ultro Fidenates, qui se primò aut oppido, aut montibus,

¹ Our limits do not permit us to enter fully into the discussion of the difficulty raised by Livy. This has been done at great length, and with great ingenuity, by Perizonius, in his *Animadversiones Historicae*. It may be briefly remarked, that Livy seems, out of compliment to Augustus, to conceal his real opinion, and to express himself with studied obscurity. The consent of all the ancient historians,—the utter confusion into which a change would throw the whole of the Roman annals, whose narration proceeds all along as if there were no doubt on the matter,—the badly disguised opinion of Livy himself,—the express authority of Varro, who states that a *manipularis miles* might obtain the *spolia opima*,—and the weakness of the authority adduced by Livy, as the inscription *consul*, was in all probability added by the family of Cornelius at a subsequent period, after he had really been consul,—render it almost certain that Cossus was only tribune of the soldiers at the time when he gained the *spolia opima*, and, consequently, that it was not necessary to be general of the Roman army in order to attain that highest of all military honours. ² In order to protect the prayers of the people from containing any thing displeasing to the gods, the presiding priests, (here *duumviri*, appointed to take charge of the Sibylline books,) went over the words, which were repeated by the people.

ant muris tenuerant, populabundi descenderent in agrum Romanum. Deinde, Vejentium exercitu accito, (nam Falisci perPELLI ad instaurandum bellum, neque clade Romanorum, neque sociorum precibus, petuere,) duo populi transiêre Anienem; atque haud procul Collinâ portâ signa habuere. Trepidatum itaque, non in agris magis, quàm in urbe, est. Julius consul in aggere murisque explicat copias. A Virginio senatus in aede Quirini consulitur. Dictatorem dici A. Servilium placet, cui Prisco alii, alii Stracto fuisse cognomen tradunt. Virginius, dum collegam consuleret, moratus, permittente eo, nocte dictatorem dixit. Is sibi magistrum equitum Postumum Aebutium Elvam dicit.

XXII. Dictator omnes luce primâ extra portam Collinam adesse jubet. Quibuscunque vires suppetebant ad arma ferenda, praesto fuere: signa ex aerario prompta feruntur ad dictatorem. Quae quum agerentur, hostes in loca altiora concessere. Eò dictator agmine infesto subit; nec procul Nomento signis collatis, fudit Etruscas legiones, compulsi inde in urbem Fidenas, valloque circumdedit. Sed neque scalis capi poterat urbs alta et munita; neque in obsidione vis ulla erat, quia frumentum non necessitati modò satis, sed copiae quòque, abundè ex antè convectò sufficiebat. Ita, expugnandi pariter cogendique ad deditionem spe amissâ, dictator in locis, propter propinquitatem notis, ab avversâ parte urbis maximè neglectâ, quia suapte naturâ tutissima erat, agere in arcem cuniculum instituit. Ipse, diversissimis locis subeundo ad moenia quadrifariam diviso exercitu, qui alii aliis succederent ad pugnam, continenti die ac nocte proelio ab sensu operis hostes avertebat: donec, perfosso a castris monte, erecta in arcem via est; intentisque Etruscis ad vanas a certo periculo minas, clamor supra caput hostilis captam urbem ostendit. Eo anno C. Furius Pacilus et M. Geganus Macerinus censores villam publicam in campo Martio probaverunt¹; ibique primum² census populi est actus.

¹ Varro, quoted by Sigonius, thus writes of the *villa publica*: Villa publica ad rempublicam administrandam est utilis, ubi cohortes ad defectum consuli adductae considant, ubi arma ostendant, id est, ubi censores censu admittant populum. *Probare*, applied to the censors taking the work off the hands of the contractor of the public buildings: *adprobare* is the word applied to the successful offer of the contractor to have it so taken off his hands. In this respect the censor resembles the Dean of Guild. ² *Primum* qualifying *ibi*.

XXIII. 'Eosdem consules insequenti anno refectos, u. c. 321. 'Julium tertium, Virginium iterum,' apud Macrum Licinium invenio. Valerius Antias et Q. Tubero M. Manlium et Q. Sulpicium consules in eum annum edunt. Ceterum in tam discrepante editione et Tubero et Macer libros linteos auctores profitentur: neuter, 'tribunos militum eo anno fuisse, traditum a scriptoribus antiquis' dissimulat. Licinio libros haud dubiè sequi linteos placet; et Tubero incertus veri est. Sed inter cetera, vetustate incomperta, hoc quodque in incerto positum. Trepidatum in Etruriâ est post Fidenas captas, non Vejentibus solùm exterritis metu similis excidii, sed etiam Faliscis memoriâ initi primò cum iis belli; quanquam rebellantibus¹ non adfuerant. Igitur quum duae civitates, legatis circa duodecim populos missis, impetrâssent, ut ad Voltumnæ sanum indiceretur omni Etruriae concilium; velut magno inde tumultu imminente, senatus Mam. Aemilium dictatorem iterum dici jussit. Ab eo A. Postumius Tubertus magister equitum est dictus; bellumque tanto majore, quàm proximo, conatu apparatus est, quanto plus erat ab omni Etruriâ periculi, quàm ab duobus populis fuerat.

XXIV. Ea res aliquanto expectatione omnium tranquillior fuit. Itaque quum renunciatum a mercatoribus esset, 'negata Vejentibus auxilia, jussosque suo consilio bellum initum' suis viribus exsequi, nec adversarum rerum quaerere socios, 'cum quibus spem integram communicati non sint:' tum dictator, ne nequicquam creatus esset, materiâ quaerendae bello gloriae ademptâ, in pace aliquid operis edere, quod monumentum esset dictaturae, cupiens, censuram minuere parat: seu nimiam potestatem ratus, seu non tam magnitudine honoris, quàm diuturnitate, offensus. Concione itaque advocatâ, 'republicam foris gerendam,' ait, 'tutaque omnia praestanda, Deos immortales suscepisse; se, quod intra muros agendum esset, libertati populi Romani consulturum. Maximam autem ejus custodiam esse, si magna imperia diuturna non essent; et temporis modus imponeretur, quibus juris imponi non posset. Alios magistratus annuos esse, quinquennalem censuram: grâve esse, iisdem per tot annos magnâ parte vitae obnoxios vivere. Se legem laturum, ne plus, quàm annua ac semestris, censura esset.' Consensu ingenti populi legem postero die pertulit, et, 'ut re ipsâ,' in-

¹ *Rebellantibus*, in its original meaning, making war again.

quit, 'sciatis, Quirites, quàm mihi diuturnâ non plâceant im-
'peria, dictaturâ me abdicô.' Deposito suo magistratu, mo-
do aliorum magistratui imposito, fine alteri ¹, cum gratulatione
ac favore ingenti populi domum est reductus. Censores aegre
passi, Mamercum, 'quòd magistratum populi Romani mi-
'nuisset,' tribu moverunt, octuplicatoque censu aerarium fe-
cerunt ². 'Quam rem ipsum ingenti animo tulisse,' ferunt,
'causam potiùs ignominiae intuentem, quàm ignominiam ;
'primores Patrum, quanquam deminutum censurae jus no-
'luissent, exemplo acerbitatis censoriae offensos : quippe
'quum se quisque diutius ac saepius subjectum censoribus
'fore cerneret, quàm censuram gesturum.' Populi certè tanta
indignatio coorta dicitur, ut vis a censoribus nullius auctori-
tate, praeterquam ipsius Mamerci, deterreri quiverit.

XXV. Tribuni plebis, assiduâ concionibus prohi-
bendo consularia comitia, quum res prope ad interreg-
num perducta esset, evicere tandem, ut tribuni militum
consulari potestate crearentur : victoriae praemium, quod pe-
tebatur, ut plebeius crearetur, nullum fuit. Omnes patricii
creati sunt, M. Fabius Vibulanus, M. Fossius, L. Sergius
Fidenas. Pestilentia eo anno aliarum rerum otium praebuit.
Aedis ³ Apollini pro valetudine populi vota est. Multa duum-
viri ⁴ ex libris, placandae Deum irae, avertendaeque a populo
pestis causâ, fecere : magna tamen clades in urbe agrisque,
promiscuè hominum pecorumque pernicie, accepta. Famem
cultoribus agrorum timentes in Etruriam, Pomptinumque
agrum et Cumas, postremò in Siciliam quòque frumenti causâ
misere. Consularium comitiorum nulla mentio habita
est. Tribuni militum consulari potestate omnes patri-
cii creati sunt, L. Pinarius Mamercinus, L. Furius Me-

¹ As Mamercus has hitherto spoken only of two offices, the dicta-
torship and the censorship, and there are here mentioned *suo*, *aliorum*,
alteri, we have reason to suspect that either *modo aliorum magistratui*,
or *fine alteri*, should be deleted. ² *Octuplicati censu*, 'having made
'the valuation of his estate eight times more than it ought, that thus
'he might be obliged to pay eight times more tribute.' Dr ADAM.
The same writer likewise gives from Aconius in Cic. the following
explanation of *aerarium* : Qui per hoc non esset in albo centuriae suae,
sed ad hoc esset civis tantum, ut pro capite suo tributum nomine aera
penderet. It is a subject worthy of inquiry, what was the effect of
removing a senator from his tribe ? ³ *Aedis* for *aedes*, a form of
this, and similar words often used by Livy. ⁴ See p. 156, note 4.

dallinus, Sp. Postamius Albus. Eo anno vis morbi levata, neque a penuriâ frumenti, quia antè provisum erat, periculum fuit. Consilia ad movenda bella in Volscorum Aequorumque conciliis, et in Etruriâ ad fanum Voltumnae, agitata. Ibi prolatae in annum res, decretoque cautum, 'ne quod antè concilium fieret:' nequicquam Vejente populo querente, 'eandem, quâ Fidenae deletae sint, imminere Vejis fortunam.' Interim Romae principes plebis, jam diu nequicquam imminentes spei majoris honoris, dum foris otium esset, coetus indicere in domos tribunorum plebei; ibi secreta consilia agitare: queri, 'se a plebe adeò spretos, ut, quum per tot annos tribuni militum consulari potestate creentur, nulli unquam plebeio ad eum honorem aditus fuerit. Multum providisse suos majores, qui caverint, ne cui patricio plebeii magistratus paterent; aut patricos habendos fuisse tribunos plebei. Adeò se suis etiam sordere, nec a plebe minùs, quàm a Patribus contemni.' Alii purgare plebem, culpam in Patres vertere; 'eorum ambitione artibusque fieri, ut obseptum plebi sit ad honorem iter. Si plebi respirare ab eorum mixtis precibus minisque liceat, memorem eam suorum inituram suffragia esse, et parto auxilio imperium quodque adscituram.' Placet, tollendae ambitionis causâ tribunos legem promulgare, 'ne cui album in vestimentum addere, petitionis liceret causâ'. Parva nunc res, et vix seriò agenda videri possit, quae tunc ingenti certamine Patres ac plebem accendit. Vicere tamen tribuni, ut legem perferrent: apparebatque, irritatis animis, plebem ad suos studia inclinaturam. Quae ne libera essent, senatus consultum factum est, ut consularia comitia haberentur.

XXVI. Tumultus causa² fuit, quem ab Aequis et Volscis Latini atque Hernici nunciârunt. T. Quinctius, Lucii filius, Cincinnatus (eidem et Penno cognomen additur) et
 U. C. C. Julius Mento, consules facti; nec ultrà terror belli
 324. est dilatus. Lege sacratâ³ quae maxima apud eos vis

¹ *Album*, chalk. 'Those who sought preferments were called *Candidati*, from a white robe worn by them, which was rendered 'shining from the art of the fuller; for all the wealthy Romans wore 'a gown naturally white.' Dr ADAM. ² The cause of consuls being elected. ³ Festus thus defines the *leges sacratae*: *Sacratae leges sunt, quibus sanctum est, qui quid adversus eas fecerit, sacer alicui Deorum sit, cum familia pecuniaque.*

cogendae militiae erat, delectu habito, utrinque validi exercitus profecti in Algidum convenere. Ibiq̃ue, seorsum Aequi, seorsum Volsci, castra communivere; intentiorque, quàm unquam antè, muniendi exercendique militem cura ducibus erat. Eo plus nuncii terroris Romam attulere. Senatui 'dictatorem dici' placuit: 'quia, etsi saepe victi populi, majore tamen conatu, quàm aliàs unquam, rebellarent:' et aliquantum Romanae juventutis morbo absumptum erat. Ante omnia pravitas consulum discordiaque inter ipsos, et certamina in consiliis omnibus terrebant. Sunt, qui 'malè pugnatum ab his consulibus in Algido' auctores sint, 'eamque causam dictatoris creandi fuisse.' Illud satis constat, ad alia discordes, in uno adversus Patrum voluntatem consensisse, ne dicerent dictatorem: donec, quum alia aliis terribiliora adferrentur, nec in auctoritate senatûs¹ consules essent, Q. Servilius Priscus, summis honoribus egregiè usus, 'Vos,' inquit, 'tribuni plebis, quoniam ad extrema ventum est, senatus appellat, ut in tanto discrimine reipublicae dictatorem dicere consules pro potestate vestrà cogatis.' Quà voce auditâ, occasionem oblatam rati tribuni augendae potestatis secedunt, proque collegio pronunciant, 'placere, consules senatui dicto audientes esse: si adversus consensum amplissimi ordinis ultrà tendant, in vincula se duci eos jussuros.' Consules ab tribunis, quàm ab senatu, vinci maluerunt; 'proditum a Patribus summi imperii jus, datumque sub jugum tribuniciae potestati consulatum' memorantes; 'siquidem cogi aliquid pro potestate ab tribuno consules, et (quo quid ulterius privato timendum foret?) in vincula etiam duci possent.' Sors, ut dictatorem diceret, (nam ne id quidem inter collegas convenerat,) T. Quinctio evenit. Is A. Postumium Tubertum, socerum suum, severissimi imperii virum, dictatorem dixit: ab eo L. Julius magister equitum est dictus. Simul edicitur et justitium²: neque aliud totâ urbe agi, quàm bellum apparari: cognitio vacantium militiae munere post bellum differtur. Ita dubii quòque inclinant ad nomina danda. Et Hernicis Latinisque milites imperati. Utrinque enixè obeditum dictatori est.

XXVII. Haec omnia celeritate ingenti acta: relictoque C. Julio consule ad praesidium urbis, et L. Julio magistro equitum ad subita belli ministeria, ne qua res, quâ eguissent in

¹ See p. 170, note 4.

² See p. 147, note 2.

castris moraretur, dictator, praeunte ¹ A. Cornelio pontifice maximo, ludos magnos tumultus causâ vovit : profectusque ab urbe, diviso cum Quinctio consule exercitu, ad hostes pervenit. Sicut bina castra hostium, parvo inter se spatio distantia, viderant, ipsi quodque mille ferme passus ab hoste, dictator Tusculo, consul Lanuvio, propiorem locum castris ceperunt. Ita quatuor exercitus, totidem munimenta, planitiem in medio, non parvis modò excursionibus ad proelia, sed vel ad explicandas utrinque acies satis patentem, habebant. Nec, ex quo castris castra collata sunt ², cessatum a levibus proeliis est; facile patiente dictatore, conferendo vires spem universae victoriae, tentato paulatim eventu certaminum, suos praecipere. Itaque hostes, nullâ in proelio justo relictâ spe, noctu adorti castra consulis, rem in casum ancipitis eventus committunt. Clamor subito ortus, non consulis modò vigiles, exercitum deinde omnem, sed dictatorem quodque ex somno excivit. Ubi praesenti ope res egebant, consul nec animo defecit, nec consilio; pars militum portarum stationes firmant: pars coronâ vallum cingunt. In alteris apud dictatorem castris, quo minus tumultus est, eo plus animadvertitur, quid opus facto sit. Misso extemplo ad castra subsidio, cui Sp. Postumius Albus legatus praeficitur, ipse parte copiarum parvo circuitu locum maximè secretum ab tumultu petit, unde ex necopinato aversum hostem invadat. Q. Sulpicium legatum praeficit castris: M. Fabio legato assignat equites. Nec ante lucem movere jubet manum, inter nocturnos tumultus moderatâ difficilem. Omnia, quae vel alius imperator prudens et impiger in tali re praeciperet ageretque, praecipit ordine atque agit. Illud eximium consilii animique specimen, et neutiquam vulgatae laudis, quod ultro ad oppugnanda castra hostium, unde majore agmine profectos exploratum fuerat, M. Geganium cum cohortibus delectis misit. Qui, postquam intentos homines in eventum periculi alieni, pro se incautos neglectis vigiliis stationibusque, est adortus, prius penè cepit castra, quàm oppugnari hostes satis scirent. Inde, fumo, ut convenerat, datum signum ubi conspectum ab dictatore est, exclamat, 'capta hostium castra,' nunciarique passim jubet.

XXVIII. Et jam lucebat, omniaque sub oculis erant; et Fabius cum equitatu impetum dederat, et consul eruptio-

¹ See p. 249, note 2. ² Nec, &c. Nor from the time when camp was pitched in opposition to camp.

nem e castris in trepidos jam hostes fecerat. Dictator autem, parte alterâ subsidia et secundam aciem adortus, circum-agenti se ad dissonos clamores ac subitos tumultus hosti undique objecerat victorem peditem equitemque. Circumventi igitur jam in medio ad unum omnes poenas rebellionis dedissent, ni Vectius Messius ex Volscis, nobilior vir factis, quàm genere, jam orbem volventes suos increpans clarâ voce, 'Hic praebituri,' inquit, 'vos telis hostium estis indefensi, inulti? Quid igitur arma habetis? aut quid ultro bellum intulistis; in otio tumultuosi, in bello segnes? Quid hic stantibus spei est? an Deûm aliquem protecturum vos, rap-turumque hinc putatis? Ferro via facienda est. Hâc, quâ me praegressum videritis, agite, qui visuri domos, parentes, conjuges, liberos estis, ite mecum. Non murus, nec vallum, sed armati armatis obstant. Virtute pares, necessitate, quae ultimum ac maximum telum est, superiores estis.' Haec locutum exsequentemque dicta redintegrato clamore secuti, dant impressionem, quâ Postumius Albus cohortes objecerat: et moverunt victorem, donec dictator, pedem jam referentibus suis, advenit: eoque omne proelium versum est. Uni viro Messio fortuna hostium innititur. Multa utrinque vulnera, multa passim caedes est. Jam ne duces quidem Romani incruenti pugnant. Unus Postumius, ictus saxo, perfracto capite, acie excessit. Non dictatorem humerus vulneratus, non Fabium propè affixum equo femur, non brachium abscissum consulem ex tam ancipiti proelio submovit.

XXIX. Messium impetus per stratos caede hostes cum globo fortissimorum juvenum extulit ad castra Volscorum, quae nondum capta erant. Eodem omnis acies inclinatur. Consul, effusos usque ad vallum persecutus, ipsa castra vallumque aggreditur. Eodem et dictator aliâ parte copias admovet. Non segnior oppugnatio est, quàm pugna fuerat. 'Consulem signum quodque intra vallum injecisse' ferunt, 'quo milites acrius subirent; repetendoque signo primam impressionem factam.' Et dictator, proruto vallo, jam in castra proelium intulerat. Tum abjici passim arma, ac dedi hostes coepti. Castrisque et his captis, hostes, praeter senatores, omnes venundati sunt. Praedae pars sua cognoscentibus Latinis atque Hernicis reddita; partem sub hastâ dictator vendidit; praepositoque consule castris, ipse, triumphans invectus urbem, dictaturâ se abdicavit. Egregiae dictaturae tristem me-

moriam faciunt; qui ' filium ab A. Postumio, quòd, occasione ' bene pugnandi captus, injussu decesserit praesidio, victorem ' securi percussus' tradant. Nec libet credere; et licet', in variis opinionibus. Et argumento est, ' quòd imperia ' Manliana, non Postumiana, appellata sint: quum, qui prior ' auctor tam saevi exempli foret, occupaturus insignem titulum crudelitatis fuerit.' *Imperioso* quòque Manlio² cognomen inditum; Postumius nullâ tristi notâ est insignitus. C. Julius consul aedem Apollinis, absente collegâ, sine sorte dedicavit: aegre id passus Quinctius, quum, dimisso exercitu, in urbem redisset, nequicquam in senatu est conquestus. Insigni magnis rebus anno additur, nihil tum ad rem Romanam pertinere visum, quòd Karthaginienses, tanti hostes futuri, tum primùm per seditiones Siculorum ad partis alterius auxilium in Siciliam exercitum trajecere³.

XXX. Agitatum in urbe ab tribunis plebis, ut tribuni militum consulari potestate crearentur; nec obtineri potuit. Consules fiunt L. Papirius Crassus, L. Julius. U. C.
325. Aequorum legati foedus ab senatu cùm petissent, et pro foedere deditio ostentaretur, inducias annorum octo impetraverant. Volscorum res, super acceptam in Algidio cladem, pertinaci certamine inter pacis bellicue auctores in jurgia et seditiones versa. Undique otium fuit Romanis. ' Legem de mulctarum aestimatione⁴ pergratam populo,' quum

¹ *Nec, &c.* We have not only the inclination, but liberty to disbelieve this. ² With an inconsistency not unusual in Livy, arising either from forgetfulness, or from following conflicting authorities, he gives here an epithet to Manlius, and an account of its origin, different from his own account, vii. 4. There he gives the epithet not to Titus, but his father Lucius Manlius, and attributes the origin of it to his severity in enforcing the laws. His words are, *Acerbitas in delectu, non damno modo civium, sed etiam laceratione corporum lata, partim virgis caesis, qui ad nomina non respondissent, partim in vincula ductis, invisa erat*; et, ante omnia invisum ipsum ingenium atrox, cognomenque *imperiosi* grave liberae civitati, ab ostentatione saevitiae adscitum. ³ The Romans had, U. C. 245, made a treaty with the Carthaginians, regulating their mutual commercial speculations on the coasts of Africa and Italy. ⁴ *De mulctarum aestimatione*, about the commutation of fines. Originally, disobedience to the authority of the magistrates was punished by a fine not exceeding 2 oxen, and 30 sheep. By a law passed by Aterius, U. C. 300, according to Dionysius, by the consuls of this year, according to the passage in the text, an ox was valued at 100, and a sheep at 10 asses.

‘ ab tribunis parari’ consules unius ex collegio proditione excepissent, ipsi praeoccupaverunt ferre. Consules L. Sergius Fidenas iterum, Hostus Lucretius Tricipitinus. Nihil dignum dictu actum his consulibus. Secuti eos consules, A. Cornelius Cossus, T. Quinctius Pennus iterum. Vejentes in agrum Romanum excursiones fecerunt. Fama fuit, ‘ quosdam ex Fidenatium juven-
 ‘ tute participes ejus populationis fuisse :’ cognitioque ejus rei L. Sergio, et Q. Servilio, et Mam. Aemilio permissa. Quidam Ostiam relegati, quòd, cur per eos dies a Fidenis afuissent, parum constabat. Colonorum additus numerus, agerque iis bello interemptorum assignatus. Siccitate eo anno plurimum laboratum est : nec coelestes modò defuerunt aquae, sed terra quòque, ingenito humore egens, vix ad perennes suffecit amnes. Defectus alibi aquarum circa torridos fontes rivosque stragem siti pecorum morientium dedit : scabie alia absumpta : vulgatique contactu in homines morbi, et primò in agrestes ingruerant servitiaque. Urbs deinde impletur. Nec corpora modò affecta tabo¹, sed animos quòque multiplex religio, et pleraque externa, invasit, novos ritus sacrificandi vaticinando inferentibus in domos, quibus quaestui sunt capti superstitione animi² : donec publicus jam pudor ad primores civitatis pervenit, cernentes in omnibus vicis sacellisque peregrina atque insolita piacula pacis Deum exposcendae. Datum inde negotium aedilibus, ut animadverterent, ‘ ne qui, nisi Romani Dii, neu quo alio more, quàm patrio, ‘ colerentur.’ Irae adversus Vejentes in insequentem
 u. c. annum, C. Servilium Aham, L. Papirium Mugillanum consules, dilatae sunt. Tunc quòque, ne confestim bellum indiceretur, neve exercitus mitterentur, religio obstitit. ‘ Feciales³ prius mittendos ad res repetendas’ censuere. Cum Vejentibus nuper acie dimicatum ad Nomentum et Fidenas fuerat : induciaeque inde, non pax, facta, quarum et dies exierat, et ante diem rebellaverant. Missi tamen feciales : nec eorum, quum more patrum jurati repeterent res,

¹ *Tabo*. A more common form of the word in this sense is *tabo*.

² *Nec*, &c. Nor were their bodies alone afflicted with pestilence, but their minds also were assailed by manifold religious ceremonies, most of them, too, of foreign origin, as those who derive gain from minds enfeebled by superstition, introduced into families new sacrificial rites, by affecting prophetic powers. ³ See I. 24.

verba sunt audita. Controversia inde fuit, utrùm populi jussu indiceretur bellum, an satis esset senatus consultum. Pervicere tribuni, denunciando 'impedituros se delectum,' ut consules de bello ad populum ferrent. Omnes centuriae jussere. In eo quòque plebs superior fuit, quòd tenuit, ne consules in proximum annum crearentur.

XXXI. Tribuni militum consulari potestate quatuor
 u. c. creati sunt, T. Quinctius Pennus ex consulatu, C. Fu-
 329. rius, M. Postumius, A. Cornelius Cossus. Ex iis Cos-
 sus prae fuit urbi. Tres, delectu habito, profecti sunt Vejos,
 documentoque fuere, quàm plurium imperium bello inutile
 esset. Tendendo ad sua quisque consilia, quum aliud alii vi-
 deretur, aperuerunt ad occasionem locum hosti. Incertam
 namque aciem, 'signum' aliis 'dari receptui,' aliis 'cani' ju-
 bentibus, invasere opportunè Vejentes: castra propinqua tur-
 batos ac terga dantes accepere. Plus itaque ignominiae,
 quàm cladis, est acceptum. Moesta civitas fuit, vinci insueta:
 odisse tribunos, poscere dictatorem, in eo verti spes civitatis.
 Et quum ibi quòque religio obstaret, ne (non)¹ posset nisi
 ab consule dici dictator, augures consulti eam religionem exe-
 mere. A. Cornelius dictatorem Mam. Aemilium dixit: et
 ipse ab eo magister equitum est dictus. Adeò, simul fortuna
 civitatis virtute verà eguit, nihil censoria animadversio² ef-
 fecit, quo minùs regimen rerum ex notatâ indignè domo pe-
 teretur. Vejentes, re secundâ elati, missis circum Etruriae
 populos legatis, jactando 'tres duces Romanos ab se uno
 'proelio fusos,' quum tamen nullam publici consilii societatem
 movissent, voluntarios undique ad spem praedae adsciverunt.
 Uni Fidenatium populo rebellare placuit: et, tanquam nisi ab
 scelere bellam ordiri nefas esset, sicut legatorum antea, ita
 tum novorum colonorum caede imbutis armis, Vejentibus sese
 conjungunt. Consultare inde principes duorum populorum,
 Vejos an Fidenas sedem belli caperent. Fidenae visae op-
 portuniores. Itaque, trajecto Tiberi, Vejentes Fidenas trans-
 tulerunt bellum. Romae terror ingens erat. Accito exer-
 citu ab Vejis, eoque ipso ab re malè gestâ perculso, castra
 locantur ante portam Collinam, et in muris armati dispositi,
 et justitium³ in foro, tabernaeque clausae: fiuntque omnia
 castris, quàm urbi, similiora.

¹ Non is evidently redundant, and its omission is recommended by Gronovius. ² See C. 24. ³ See p. 147, note 2.

XXXII. Tum trepidam civitatem, praeconibus per vicos dimissis, dictator ad concionem advocatam increpuit, 'quòd animos ex tam levibus fortunae momentis suspensos gererent, ut, parvâ jacturâ acceptâ, quae ipsa non virtute hostium, nec ignaviâ Romani exercitûs, sed discordiâ imperatorum, accepta sit, Vejentem, hostem sexies victum, pertimescant, Fidenasque prope saepius captas quàm oppugnatas. Eosdem et Romanos et hostes esse, qui per tot secula fuerint: eosdem animos, easdem corporis vires, eadem arma gerere. Se quòque eundem dictatorem Mam. Aemilium esse, qui antè Vejentium Fidenatiumque, adjunctis Faliscis, ad Nomentum exercitus fuderit: et magistrum equitum A. Cornelium eundem in acie fore, qui priore bello tribunus militum¹, Larte Tolumnio rege Vejentium in conspectu duorum exercituum occiso, spolia opima Jovis Feretrii templo intulerit. Proin memores, secum triumphos, secum spolia, secum victoriam esse; cum hostibus scelus legatorum contra jus gentium interfectorum, caedem in pace Fidenatium colonorum, inducias ruptas, septimam infelicem defectionem, arma caperent. Simul castra castris conjunxissent, satis confidere, nec sceleratissimis hostibus diuturnum ex ignominiâ exercitûs Romani gaudium fore; et populum Romanum intellecturum, quanto melius de republicâ meriti sint, qui se dictatorem tertium dixerint; quàm eos, qui, ob ereptum censurae regnum, labem secundae dictaturae suae imposuerint.' Votis deinde nuncupatis profectus, mille et quingentos passus citra Fidenas castra locat: dextrâ montibus, laevâ Tiberi amne septus. 'T. Quinctium Pennum legatum occupare montes' jubet, 'occultumque id jugum capere, quod ab tergo hostibus foret.' Ipse postero die, quum Etrusci pleni animorum ab pristini diei meliore occasione, quàm pugnâ, in aciem processissent, cunctatus parumper, dum speculatores referrent, 'Quinctium evasisse in jugum propinquum arcis Fidenarum,' signa profert: peditumque aciem instructam pleno gradu² in hostem inducit: magistro equitum praecipit, 'ne

¹ Livy's own opinion on the subject, adverted to, p. 249, note 1, is here clearly indicated.

² The different military paces of the Romans are defined in the following passage from Vegetius: Militari gradu viginti millia passuum horis quinque duntaxat aestivis conficienda sunt: pleno autem gradu, qui citatior est, totidem horis viginti quatuor millia peragenda sunt: quidquid addideris, jam cursus est, cujus spatium non potest definiri.

‘injussu pugnam incipiat : se, quum opus sit, equestri auxilio
 ‘signum daturum. Tum ut memor regiae pugnae, memor
 ‘opimi doni, Romulique ac Jovis Feretrii, rem gereret.’ Le-
 giones impetu ingenti configunt. Romanus odio accensus,
 ‘impium Fidenatem, praedonem Vejentem, ruptores inducia-
 ‘rum, cruentos legatorum infandâ caede, respersos sanguine
 ‘colonorum suorum, perfidos socios, imbelles hostes’ compel-
 lans, factis simul dictisque odium explet.

XXXIII. Concusserat primo statim congressu hostem :
 quum repentè, patefactis Fidenarum portis, nova erumpit
 acies, inaudita ante id tempus invisitataque. Ignibus armata
 ingens multitudo, facibusque ardentibus tota collucens, velut
 fanatico instincta cursu, in hostem ruit : formaque insolitae
 pugnae Romanos parumper exterruit. Tum dictator, magis-
 tro equitum equitibusque, tum ex montibus Quinctio accito,
 proelium ciens, ipse in sinistrum cornu, quod, incendio simi-
 lius quàm proelio¹, territum cesserat flammis, accurrit : clarâ-
 que voce, ‘Fumone victi,’ inquit, ‘velut examen apum loco
 ‘vestro exacti, inermi cedetis hosti ? Non ferro exstinguetis
 ‘ignes ? non faces has ipsas pro se quisque, si igni, non telis,
 ‘pugnandum est, ereptas ultro inferetis ? Agite, nominis Ro-
 ‘mani ac virtutis patrum vestraeque memores, vertite incen-
 ‘dium hoc in hostium urbem ; et suis flammis delete Fide-
 ‘nas, quas vestris beneficiis placare non potuistis. Legato-
 ‘rum hoc vos vestrorum colonorumque sanguis, vastatique
 ‘fines monent.’ Ad imperium dictatoris mota cuncta acies :
 faces partim emissae excipiuntur, partim vi eripiuntur : utra-
 que acies armatur igni. Magister equitum et ipse novat²
 pugnam equestrem. Frenos ut detrahant equis, imperat : et
 ipse princeps, calcaribus subditis evectus, effreno equo in me-
 dios ignes infertur : et alii concitati equi libero cursu ferunt
 equitem in hostem. Pulvis elatus mixtusque fumo, lucem ex
 oculis virorum equorumque aufert. Ea, quae militem terrue-
 rat, species nihil terruit equos. Ruinae igitur similem stra-
 gem eques, quâcunque pervaserat, dedit. Clamor deinde ac-
 cidit novus : qui quum utramque mirabundam in se aciem
 vertisset, dictator exclamat : ‘Quinctium legatum et suos ab
 ‘tergo hostem adortos :’ ipse, redintegrato clamore, infert

¹ Incendio for incenso, praelio for praelianti, more resembling a
 body of men on fire than engaged in fight. ² Novat, (novam
 facit,) introduces a new kind of.

acrius signa. Quum duae acies, duo diversa proelia, circumventos Etruscos et a fronte et ab tergo urguerent, neque in castra retrò, neque in montes, unde se novus hostis objecerat, iter fugae esset, et equitem passim liberi frenis distulissent equi, Vejentium maxima pars Tiberim effusi petunt. Fidenatum qui supersunt, ad urbem Fidenas tendunt. Infert pavidos¹ fuga in mediam caedem: obtruncantur in ripis: alios, in aquam compulsos, gurgites ferunt: etiam peritos nandi lassitudo et vulnera et pavor degravant; pauci ex multis tranant. Alterum agmen fertur per castra in urbem; eadem et Romanos sequentes impetus rapit; Quinctium maximè, et cum eo degressos modò de montibus, recentissimum ad laborem militem, quia ultimo proelio advenerat.

XXXIV. Hi, postquam mixti hostibus portam intravere, in muros evadunt; suisque capti oppidi signum ex muro tollunt. Quod ubi dictator conspexit, (jam enim et ipse in desertis hostium castra penetraverat,) cupientem militem discurrere ad praedam, spe injectâ majoris in urbe praedae, ad portam ducit; receptusque intra muros in arcem, quò ruere fugientium turbam videbat, pergit. Nec minor caedes in urbe, quàm in proelio, fuit; donec, abjectis armis, nihil praeter vitam petentes, dictatori deduntur. Urbs castraque diripiuntur. Postero die singulis captivis ab equite ad centurionem sorte ductis, et, quorum eximia virtus fuerat, binis², aliis sub coronâ³ venumdatis, exercitum victorem opulentumque praedâ triumphans dictator Romam reduxit: jussuque magistro equitum abdicare se magistratu, ipse deinde abdicat die sextodecimo, reddito in pace imperio, quod in bello trepidisque rebus acceperat. 'Classi quòque ad Fidenas pugnatum cum 'Vejentibus,' quidam annales retulere: rem aequè difficilem atque incredibilem: nec nunc lato satis ad hoc amne; et tum aliquanto, ut a veteribus accepimus, arctiore: nisi in trajectu fortè fluminis prohibendo, aliquarum navium concursum in

¹ *Pavidos*, referring to the Veientes; *alterum* in the next sentence to the Fidenates.

² According to Doering, this passage means that each horseman obtained one, and those whose valour had been conspicuous two captives, assigned by lot in presence of (*ad for apud*) a centurion, appointed to discharge that office. May it not rather mean that each Roman soldier, from the horsemen to the centurions, that is, all included within these two grades, and none lower, were so rewarded? It is so translated by Baker.

³ See p. 89, note 2.

majus (ut fit) celebrantes, navalis victoriae vanum titulum appetivere.

XXXV. Insequens annus tribunos militares consulari potestate habuit, A. Sempronium Atratinum, L. Quinctium Cincinnatum, L. Furium Medullinum, L. Horatium Barbatum. Vejentibus annorum viginti induciae datae, et Aequis triennii, quum plurium annorum petissent. Et ab seditionibus urbanis otium fuit. Annum insequentem, neque bello foris, neque domi seditione insignem, ludi bello voti celebrem, et tribunorum militum apparatu, et finitimorum concursu, fecere. Tribuni consulari potestate erant Ap. Claudius Crassus, Sp. Nautius Rutilus, L. Sergius Fidenas, Sex. Julius Iulus. Spectaculum comitate etiam hospitum, ad quod publico consensu venerant, advenis gratius fuit¹. Post ludos conciones seditiosae tribunorum plebi fuerunt, objurgantium multitudinem, 'quod, admiratione eorum, quos odisset, stupens, in aeterno se ipsa teneret servitio: et non modò ad spem consulatûs in partem revocandam adspirare non auderet, sed ne in tribunis quidem militum creandis (quae communia essent comitia Patrum ac plebis) aut sui aut suorum meminisset. Desineret ergo mirari, cur nemo de commodis plebis ageret: eò impendi laborem ac periculum, unde emolumentum atque honos speretur. Nihil non aggressuros homines, si magna, conatis magna praemia proponantur. Ut quidem aliquis tribunus plebis ruat caecus in certamina periculo ingenti, fructu nullo; ex quibus pro certo habeat, Patres, adversus quos tenderet, bello inexpiabili se persecuturos; apud plebem, pro quâ dimicaverit, nihilo se honoratiorem fore, neque sperandum, neque postulandum esse. Magnos animos magnis honoribus fieri. Neminem se plebeium contempturum, ubi contemni desissent². Experiendam rem denique in uno aut altero esse, sitne aliquis plebeius ferendo magno honori³; an portento simile miraculoque sit, fortem ac strenuum virum aliquem exsistere ortum ex plebe. Summâ

¹ This passage, which, as it stands, is not difficult, has greatly occupied the attention of the critics. The best emendation is that which proposes *ad id quod*. ² *Neminem*, &c. That no plebeian would feel the same self contempt which he then felt, when the body to which he belonged should have ceased to be despised. ³ Supply *par*. A common form of omission. See p. 80, note 4.

‘vi expugnatum esse, ut tribuni militum consulari potestate et ex plebe crearentur. Petisse viros domi militiaeque spectatos; primis annis sugillatos, repulsos, risui Patribus fuisse; desisse postremò praebere ad contumeliam os. Nec se videre, cur non lex quòque abrogetur, quâ id liceat, quod nunquam futurum sit. Minorem quippe ruborem fore in juris iniquitate, quàm si per indignitatem ipsorum praeterantur.’

XXXVI. Hujus generis orationes, cum assensu auditaе, incitavere quosdam ad petendum tribunatum militum, alium ‘alia de commodis plebis laturum se in magistratu’ profitemtem. Agri publici dividendi coloniarumque deducendarum ostentatae spes, et, vectigali possessoribus agrorum imposito, in stipendium militum erogandi aeris. Captatum deinde tempus ab tribunis militum, quo per discessum hominum ab urbe, quum Patres clandestinâ denunciatione revocati ad diem certam essent, senatûs consultum fieret, absentibus tribunis plebi: ‘ut, quoniam Volscos in Hernicorum agros praedatum exisse fama esset, ad rem inspiciendam tribuni militum proficiscerentur, consulariaque comitia haberentur.’ Profecti Ap. Claudium, filium decemviri, praefectum urbis relinquunt impigrum juvenem, et jam inde ab incunabulis imbutum odio tribunorum plebisque. Tribunis plebi nec cum absentibus iis, qui senatûs consultum fecerant, nec cum Appio, transactâ re, quod contenderent, fuit.

XXXVII. Creati consules sunt C. Sempronius Atratinus, Q. Fabius Vibulanus. Peregrina res, sed memoriam digna, traditur eo anno facta: Vulturnum, Etruscorum urbem, quae nunc Capua est, ab Samnitibus captam; Capuamque ab duce eorum Capye, vel (quod propius vero est) a campestri agro appellatam¹. Cepere autem, priùs bello fatigatis Etruscis, in societatem urbis agrorumque accepti: deinde festo die graves somno epulisque incolas veteres novi coloni nocturnâ caede adorti. His rebus actis² consules ii, quos diximus, Idibus Decembribus³ magistratum occepere. Jam non solùm, qui ad id missi erant, retulerant,

¹ Heyne thinks that both Vulturnus and Capua are names derived from birds, with a reference to omens.

² *His rebus actis* has no apparent reference to any thing going before, and Gronovius recommends that the words be deleted. Doering thinks that they simply mean, at that time.

³ See p. 151, note 3.

'imminere Volscum bellum;' sed legati quòque ab Latinis et Hernicis nunciabant, 'Non antè unquam Volscos nec ducibus legendis, nec exercitui scribendo, intentiores fuisse. Vulgò fremere, aut in perpetuum arma bellumque oblivioni danda, jugumque accipiendum; aut iis, cum quibus de imperio certetur, nec virtute, nec patientiâ, nec disciplinâ rei militaris cedendum esse.' Haud vana attulere: sed nec perinde Patres moti sunt; et C. Sempronius, cui ea provincia sorti evenit, tanquam constantissimâ re, fortunâ¹ fretus, 'quòd victoris populi adversus victos dux esset,' omnia temere ac negligenter egit; adeò ut disciplinae Romanae plus in Volscis exercitu, quàm in Romano, esset. Ergo fortuna, ut saepe aliàs, virtutem est secuta. Primo proelio, quod ab Sempronio incautè inconsultèque commissum est, non subsidii firmatâ acie, non equite aptè locato, concursum est. Clamor indicium primum fuit, quòd res inclinatura esset; excitatio crebriorque ab hoste sublatus; ab Romanis dissonus, impar, segniùs saepe iteratus, incerto clamore² prodidit pavorem animorum. Eo ferocior illatus hostis, urgere scutis, micare gladiis: alterâ ex parte nutant circumspectantibus galeae, et incerti trepidant, applicantque se turbae. Signa nunc resistentia deseruntur ab antesignanis³, nunc inter suos manipulos recipiuntur. Nondum fuga certa, nondum victoria erat. Tegi magis Romanus, quàm pugnare. Volscus inferre signa, urgere aciem, plus caedis hostium videre, quàm fugae.

XXXVIII. Jam omnibus locis ceditur. Nequicquam Sempronio consule objurgante atque hortantè, nihil nec imperium, nec majestas valebat: dataque mox terga hostibus forent, ne Sex. Tempanius, decurio⁴ equitum, labente jam re, praesenti animo subvenisset. Qui quum magnâ voce exclamâset, 'ut equites, qui salvam rempublicam vellent esse, ex

¹ The majority of the best MSS. has *constantissimae rei, fortunae*, and the violation of the common usages has been adduced as a specimen of Livy's peculiar idiom, commonly called his Patavinity.

² What is the meaning of *clamor*, *incerto clamore*? Livy either forgot that he introduced the sentence with *clamor*, or we must adopt some one of the proposed emendations. They are *tenore*, *clangore*, *sonore*, *canore*, *etiam ore*, *languore*, and *incertus* without *clamore*.

³ *Antesignanis*, those standing before the standards, and assigned for their protection. ⁴ Doering here quotes Vegetius. Habet una turma equites triginta duo, huic qui praeest, decurio nominatur.

'equis desilirent;' omnium turmarum equitibus, velut ad consulis imperium motis, 'Nisi haec,' inquit, 'armata' cohors 'sistat impetum hostium, actum de imperio est. Sequimini pro vexillo cuspidem meam. Ostendite Romanis Volscisque, neque equitibus vobis ullos equites, nec peditibus esse pedites pares.' Quum clamore comprobata adhortatio esset, vadit altè cuspidem gerens. Quâcunque incedunt, vi viam faciunt: eò se inferunt objectis parmis, ubi suorum plurimum laborem vident. Restituitur omnibus locis pugna, in qua eos impetus tulit: nec dubium erat, quin, si tam pauci simul obire omnia possent, terga daturi hostes fuerint.

XXXIX. Et quum jam parte nullâ sustinerentur, dat signum Volscus imperator, ut parmatis, novae cohorti hostium, locus detur, donec impetu illati ab suis excludantur. Quod ubi est factum, interclusi equites: nec perrumpere eâdem, quâ transierant, posse; ibi maximè confertis hostibus, quâ viam fecerant: et consul legionesque Romanae, quum, quod tegumen modò omnis exercitûs fuerat, nusquam viderent, ne tot fortissimos viros interclusos opprimeret hostis, tendunt in quemcunque casum. Diversi Volsci, hinc consulem ac legiones sustinere, altera fronte instare Tempanio atque equitibus. Qui quum saepe conati nequissent perrumpere ad suos, tumulto quodam occupato, in orbem se tutabantur, nequaquam inulti. Nec pugnae finis ante noctem fuit. Consul quoque, nusquam remisso certamine, dum quicquam superfuit lucis, hostem tenuit: nox incertos diremit: tantusque ab imprudentiâ eventûs² utraque castra tenuit pavor, ut, relictis sauciis et magnâ parte impedimentorum, ambo pro victis exercitus se in montes proximos recipent. Tumulus tamen circumsessus ultra mediam noctem est. Quò quum circumsedentibus nunciatum esset, 'castra deserta esse,' victos rati suos, et ipsi, quâ quemque in tenebris pavor tulit, fugerunt. Tempanius metu insidiarum suos ad lucem tenuit. Digressus deinde ipse cum paucis speculatum, quum ab sauciis hostibus sciscitando comperisset, castra Volscorum deserta esse, laetus ab tumultu suos devocat, et in castra Romana penetrat. Ubi quum vasta desertaque omnia, atque eandem, quam apud hostes, foeditatem invenisset, priùs quàm Volscos cognitus error reduceret, qui-

¹ Gronovius reads *parmata*.

² *Ab imprudentia eventus*, either, from the impossibility of foreseeing the result, or more probably, from ignorance of what had been the result.

bus poterat sauciis ductis secum¹, ignarus quam regionem consul petisset, ad urbem proximis itineribus pergit.

XL. Jam eò fama pugnae adversae castrorumque deserto-ram perlata erat: et ante omnia deplorati erant equites, non privato magis, quàm publico, luctu: Fabiusque consul, terrore urbi quòque injecto, stationem ante portas agebat: quum equites, procul visi non sine terrore ab dubiis, quinam essent, mox cogniti, tantam ex metu laetitiam fecere, ut clamor urbem pervaderet gratulantium, 'salvos victoresque redisse equites:' et ex moestis paullo antè domibus, quae conclamaverant² suos, procurreretur in vias; pavidæque matres ac conjuges, oblitæ prae gaudio decoris, obviam agmini occurrerent, in suos quæque, simul corpore atque animo vix prae gaudio compotes, effusæ. Tribunis plebi, qui M. Postumio et T. Quinctio diem³ dixerant, 'quòd ad Vejos eorum operâ 'malè pugnatum esset'⁴, occasio visa est per recens odium Sempronii consulis renovandæ in eos invidiæ⁵. Itaque, advocatâ concione, quum 'proditam Vejis rempublicam esse ab 'ducibus, proditum deinde, quia illis impune fuerit, in Vol- 'scis ab consule exercitum, traditos ad caedem fortissimos 'equites, deserta foede castra,' vociferati essent; C. Julius, unus ex tribunis, Tempanium equitem vocari jussit: coram-que eis, 'Sexte Tempani,' inquit, 'quaero de te, arbitrerisne

¹ 'It is obvious that the relative pronoun in the Greek and Latin, like the word *what* in English, often unites in itself the double power of antecedent and relative. Thus *ὃν λέγουσιν ἀφ' ὧν λέγεις*: it is manifest from *WHAT* you say, i. e. from the *things which* you say,—*ἀπὸ τούτων ἃ λέγεις*. So in Latin.—*Quibus quisque poterat elatis*.—B. I. c. 29. *WHAT THINGS* every one was able, being carried out; i. e. those things which every one was able being carried out—*his quæ quisque poterat EFFERRE*, elatis. So also, *Quibus poterat sauciis ductis secum*, i. e. *iis sauciis, quos poterat DUCERE SECUM, ductis secum*, IV. 39.' Dr HUNTER. ² 'When the eyes were closed, they called upon the deceased by name several times at intervals, repeating *ave* or *vale*; whence *corpora nondum conclamata*, just expiring: and those who had given up their friends for lost, or supposed them dead, were said *eos conclamavisse*.' Dr ADAM. ³ See p. 109, note 2. ⁴ See C. 31. ⁵ The question has been asked, why not accuse *C. Furius* likewise, and why renew the charge after an interval of three years? Probably *Furius* was dead, and the people were in no humour to listen to such charges, after their success at Veii, till their present disgrace recalled to their remembrance their former disaster.

‘ C. Sempronium consulem aut in tempore pugnam inisse,
 ‘ aut firmasse subsidiis aciem, aut ullo boni consulis functum
 ‘ officio ? et, tunc ipse, victis legionibus Romanis, tuo consi-
 ‘ lio equitem ad pedes deduxeris, restituerisque pugnam ? ex-
 ‘ cluso deinde ab acie nostrâ tibi atque equitibus num aut con-
 ‘ sul ipse subvenerit, aut miserit praesidium ? postero denique
 ‘ die ecquid praesidii usquam habueris ? an tu cohorsque in
 ‘ castra vestrâ virtute perruperitis ? ecquem in castris con-
 ‘ sulem, ecquem exercitum inveneritis ? an deserta castra, re-
 ‘ lictos saucios milites ? Haec pro virtute tuâ fideque, quâ
 ‘ unâ hoc bello respublica stetit, dicenda tibi sunt hodie. De-
 ‘ nique, ubi C. Sempronius, ubi legiones nostrae sint ? deser-
 ‘ tus sis, an deserueris consulem exercitumque ? victi denique
 ‘ simus, an vicerimus ?’

XLI. Adversus haec Tempanii oratio incompta fuisse di-
 citur ; ceterum militariter gravis, non suis vana laudibus, non
 crimine alieno laeta : ‘ Quanta prudentia rei bellicae in C.
 ‘ Sempronio esset, non militis de imperatore existimationem
 ‘ esse, sed populi Romani fuisse, quum eum comitiis con-
 ‘ sulem legeret¹. Itaque ne ab se imperatoria consilia, neu
 ‘ consulares artes exquirent, quae pensitanda quodque mag-
 ‘ nis animis atque ingeniis essent ; sed, quod viderit, referre
 ‘ posse. Vidisse autem se prius, quam ab acie intercludere-
 ‘ tur, consulem in primâ acie pignantem, adhortantem, in-
 ‘ ter signa Romana telaque hostium versantem : postea se,
 ‘ ab conspectu suorum ablatum, ex strepitu tamen et cha-
 ‘ more sensisse, usque ad noctem extractum certamen : nec
 ‘ ad tumultum,’ (quem ipse tenuerat,) ‘ prae multitudine hos-
 ‘ tium credere perrumpi potuisse. Exercitus ubi esset, se
 ‘ nescire : arbitrari, velut ipse in re trepidâ loci praesidio
 ‘ se suosque sit tutatus, sic consulem, servandi exercitus
 ‘ causâ, loca tutiora castris cepisse. Nec Volscorum melio-
 ‘ res res esse credere, quam populi Romani. Fortunam
 ‘ noctemque omnia erroris mutui implêsse.’ Precantemque
 deinde, ne se fessum labore ac vulneribus tenerent, cum in-
 genti laude, non virtutis magis, quam moderationis, dimis-
 sum. Quum haec agerentur, jam consul viâ Lavicanâ ad

¹ *Quanta*, &c. As to the skill in the art of war possessed by C. Sempronius, it was not the province of a soldier to judge of his commander, but had been the province of the Roman people, when they elected him consul in the comitia.

sanum Quietis erat. Eò missa plaustra jumenta^{que} alia ab urbe exercitum, effectum proelio ac viâ nocturnâ, excipere. Paulò pòst in urbem est ingressus consul, non ab se magis enixè amovens culpam, quàm Tempanium meritis laudibus ferens. Moestae civitati ab re malè gestâ et iratae ducibus M. Postumius reus objectus, qui tribunus militum pro consule ad Vejos fuerat, decem millibus aeris gravis ¹ damnatur. T. Quinctium collegam ejus, quia et in Volscis consul auspicio dictatoris Postumii Tuberti, et ad Fidenas legatus dictatoris alterius Mam. Aemilii, res prosperè gesserat, totam culpam ejus temporis in praedamnatum collegam transferentem, omnes tribus absolverunt. Profuisse ei Cincinnati patrie memoria dicitur, venerabilis viri, et exactae jam aetatis Capitolinus Quinctius, suppliciter orans, ne se, brevi reliquo vitae spatio, tam tristem nuncium ferre ad Cincinnatam ² paterentur.

XLII. Plebs tribunos plebi absentes, Sex. Tempanium, A. Sellium, Sex. Antistium, et Sp. Icillum, fecit; quos et pro centurionibus ³ sibi praefecerant, Tempanio auctore, equites. Senatus, quum odio Sempronii consulare nomen offenderet, tribunos militum consulari potestate creari jussit. ^{U. C.} ^{333.} Creati sunt L. Manlius Capitolinus, Q. Antonius Merenda, L. Papirius Mugillanus ⁴. Principio statim anni L. Hortensius tribunus plebis C. Sempronio consuli anniprioris diem dixit. Quem quum quatuor collegae, inspectante populo Romano, orarent, ne imperatorem suum innoxium, in quo nihil praeter fortunam reprehendi posset, vexaret: aegre Hortensius pati, 'tentationem eam' credens 'esse perseverantiae suae; nec precibus tribunorum, quae in 'speciem modò jactentur, sed auxilio confidere reum.' Itaque modò ad eum conversus, 'Ubi illi patricii spiritus, ubi sub-nisus et fidens innocentiae animus esset?' quaerebat. 'Sub

¹ *Aes grave*, coins of the weight actually denoted by their name, not the depreciated weight of after times. ² In the same way Virgil, Aen. II. 548, makes Pyrrhus give tauntingly a message to Priam for his father Achilles. ³ As *centurionibus* is not an equestrian term, this must apply to the affair mentioned, C. 38, where the horse-men, on the suggestion of Tempanius, fought on foot. ⁴ As four military tribunes were elected for some years previously, and Livy writes in the 47th Chapter of L. Servilius Structus being tribune iterum, Sigonius conjectures that his name should be inserted here.

‘tribunicia umbrâ consularem virum delituisse.’ Modò ad collegas, ‘Vos autem, si reum perago, quid acturi estis?’ ‘an erepturi jus populo, et eversuri tribuniciam potestatem?’ Quum illi, ‘et de Sempronio et de omnibus summam populi ‘Romani potestatem esse,’ dicerent, ‘nec se iudicium populi ‘tollere aut velle, aut posse; sed, si preces suae pro imperatore, qui sibi parentis esset loco, non valuissent, se vestem ‘cum eo mutaturos’;’ tum Hortensius, ‘Non videbit,’ inquit, ‘plebs Romana sordidatos tribunos suos. C. Sempronium nihil moror, quando hoc est in imperio consecutus, ut ‘tam carus esset militibus.’ Nec pietas quatuor tribunorum, quàm Hortensii tam placabile ad justas preces ingenium, pariter plebi Patribusque gratior fuit. Non diutius fortuna Aequis indulsit, qui ambiguum victoriam Volscorum pro suâ amplexi fuerant.

XLIII. Proximo anno N. Fabio Vibulano, T. Quinctio, Capitolini filio, Capitolino consulibus, ductu Fabii, cui sorte ea provincia evenerat, nihil dignum memoratu actum. Quum trepidam tantum ostendissent aciem Aequi, turpi fugâ funduntur, haud magno consulis decore. Itaque triumphus negatur. Ceterum ob Sempronianae cladis levatam ignominiam, ut ovans² urbem intraret, concessum est. Quemadmodum bellum minore, quàm timuerant, dimicatione erat perfectum, sic in urbe ex tranquillo nec opinata moles discordiarum inter plebem ac Patres exorta est, coepta ab duplicando quaestorum numero. Quam rem (ut, praeter duos urbanos quaestores, duo consulibus ad ministeria belli praesto essent) a consulibus relata, quum et Patres summâ ope approbâssent, consulibus tribuni plebis certamen intulerunt, ut pars quaestorum (nam ad id tempus patricii creati erant) ex plebe fieret. Adversus quam actionem primò et consules et Patres summâ ope adnisi sunt: concedendo deinde, ut, quemadmodum in tribunis consulari potestate creandis usi sunt, adaequè in quaestoribus liberum esset arbitrium populi, quum parum proficerent, totam rem de augendo quaestorum numero omittunt. Excipiunt omissam tribuni, aliaeque subinde, inter quas et agrariae legis, seditiosae actiones existunt: propter quos motus quum senatus consules, quàm tribunos, creari mallet, neque posset per inter-

¹ See p. 132, note 3.

² See p. 156, note 2.

cessionones tribunicias senatûs consultum fieri; respublica a consulibus ad interregnum, neque id ipsum (nam coire patricios tribuni prohibebant) sine certamine ingenti, redit. Quum pars major insequentis anni per novos tribunos plebi et aliquot interreges certaminibus extracta esset, modò prohibentibus tribunis patricios coire ad prodendum interregem, modò interregem interpellantibus, ne senatûs consultum de comitiis consularibus faceret; postremò L. Papirius Mugillanus, proditus interrex, castigando nunc Patres, nunc tribunos plebi, 'desertam omissamque ab hominibus rempublicam' Deorum providentiâ curâque exceptam,' memorabat, 'Vejentibus induciis et cunctatione Aequorum stare. Unde si quid increpet terroris, sine patricio magistratu placere rempublicam opprimi? non exercitum, non ducem scribendo exercitui esse? an bello intestino bellum externum propulsuros? Quae si in unum convenient, vix Deorum opibus, quin obruatur Romana res, resisti posse. Quin illi, remittendo de summâ quisque juris, mediis¹ copularent concordiam: Patres, patiendò tribunos militum pro consulibus fieri: tribuni plebis, non intercedendo, quo minùs quatuor quaestores promiscuè de plebe ac Patribus libero suffragio populi fierent.'

XLIV. Tribunicia primùm comitia sunt habita².
 U. C. 335. Creati tribuni consulari potestate omnes patricii, L. Quinctius Cincinnatus tertium, L. Furius Medullinus iterum, M. Manlius, A. Sempronius Atratinus. Hoc tribuno comitia quaestorum habente, petentibusque inter aliquot plebeios filio Antistii tribuni plebis, et fratre alterius tribuni plebis Sex. Pompilii, nec potestas, nec suffragatio horum valuit, quin, quorum Patres avosque consules viderant, eos nobilitate praeferrent. Furere omnes tribuni plebis, ante omnes Pompilius Antistiusque, repulsâ suorum accensi, 'Quidnam id rei esset? non suis beneficiis, non Patrum injuriis, non denique usurpandi libidine, quum liceat, quod antè non licuerit, si non tribunum militarem, ne quaestorem quidem quemquam ex plebe factum³. Non valuisse patris pro filio,

¹ *Mediis*, supply *consiliis*, measures meeting each other half way.

² *Tribunicia*, &c. The comitia for the election of military tribunes were first held, i. e. before those for the election of a quaestor.

³ *Non suis*, &c. That, not to speak of a tribune of the soldiers, not one of the quaestors even had been elected from the plebeians, not.

‘fratris pro fratre preces, tribunorum plebis, potestatis sacrosanctae, ad auxilium libertatis creatae. Fraudem profecto in re esse, et A. Sempronium comitiis plus artis adhibuisse, quam fidei. Ejus injuriâ queri ‘suos honore dejectos.’ Itaque quum in ipsum, et innocentiam tutum et magistratu, in quo tunc erat, impetus fieri non posset, flexere iras in C. Sempronium, patruelem Atratinum: eique ob ignominiam Volsci¹ belli, adiutore collegâ M. Canuleio, diem dixerunt. Subinde ab eisdem tribunis mentio in senatu de agris dividendis illata est, (cui actioni semper acerrimè C. Sempronius restiterat,) ratis, id quod erat, ‘aut depositâ causâ leviolem futurum apud Patres reum, aut perseverantem sub iudicii tempore plebem offensurum.’ Adversae invidiae obijci maluit, et suae nocere causae, quam publicae deesse; stetitque in eadem sententiâ, ‘Ne qua largitio, censura in trium gratiam tribunorum, fieret. Nec tum agrum plebi, sed sibi invidiam, quaeri. Se quodque subiturum eam tempestatem forti animo. Nec senatui tanti se civem, aut quemquam alium debere esse, ut in parcendo uni malum publicum fiat.’ Nihilo demissiore animo, quum dies venit, causâ ipse pro se dictâ, nequicquam omnia expertis Patribus, ut mitigarent plebem, quindecim milibus aeris damnatur. Eodem anno Postumia, virgo Vestalis, de incestu causam dixit, crimine innoxia; ab suspitione propter cultum amoeniorem ingeniumque liberius, quam virginem decet, parum abhorrens². Eam ampliata³, deinde absolutam, withstanding their (the tribunes of the commons) benefits conferred, notwithstanding the wrongs inflicted by the patricians, in opposition even to the natural desire of entering on the exercise of a right, when possessed, which before they did not possess. *Usurpare* is a Latin law term, applied to preventing a prescriptive right from being acquired. It is here used with great propriety. The tribunes suggest the advantage of breaking in upon the prescriptive claims of the patricians to office, by taking possession of the rights now legally held out to the hopes of the plebeians. ¹ See C. 37, 38, 39. This is the same Sempronius, who was threatened with impeachment by Hortensius, C. 42. ² This reading is proposed by Gronovius, on his own authority, except *eam* for *famam*, resting on that of one MS. The old reading, which is preserved by several able critics, is, ob suspicionem, propter — parum abhorrens famam. Ampliatam. ³ ‘When there was any obscurity in the cause, and the *judices* were ‘uncertain whether to condemn or acquit the criminal, which they expressed by giving in the tablets on which the letters N. L.’ (non

pro collegii sententiâ pontifex maximus abstinere joci, colique sanctè potiùs, quàm scite¹, jussit. Eodem anno a Campanis Cumae, quam Graeci tum urbem tenebant, capiuntur.

Insequens annus tribunos militum consulari potestate
 v. c. habuit, Agrippam Menenium Lanatum, P. Lucretium
 336. Tricipitinum, Sp. Nautium Rutilum².

XLV. Annus, felicitate populi Romani, periculo potiùs ingenti, quàm clade, insignis. Servitia, urbem ut incenderent distantibus locis, conjurârunt; populoque ad opem passim ferendam tectis intento, ut arcem Capitoliumque armati occuparent. Avertit nefanda consilia Jupiter: indicioque duorum comprehensi fontes poenas dederunt. Indicibus dena millia gravis aeris³, quae tum divitiae habebantur, ex aenario numerata, et libertas praemium fuit. Bellum inde ab Aequis reparari coeptum: et, 'novos hostes Lavicanos consilia cum veteribus jungere,' haud incertis auctoribus Romanam est allatum. Aequorum jam velut anniversariis armis assuerat civitas. Lavicos legati missi quum responsa inde retulissent dubia, quibus, nec tum bellum parari, nec diuturnam pacem fore, appareret: Tusculanis negotium datum, 'adverterent animos, ne quid novi tumultûs Lavicis oriretur.' Ad insequentis anni tribunos militum consulari potestate, inito magistratu, legati ab Tusculo venerunt, L. Serrigium Fidenatem, M. Papirium Mugillanum, C. Servilium, Prisci filium, quo dictatore Fidenae captæ fuerant⁴. Nunciabant legati, 'Lavicanos arma cepisse, et cum Aequorum exercitu depopulatos agrum Tusculanum castra in Alcido posuisse.' Tum Lavicanis bellum indicitum: factoque senatûs consulto, 'ut duo ex tribunis ad bellum proficiscerentur, unus⁵ res Romae curaret,' certamen

liquet) 'were written, and the praetor, by pronouncing *amplius*, the cause was deferred to any day the praetor chose to name. This was called *ampliatio*, and the criminal or cause was said *ampliari*.' Dr ADAM.

¹ *Coli*, in the sense of a middle verb, to dress herself; *scitè*, fashionably; so with us, knowingly.

² Sigonius, for the reason mentioned p. 269, note 4, gives here, as a fourth tribune of the soldiers, Servilius.

³ See p. 269, note 1. ⁴ See C. 22. ⁵ This is completely against the inference drawn by Sigonius, from the circumstance of there being now generally *four* military tribunes, that when three are mentioned, one name has been omitted by the transcriber. Here there is no doubt as to the reading, and three are expressly enumerated twice.

subitò inter tribunos exortum. 'Se' quisque 'belli ducem' 'potiorem' ferre, curam urbis, ut ingratham ignobilemque, aspernari. Quum parum decorum inter collegas certamen mirabundi Patres conspicerent, Q. Servilius, 'Quando nec' 'ordinis hujus ulla,' inquit, 'nec reipublicae est verecundia, patria majestas altercationem istam dirimet. Filius meus' 'extra sortem urbi praeerit. Bellum utinam, qui appetunt, consideratiùs concordiusque, quàm cupiant, gerant.'

XLVI. Delectum haberi non ex toto passim populo placuit. Decem tribus sorte ductae sunt; ex his scriptos juniores duo tribuni ad bellum duxere. Coepta inter eos in urbe certamina cupiditate eadem imperii multo impensius in castris accendi: nihil sentire idem, pro sententiâ pugnare: sua consilia velle, sua imperia sola rata esse: contemnere in vicem, et contemni. Donec, castigantibus legatis, tandem ita comparatum est, ut alternis diebus summam imperii haberent. Quae quum allata Romam essent, dicitur Q. Servilius, aetate et usu doctus, precatus ab Diis immortalibus, 'ne discordia tribunorum damnosior reipublicae esset, quàm ad 'Vejos fuisset;' et, velut haud dubiâ clade imminente, instituisse filio, 'ut milites scriberet, et arma pararet.' Nec falsus vates fuit. Nam ductu L. Sergii, cujus dies imperii erat, loco iniquo sub hostium castris, quum, quia simulato metu receperat se hostis ad vallum, spes vana expugnandi castra eò traxisset, repentino impetu Aequorum per supinam¹ vallem fusi sunt, multique in ruinâ majore² quàm fugâ oppressi obtruncatique: castraque, eo die aegrè retenta, postero die, circumfusus jam magna ex parte hostibus, per aversam portam fugâ turpi deseruntur. Duces legatique, et quod circa signa roboris de exercitu fuit, Tusculum petiêre. Palati alii per agros passim multis itineribus, majoris, quàm accepta erat, cladis nuncii Romam contenderunt. Minus trepidationis fuit, quòd eventus timori hominum congruens fuerat; et quòd subsidia, quae respicerent in re trepidâ, praeparata erant ab tribuno militum: jussuque ejusdem, per minores magistratus sedato in urbe tumultu, speculatores properè missi nunciare, 'Tusculi duces exercitumque esse; hostem castra loco' 'non movisse.' Et, quod plurimum animorum fecit, dictator

¹ *Supina vallis*, a valley at the back of the troops. ² *Doering unnecessarily supplies potius after majore. Majore is resolvable into agis magna.*

ex senatûs consulto dictus Q. Servilius Priscus; vir, cujus providentiam in republicâ, quum multis aliis tempestatibus antè experta civitas erat, tum eventu ejus belli, quòd uni certamen tribunorum suspectum ante rem malè gestam fuerat; magistro equitum creato, a quo ipse tribuno militum dictator erat dictus, filio suo, ut tradidere quidam, (nam alii 'Ahalam' Servilium magistrum equitum eo anno fuisse' scribunt,) novo exercitu profectus ad bellum, accitis qui Tusculi erant, duo millia passuum ab hoste locum castris cepit.

XLVII. Transierat ex re bene gestâ superbia negligentiaque ad Aequos, quae in Romanis ducibus fuerat. Itaque primo statim proelio quum dictator equitatu immisso antesignanos hostium turbâisset, legionum inde signa inferri properè jussit, signiferumque ex suis unum cunctantem occidit. Tantus ardor ad dimicandum fuit, ut impetum Aequi non tulerint: victique acie quum fugâ effusâ petissent castra, brevior tempore et certamine minor castrorum oppugnatio fuit, quàm proelium fuerat. Captis direptisque castris, quum praedam dictator militi concessisset, secutique fugientem ex castris hostem equites renunciâssent, 'omnes Lavicanos victos, 'magnam partem Aequorum Lavicos confugisse;' postero die ad Lavicos ductus exercitus: oppidumque, coronâ¹ circumdatum, scalis captum ac direptum est. Dictator, exercitu victore Romam reducto, die octavo, quàm creatus erat, magistratu se abdicavit; et opportunè senatus, priùs quàm ab tribunis plebi agrariae seditiones, mentione illatâ de agro Lavicano dividendo, fierent, censuit frequens², 'coloniam 'Lavicos deducendam.' Coloni ab urbe mille et quingenti missi bina jugera acceperunt. Captis Lavicis, ac deinde tribunis militum consulari potestate, Agrippâ Menenîo Lanato, et L. Servilio Structo, et P. Lucretio Tricipitino, iterum omnibus his, et Sp. Rutilio Crasso, et insequente anno A. Sempronio Atriatino tertium, et duobus iterum M. Papirio Mugillano, et Sp. Nautio Rutilo³, biennium tranquillae externae res, discordia domi ex agrariis legibus fuit.

U. C.
338.

U. C.
339.

¹ *Corona*, a close circle of soldiers. So Ovid,

Consedere duces, et vulgi stante corona.

² *Senatus frequens*, a quorum of the senate. ³ Sigonius here again inserts a fourth military tribune, Q. Fabius Vibulanus, for the reason already shown to be groundless, and another of greater weight, that Livy afterwards (C. 49.) mentions him as military tribune, *iterum*.

XLVIII. *Turbatores vulgi erant Spurii Maecilius quartum et Metilius tertium tribuni plebis, ambo absentes creati. Et quum rogationem promulgassent, 'ut ager ex hostibus 'captus viritim divideretur,' magnaëque partis nobilium eo plebiscito publicarentur fortunae; (nec enim ferme quicquam agri, ut in urbe alieno solo positâ, non armis partum erat; nec, 'quod venisset assignatumve publicè esset,' praeterquam plebs habebat ¹) atrox plebi Patribusque propositum videbatur certamen: nec tribuni militum, nunc in senatu, nunc in conciliis privatis principum cogendis, viam consilii inveniebant; quum Ap. Claudius, nepos ejus, qui decemvir legibus scribendis fuerat, minimus natus ex Patrum concilio, dicitur dixisse, 'Vetus se ac familiare consilium domo afferre. Pro-
'avum ² enim suum Ap. Claudium ostendisse Patribus viam
'unam dissolvendae tribuniciae potestatis per collegarum in-
'tercessionem. Facile homines novos ³ auctoritate princi-
'pum de sententiâ deduci, si temporum interdum potius,
'quàm majestatis memor adhibeatur oratio. Pro fortunâ il-
'lis animos esse ⁴. Ubi videant, collegas principes agendaë*

¹ Doering and Ruperti both explain this as meaning, Nor had the plebeians had any other land, but what had been sold or publicly assigned. But this seems erroneous; 1. Because it violates the natural order of the words. 2. Because it weakens the inference drawn by the nobility from the proposed law. The division of the enemy's land affected them, because their right to all their lands was that of conquest: this applied to them all, or nearly all, *magnaë partis*. And the reason given is, that it was almost impossible to have land, not subject to the law, from the position of Rome, whilst nobody could be exempted from its operation on the plea of public sanction, except plebeians, as they alone had so obtained it. 3. Both critics have neglected the subjunctive, which seems to indicate that an exception was made in the law of favour of those who had acquired lands in the manner mentioned in the clause. The sentence then seems to have this import, Nor did any except the plebeians possess land, 'which (came under this excepting clause of the law, on the ground that it) 'had been sold or publicly assigned to them.' ² The order of ascent is given by Plautus. Pater, avus, proavus, abavus, atavus, tritavus. If Ap. Claudius was the grandson of the decemvir, he must have been the *abavus* of the Claudius who gives this counsel, II. 44. Glarean thinks, improbably, that *filius* should be substituted for *nepos*. It is more likely that Livy used the word *proavus* loosely. ³ *Novos*, apparently not in the sense mentioned p. 40. note 2, but simply men of no standing. ⁴ *Pro*, &c. That their spirit was as lowly as their fortune.

'rei gratiam omnem ad plebem praeoccupâsse, nec locum in eâ relictum sibi; haud gravatè acclinaturos se ad causam senatûs, per quam universo ordini cum prioribus se Patrum concilient.' Approbantibus cunctis, et ante omnes Q. Servilio Prisco, 'quod non degenerâset ab stirpe Claudiâ,' collaudante juvenem, negotium datur, ut, quos quisque posset ex collegio tribunorum, ad intercessionem perlicerent. Misso senatu, prensantur ab principibus tribuni: suadendo, monendo, pollicendoque 'gratum id singulis privatim, gratum universo senatui fore,' sex ad intercessionem comparavere. Posteroque die quum ex composito relatum ad senatum esset de seditione, 'quam Maecilius Metiliusque largitione pessimi exempli concirent,' eae orationes a primoribus Patrum habitae sunt, ut pro se quisque 'jam nec consilium sibi suppetere' diceret, 'nec se ullam opem cernere aliam usquam, praeterquam in tribunicio auxilio. In ejus potestatis fidem circumventam rempublicam, tanquam privatum inopem, confugere. Praeclarum ipsis potestatique esse, non ad vexandum senatum discordiamque ordinum movendam plus in tribunatu virium esse, quàm ad resistendum improbis collegis.' Fremitus deinde universi senatûs ortus, quum ex omnibus partibus curiae tribuni appellarentur: tum, silentio facto, ii, qui praeparati erant gratiâ principum, 'quam rogationem a collegis promulgatam senatus censeat dissolvendae reipublicae esse, ei se intercessuros' ostendunt. Gratiae intercessoribus ab senatu actae. Latores rogationis, concione advocatâ, 'proditores plebis commodorum ac servos consularium' appellantes, aliâque truci oratione in collegas invecti, actionem deposuere.

XLIX. Duo assidua bella insequens annus habuisset, u. c. 340. quo P. Cornelius Cossus, C. Valerius Potitus, Q. Quinctius Cincinnatus, N. Fabius Vibulanus, tribuni militum consulari potestate fuerunt; ni Vejens bellum religio² principum distulisset, quorum agros Tiberis, super ripas effusus, maximè ruinis villarum vastavit. Simul Aequos triennio antè accepta clades³ prohibuit Bolanis, suae gentis populo, praesidium ferre. Excursiones inde in confinem agrum Lavicanum factae erant, novisque colonis⁴ bellum illatum.

¹ *Eae.* Such.

337. See C. 47.

² *Religio*, the religious scruples.

³ u. c. ⁴ *Inde*, from Bolae—*novis colonis*, those who had been sent to Lavici.

See C. 47.

Quam noxam quum se consensu omnium Aequorum defensores sperâssent, deserti ab suis, ne memorabili quidem bello, per obsidionem levemque unam pugnam et oppidum et fines amisere. Tentatum ab L. Sextio tribuno plebis, ut rogationem ferret, quâ 'Bolas quodque, sicut Lavicos, coloni mitterentur,' per intercessionem collegarum, qui 'nullum plebis citum, nisi ex auctoritate senatûs, passuros se perferri' ostenderunt, discussum est. Bolis insequente anno receptis, Aequi, coloniâque eò deductâ, novis viribus oppidum firmârunt, tribunis militum Romae consulari potestate Cn. Cornelio Cosso, L. Valerio Potito, Q. Fabio Vibulano iterum, M. Postumio Regillensi. Huic bellum adversus Aequos permissum est, pravae mentis homini; quam tamen victoria magis, quàm bellum, ostendit. Nam, exercitu impigre scripto ductoque ad Bolas, quum levibus proeliis Aequorum animos fregisset, postremò in oppidum irrupit. Deinde ab hostibus in cives certamen vertit: et, quum inter oppugnationem 'praedam militis fore' edixisset, capto oppido, fidem mutavit. Eam, magis adducor, ut credam irae causam exercitui fuisse, quàm quòd in urbe nuper direptâ coloniâque novâ minus praedicatione tribuni praedae fuerit. Auxit eam iram, postquam, ab collegis arcessitus, propter seditiones tribunicias in urbem revertit, audita vox ejus in concione stolidâ ac prope vecors; quâ Sextio tribuno plebis, legem agrariam ferenti, simul, 'Bolas quodque ut mitterentur coloni laturum' se dicenti, 'dignos enim esse qui armis cepissent, eorum urbem agrumque Bolanum esse'; 'Malum quidem militibus meis,' inquit, 'nisi quieverint.' Quod auditum non concionem magis, quàm mox Patres, offendit. Et tribunus plebis, vir acer nec infacundus, nactus inter adversarios superbum ingenium immodicamque linguam, quam irritando agitandoque in eas impelleret voces, quae invidiae, non ipsi tantum, sed causae atque universo ordini, essent, neminem ex collegio tribunorum militum saepius, quàm Postumium, in disceptationem trahebat. Tum verò secundum tam saevum atque inhumanum dictum, 'Auditis,' inquit, 'Quirites, sicut

¹ *Dignos*, &c. For that they deserved to possess the city and land of Bola, who had gained them by arms. An uncommon construction, and probably borrowed from the Greek. Faber reads *dignum*.

‘servis malum ¹ minantem militibus? Tamen haec bellua dignior vobis tanto honore ² videbitur, quàm qui ³ vos, urbe agrisque donatos, in colonias mittunt; qui sedem senectuti vestrae prospiciunt; qui pro vestris commodis adversus tam crudeles superbosque adversarios depugnant! Incipite deinde mirari, cur pauci jam vestram suscipiant causam. Quid ut a vobis sperent? an honores, quos adversariis vestris potius, quàm populi Romani propugnatoribus, datis? Inge-
muistis modò, voce hujus auditâ. Quid id refert ⁴? Jam, si suffragium detur, hunc, qui malum vobis minatur, iis, qui agros sedesque ac fortunas stabilire volunt, praeferetis.’

L. Perlata haec vox Postumii ad milites multo in castris majorem indignationem movit. ‘Praedaene interceptorem ⁵ fraudatoremque etiam malum minari militibus?’ Itaque quum fremitus apertè esset, et quaestor P. Sestius eâdem violentiâ coërceri putaret seditionem posse, quâ mota erat; misso ad vociferantem quendam militem lictore quum inde clamor et jurgium oriretur, saxo ictus turbâ excedit; insuper increpante, qui vulneraverat, ‘habere quaestorem, quod imperator esset militibus minatus.’ Ad hunc tumultum accitus Postumius asperiora omnia fecit acerbis questionibus, crudelibus suppliciis. Postremò quum modum irae nullum faceret, ad vociferationem eorum, quos necari sub crate ⁶ jusserrat, concursu facto, ipse ad interpellantes poenam vecors de tribunali decurrit. Ibi quum submoventes passim lictores centurionesque vexarent turbam, eò indignatio erupit, ut tribunus militum ab exercitu suo lapidibus cooperiretur. Quod tam atrox facinus postquam est Romam nunciatum, tribuni militum de morte collegae per senatum quaestiones decernentibus, tribuni plebis intercedebant. Sed ea contentio ex cer-

¹ *Malum*, as observed by Stroth, a common threat held out to slaves. Thus Plautus, *Persa*, III. l. 33.

Herus si minatus est malum servo suo.

² The military tribuneship.

³ The plebeian aspirants after the military tribuneship.

⁴ *Quid id refert?* Of what effect is that? i. e. your indignant groaning.

⁵ *Interceptor*, a person appointed to regulate claims, who steps in between the persons claiming and the property claimed, (inter), and takes it himself, (captor.) Here applied to Postumius stepping in between the soldiers and the plunder of Bola; in the 72d Chapter of the 3d Book, to the Romans stepping in between the Ardeates and the land claimed by them.

⁶ See

p. 59, note 3.

tamine alio pendebat; quòd cura incesserat Patres, ne metu quaestionum plebs irâque ¹ tribunos militum ex plebe crearet: tendebantque summâ ope, ut consules crearentur. Quum senatûs consultum fieri tribuni plebis non paterentur, iidem intercederent consularibus comitiis, res ad interregnum rediit. Victoria deinde penes Patres fuit.

U. C. 342. LI. Q. Fabio Vibulano interrege comitia habente, consules creati sunt A. Cornelius Cossus, L. Furius Medullinus. His consulibus principio anni senatûs consultum factum est, 'ut de quaestione Postumianae caedis tribuni primo quoque tempore ad plebem ferrent: plebes-
' que praeficeret quaestioni, quem vellet.' A plebe consensu populi ² consulibus negotium mandatur. Qui, summâ moderatione ac lenitate per paucorum supplicium, quos sibimet ipsos conscisse mortem ³ satis creditum est, transactâ re, nequivere tamen consequi, ut non aegerrimè id plebs ferret. 'Jacere tamdiu irritas sanctiones, quae de suis commodis ferrentur: quum interim de sanguine et supplicio suo latam legem confestim exerceri, et tantam vim habere.' Aptissimum tempus erat, vindicatis seditionibus, delenimentum animis Bolani agri divisionem objici: quo facto minuisset desiderium agrariae legis, quae possessore per injuriam agro publico Patres pellebat. Tunc haec ipsa indignitas angebat animos, 'non in retinendis modò publicis agris, quos vi teneret, pertinacem nobilitatem esse; sed ne vacuum quidem agrum, nuper ex hostibus captum, plebi dividere; mox paucis, ut cetera, futurum praedae.' Eodem anno adversus Volscos, populantes Hernicorum fines, legiones ductae a Furio consule, quum hostem ibi non invenissent, Ferentinum, quò magna multitudo Volscorum se contulerat, cepere. Mius praedae, quàm speraverant, fuit: quòd Volsci, postquam spes tuendi exigua erat, sublatis rebus, nocte oppidum reliquerunt. Postero die prope desertum capitur. Hernicis ipse ager dono datus.

¹ Some critics read *irata*. ² Crevier deletes *populi*. The passage means, by the plebeians in the comitia *tributa*, with the sanction of the whole people in the comitia *centuriata*. ³ There is a nice distinction betwixt the phrases *ipse conscivit mortem sibi*, and *conscivit mortem sibi ipsi*, which has been noticed by critics. The former answers to the question, Who killed him? The latter to, Whom did he kill?

LII. Annum modestiâ tribunorum quietum excepit
 u. c. 343. tribunus plebis, L. Icilius, Q. Fabio Ambusto, C. Furio Pacilo consulibus. Is quam principio statim anni, velut pensum nominis familiaeque, seditiones agrariis legibus promulgandis cieret; pestilentia coorta, minacior tamen quam perniciosior¹, cogitationes hominum a foro certaminibusque publicis ad domum curamque corporum nutriendorum avertit. 'Minusque eam damnosam fuisse, quàm seditio futura fuerit,' credunt. Defunctâ civitate plurimorum morbis, perpaucis funeribus², pestilentem annum inopia frugum,

u. c. 344. neglecto cultu agrorum, (ut plerumque fit) excepit, M. Papirio Atratio, C. Nautio Rutilo consulibus. Jam fames, quàm pestilentia, tristior erat: ni, dimissis circa omnes populos legatis, qui Etruscum mare, quique Tiberim accolunt, ad frumentum mercandum, annonae foret adventum. Superbè ab Samnitibus, qui Capnam habebant Cumasque, legati prohibiti commercio sunt: contra ea benignè ab Siculorum tyrannis adjuti. Maximos commeatus summo Etrusiae studio Tiberis devexit. Solitudinem in civitate aegrâ experti consules sunt: quum, in legationes non plus singulis senatoribus invenientes, coacti sunt binos equites adjicere³. Praeterquam ab morbo annonâque⁴, nihil eo biennio intestini externive incommodi fuit. At ubi has sollicitudines discessere, omnia, quibus turbari solita erat civitas, domi discordia, foris bellum exortum.

LIII. M. Aemilio, C. Valerio Potito consulibus, bellum Aequi parabant: Volscis, quanquam non publico consilio, capessentibus arma, voluntariis mercede secutis militiam. Ad quorum famam hostium (jam enim in Latinum Hernicumque transcenderant agrum) delectum habentem Valerium consulem M. Maenius tribunus plebis, legis agrariae lator, quum impediret, auxilioque tribuni nemo in-

¹ Observe the Latin idiom of a double comparative. It may be elliptically accounted for thus: *minacior* quam *perniciosa*, potius quam *perniciosa* quam *minax*. ² *Defunctâ*, &c. The state having passed through the pestilence, in which very many were affected, and but very few died. ³ This is the first mention made by Livy of the *equites* enjoying a separate civil distinction. ⁴ In addition to the uses of *annona*, given p. 108, note 3, we have here another, the scarcity of corn.

vitus sacramento diceret¹; repentè nunciatur, 'arcem Car-
 'ventanam ab hostibus occupatam esse.' Ea ignominia ac-
 cepta, quum apud Patres invidiae Maenio fuit, tum ceteris
 tribunis, jam antè prae paratis intercessoribus legis agrariae,
 prae buit justiore causam resistendi collegae. Itaque quum
 res diu ducta per altercationem esset; consulibus Deos ho-
 minesque testantibus, 'quicquid ab hostibus cladis ignominiae-
 'que aut jam acceptum esset, aut immineret, culpam penes
 'Maenium fore, qui delectum impediret;' Maenio contrà vo-
 ciferante, 'si injusti domini possessione agri publici cederent,
 'se moram delectui non facere;' decreto interposito, novem
 tribuni sustulerunt certamen; pronuntiaveruntque ex collegii
 sententiâ, 'C. Valerio consuli se, damnum aliamque coerci-
 'tionem, adversus intercessionem collegae, delectûs causâ de-
 'trectantibus militiam inhibenti², auxilio futuros esse.' Hoc
 decreto consul armatus quum paucis, appellantis tribunum,
 collum torcisset³, metu ceteri sacramento dixere. Ductus
 exercitus ad Carventanam arcem, quanquam invisus infestus-
 que consuli erat, impigre primo statim adventu, dejectis qui
 in praesidio erant, arcem recepit. Praedatores, ex praesidio
 per negligentiam dilapsi, occasionem aperuere ad invadendum.
 Praedae ex assiduâ populationibus, quod omnia in locum tu-
 tum congesta erant, fuit aliquantum. Venditum sub hastâ con-
 sul in aerarium redigere quaestores jussit; 'tum' praedicans
 'participem praedae fore exercitum, quum militiam non ab-
 'nuisset.' Auctae inde plebis ac militum in consulem irae.
 Itaque, quum ex senatûs consulto urbem ovans introiret, al-
 ternis inconditi versus militari licentiâ jactati: quibus consul
 increpitus, Maenii celebre nomen laudibus fuit, quum ad om-
 nem mentionem tribuni favor circumstantis populi plausuque
 et assensu cum vocibus militum certaret. Plusque ea res,
 quàm prope solennis militum lascivia in consulem, curae Pa-
 tribus injecit. Et tanquam haud dubius inter tribunos mili-
 tum honos Maenii, si peteret, consularibus comitiis⁴ est ex-
 clusus.

LIV. Creati consules sunt Cn. Cornelius Cossus, L.
 u. c. 346. Furius Medullinus iterum. Non aliàs aegriùs plebs
 tulit, tribunicia sibi comitia non commissa. Eum do-

¹ See p. 97, note 2. ² See p. 188, note 4. ³ *Collum torquere*,
 to seize by the neck,—to collar. ⁴ *Comitiis consularibus est exclusus*,
 he was prevented from obtaining that honour, by comitia for electing
 consuls.

lorem quaestoriis comitiis simul ostendit, et ulta est, tunc primum plebeiis quaestoribus creatis: ita ut, in quatuor creandis, uni patricio K. Fabio Ambusto relinqueretur locus; tres plebei, Q. Silius, P. Aelius, P. Pupius clarissimarum familiarum juvenibus praeferrentur. Auctores fuisse tam liberi populo suffragii Icilios accipio, ex familiâ infestissimâ Patribus tres in eum annum tribunos plebis creatos, multarum magnarumque rerum molem avidissimo adeò populo ostentantes: quum affirmassent, 'nihil se moturos, si ne quaestoriis quidem comitiis, quae sola promiscua plebi Patribusque reliquisset senatus, satis animi populo esset ad id, quod tamdiu vellent, et per leges liceret.' Pro ingenti itaque victoriâ id fuit plebi: quaesturamque eam non honoris ipsius fine aestimabant; sed patefactus ad consulatum ac triumphos locus novis¹ hominibus videbatur. Patres contrâ, non pro communicatis, sed pro amissis honoribus, fremere; negare, 'Si ea ita sint, liberos tollendos² esse: qui pulsi majorum loco, cernentesque alios in possessione dignitatis suae, Salii Flaminesque nusquam aliò, quàm ad sacrificandum pro populo, sine imperiis ac potestatibus relinquuntur.' Irritatis utriusque partis animis, quum et spiritus plebes sumpsisset, et tres ad popularem causam celeberrimi nominis haberet duces; Patres omnia quaestoriis comitiis, ubi utrumque plebi liceret, similia fore cernentes, tendere ad consulum comitia, 'quae nondum promiscua essent.' Icilius contrâ 'tribunos militum creandos' dicere, 'et tandem aliquando impartiendos plebi honores.'

LV. Sed nulla erat consularis actio³, quam impediendo id, quod petebant, exprimerent: quum mirâ opportunitate, 'Volscos et Aequos praedatum extra fines exisse in agrum Latinum Hernicumque,' affertur. Ad quod bellum ubi ex senatûs consulto consules delectum habere occipiunt; ob stare tunc enixè tribuni, 'sibi plebique eam fortunam oblatam' memorantes. Tres erant, et omnes acerrimi viri, ge-

¹ See p. 276, note 3. ² Children, immediately after their birth, were laid down at the door, to receive the acknowledgment of the father. If he lifted them up, it was understood as a pledge to educate them. Hence, passing from the act to that of which it was a pledge, such words as *tollere*, are taken to signify, to educate. ³ *Consularis actio*, any thing requiring the consul to apply to (*agere*) to the people.

nerosique jam, ut inter plebeios¹. Duo, singuli singulos, sibi consules asservandos assiduâ operâ desumunt²: uni concionibus data nunc detinenda, nunc concienda, plebs. Nec delectum consules, nec comitia, quae petebant, tribuni expediebant³. Inclinate deinde se fortunâ ad causam plebis, nuncii veniunt, 'arcem Carventanam, dilapsis ad praedam militibus,' (qui in praesidio erant,) 'Aequos, interfectis paucis custodibus arcis, invasisse. Alios recurrentes in arcem, alios palantes in agris caesos.' Ea adversa civitati res vires tribuniciae actioni adjecit. Nequicquam enim tentati, ut tum denique desisterent impediendo bello, postquam non cessere nec publicae tempestati, nec suae invidiae, pervincunt, ut senatûs consultum fiat de tribunis militum creandis: certo tamen pacto, 'ne cujus ratio haberetur, qui eo anno tribunus plebis esset: neve quis resciceretur in annum tribunus plebis;' haud dubiè Icilius denotante senatu, 'quos mercedem seditiosi tribunatûs petere consulatum' insimulabant. Tum delectus haberi, bellamque omnium ordinum consensu apparari coeptum. Consules ambo profecti sint ad arcem Carventanam, an⁵ alter ad comitia habenda substiterit, incertum diversi auctores faciunt: illa pro certo habenda, in quibus non dissentiant, 'ab arce Carventanâ quum diu nequicquam oppugnata esset, recessum: Verruginem in Volscis eodem exercitu receptam, populationesque et praedas et in Aequis et in Volsco agro ingentes factas.'

LVI. Romae sicut plebis victoria fuit in eo, ut, quae malent, comitia haberent: ita eventu comitiorum Patres vicere. Namque tribuni militum consulari potestate contra spem omnium tres patricii creati sunt, C. Julius Iulus, P. Corne-

¹ *Generosique, &c.* And of families already distinguished, considering that they were plebeians.

² *Duo, &c.* Two of them, choosing each his man, undertake the task of watching, with unceasing vigilance, the motions of the consuls.

³ *Expedire, (ex, pes,)* to deliver feet from entanglement, to extricate, to get out of difficulties opposing, (here applied to the consuls,) or to enable others to get out, (applied to the tribunes.) The opposite notion is conveyed by *impedire, (impediendo bello,)* a few sentences below.

⁴ *Consulatus,* either a mistake of Livy's, as the consulship was not yet open to plebeians, or simply meaning the consular power possessed by the tribunes of the soldiers, or probable attempts to open up the consulship.

⁵ See p. 162, note 1.

U. C. 347. *lius Cossus, C. Servilius Ahala. 'Artem adhibitam' ferunt a patriciis, (cujus eos Icilius tum quodque insimulabant) 'quod turbam indignorum candidatorum intermiscendo dignis, taedio sordium in quibusdam insignium, populum a plebeiis avertissent.' 'Volscos deinde et Aequos, seu Carventana arx retenta in spem, seu Verrugine amissum praesidium ad iram compulisset,' fama affertur 'summâ vi ad bellum coortos: caput rerum Antiates esse: eorum legatos utriusque gentis populos circumiisse, castigantes ignaviam, 'quod, abditi intra muros, populabundos in agris vagari Romanos priore anno, et opprimi Verruginis praesidium, passi essent. Jam non exercitus modò armatos, sed colonias etiam, in suos fines mitti: nec ipsos modò Romanos sua divisa habere, sed Ferentinum etiam de se captum Hernicis donâsse.' Ad haec quum inflammarentur animi, ut ad quosque ventum erat, numerus juniorum conscribatur. Ita omnium populorum juvenus Antium contracta, ibi castris positis hostem opperiebantur. Quae ubi tumultu majore etiam, quàm res erat, nunciantur Romam, senatus extemplo (quod in rebus trepidis ultimum consilium erat) dictatorem dici jussit. 'Quam rem aegre passos Julium Corneliumque' ferunt; 'magnoque certamine animorum rem actam: quum primores Patrum, nequicquam conquesti, non esse in auctoritate¹ senatûs tribunos militum, postremò etiam tribunos plebei appellarent, et consulibus quodque ab eâ potestate vim super tali re inhibitam' referrent: tribuni plebei, laeti discordiâ Patrum, 'nihil esse in his auxilii dicerent, qui non civium, non denique hominum numero essent; si quando promiscui honores, communicata respublica esset, tum se animadversuros, ne qua, superbiâ magistratum, irrita senatûs consulta essent; interim patricii, soluti legum magistratumque verecundiâ, per se quodque tribuniciam potestatem agerent.'*

LVII. Haec contentio minimè idoneo tempore, quum tantum belli in manibus² esset, occupaverat cogitationes hominum: donec, ubi diu alternis Julius Corneliusque, 'quum ad id bellum ipsi satis idonei duces essent, non esse aequum, 'mandatum sibi a populo eripi honorem,' disseruere: tum Ahala Servilius tribunus militum, 'Tacuisse se tamdiu,' ait,

¹ See p. 170, note 4.

² So we say, in hand; the Greek, *ἐν χειρὶ*.

' non quia incertus sententiae fuerit ; (quem enim bonum civem secernere sua a publicis consilia ?) sed quia maluerit, collegas suâ sponte cedere auctoritati senatûs, quàm tribuniciam potestatem adversus se implorari paterentur. Tum quòque, si res sineret, libenter se daturum tempus iis fuisse ad receptum nimis pertinacis sententiae. Sed, quum belli necessitates non expectent humana consilia, potior sibi collegarum gratiâ rempublicam fore : et, si maneat in sententiâ senatus, dictatorem nocte proximâ dicturum : ac, si quis intercedat senatûs consulto, auctoritate¹ se fore contentum.' Quo facto quum haud immeritam laudem gratiamque apud omnes tulisset, dictatore P. Cornelio dicto, ipse ab eo magister equitum creatus exemplo fuit collegas eumque intuentibus, quàm gratia atque honos opportuniora interdum non cupientibus essent. Bellum haud memorabile fuit. Uno atque eo facili proelio caesi ad Antium hostes. Victor exercitus depopulatus Volscum agrum. Castellum ad lacum Fucinum vi expugnatum : atque in eo tria millia hominum capta, ceteris Volscis intra moenia compulsis, nec defendentibus agros. Dictator, bello ita gesto, ut tantum non defuisse fortunae videretur, felicitate, quàm gloriâ, major in urbem rediit, magistratuque se abdicavit. Tribuni militum, mentione nullâ comitiorum consularium habitâ (credo ob iram dictatoris creati,) tribunorum militum comitia edixerunt. Tum verò gravior cura Patribus incessit : quippe quum prodi causam ab suis cernerent. Itaque sicut priore anno per indignissimos ex plebeiis candidatos omnium, etiam dignorum, taedium fecerant ; sic tum, primoribus Patrum splendore gratiâque ad petendum praeparatis, omnia loca obtinere ; ne cui plebeio aditus esset. Quatuor creati sunt, omnes jam functi eo honore, L. Furius Medullinus, C. Valerius

u. c. Potitus, N. Fabius Vibulanus, C. Servilius Ahala.
348. Hic refectus continuato honore, quum ob alias virtutes, tum ob recentem favorem unicâ moderatione partum.

LVIII. Eo anno, quia tempus induciarum cum Veienti populo exierat², per legatos facialesque res repeti coeptae.

¹ ' If any person interceded, the sentence of the senate was called *Senatus auctoritas*, their judgment or opinion, and not *Senatus consultum*, or *decretum*, their command.' Dr ADAM. ² The truce was made, (see C. 35,) in 330. How then had the truce, which was made for 20 years, expired before 348? In the same way, how do we

Quibus venientibus ad finem legatio Vejentium obviâ fuit. Petière, 'ne prius, quàm ipsi senatum Romanum adissent, 'Vejos iretur.' Ab senatu impetratum, 'quia discordiâ in-
'testinâ laborarent Vejentes,' ne res ab iis repeterentur. Tan-
tum afuit, ut ex incommodo alieno sua occasio peteretur. Et
in Volscis accepta clades, amisso Verrugine praesidio. Ubi
tantum in tempore fuit momenti, ut quum precantibus opem
militibus, qui ibi a Volscis obsidebantur, succurri, si matura-
tum esset, potuisset, ad id venerit exercitus subsidio missus,
ut ab recenti caede palati ad praedandum hostes opprimeren-
tur. Tarditatis causa in senatu magis fuit, quàm in tribunis:
qui, quia summâ vi restare nunciabantur, parum cogitave-
runt, nullâ virtute superari humanarum 'virium modum' ¹.
Fortissimi milites non tamen, nec vivi, nec post mortem, in-
ulti fuere. Insequenti anno, P. et Cn. Corneliis Cos-

U. C.
349.

sis, N. Fabio Ambusto, L. Valerio Potito, tribunis mi-
litum consulari potestate, Vejens bellum motum ob su-
perbum responsum Vejentis senatûs; qui legatis repentibus
res, 'ni facerent propere urbe finibusque,' 'datuos, quod
'Lars Tolumnius dedisset', responderi jussit. Id Patres
aegre passi decrevere, 'ut tribuni militum de bello indicendo
'Vejentibus primo quoque die ad populum ferrent.' Quod
ubi primò promulgatum est, fremere juvenus, 'Nondum de-
'bellatum' ³ cum Volscis esse: modò duo praesidia occidione
'occisa, et cum periculo retineri' ⁴. Nullum annum esse,
'quo non acie dimicetur: et, tanquam poeniteat laboris' ⁵ no-

find a truce for 40 years made with the Veientes, 280, (II. 54.) for
40 years, and yet the Fidenates joining the Veientes against the Romans
in the year 317, C. 17? To remove the difficulty presented by the
first passage, some commentators insert a year; but this leaves us still
one year to account for, and will not solve the second question. Nie-
buhr, with admirable ingenuity, argues that the ten month year is
meant in the truces, and the twelve month year in the chronology. In
the first truce then we have, $10 \times 20 = 200$, and $200 \div 12 = 16\frac{2}{3}$ years;
the truce therefore had expired in the year 347. In the second
 $10 \times 40 = 400$, and $400 \div 12 = 33\frac{1}{3}$, the truce expiring 314. ¹ *Pa-*

rum, &c. Did not sufficiently reflect, that no valour can go beyond
the limits of human strength. ² See C. 17. ³ See p. 98, note

2. ⁴ *Praesidium*, either a place garrisoned, or the garrison itself.
It is here used in both senses; in the first clause, the latter meaning
applies; in the latter clause, it means the place. The two garrisons
were in Verrugo and Carventum. ⁵ *Poeniteat laboris*, they were
ashamed of the littleness of their labour.

‘vum bellum cum finitimo populo et potentissimo parari, qui ‘omnem Etruriam sit concitaturus.’ Haec suâ sponte agitata. Insuper tribuni plebis accendunt: ‘Maximum bellum ‘Patribus cum plebe esse’ dictitant: ‘eam de industriâ vexandam militiâ, trucidandamque hostibus objici: eam procul ‘urbe haberi atque ablegari, ne domi per otium memor libertatis coloniarumque, aut agri publici, aut suffragii libere ferendi consilia agitet:’ prensantesque veteranos, stipendia cujusque et vulnera ac cicatrices numerabant: ‘quid jam in ‘tegrî esse in corpore loci ad nova vulnera accipienda? quid ‘super sanguinis, qui dari pro republicâ posset?’ rogitantes. Haec quum in sermonibus concionibusque interdum agitantes avertissent plebem ab suscipiendo bello, profertur tempus ferundae legis: quam, si subjecta invidiae esset, antiquari¹ apparebat.

LIX. Interim tribunos militum in Volscum agrum ducere exercitum placuit. Cn. Cornelius unus Romae relictus. Tres tribuni, postquam nullo loco castra Volscorum esse, nec commissuros se proelio apparuit, tripartitò ad devastandos fines discessere. Valerius Antium petit, Cornelius Ecetras: quâcunque incessere, latè populati sunt tecta agrosque, ut distinerent Volscos: Fabius, quod maximè petebatur, ad Anxur oppugnandum sine ullâ populatione accessit. Anxur fuit, quae nunc Tarracinae sunt; urbs prona in paludes. Ab eâ parte Fabius oppugnationem ostendit. Circummissae quatuor cohortes cum C. Servilio Ahalâ quum imminentem urbi collem cepissent; ex loco altiore, quâ nullum erat praesidium, ingenti clamore ac tumultu moenia invasere. Ad quem tumultum obstupefacti, qui adversus Fabium urbem infimam tuebantur, locum dedere scalas admovendi, plenaque hostium cuncta erant, et immitis diu caedes pariter fugientium ac resistentium armatorum atque inermium fuit. Cogebantur itaque victi, quia cedentibus spei nihil erat, pugnam inire: quum pronunciatum repentè, ‘ne quis praeter armatos ‘violaretur’², reliquam omnem multitudinem voluntariam exuit armis: quorum ad duo millia et quingenti vivi capiunt-

¹ ‘If a law was to be passed, or any thing to be ordered, as in a trial, or declaring war, &c. they received two tablets: on the one were the letters U. R., i. e. *uti rogas*, I am for the law; and on the other ‘A. for *antiquo*, I like the old way, I am against the law. Hence ‘*antiquare legem*, To reject it.’ Dr ADAM. ² See p. 60, note 1.

tur. A ceterâ praedâ Fabius militem abstinuit, donec collegae venirent: 'ab illis quodque exercitibus captum Anxur' dictitans 'esse, qui ceteros Volscos a praesidio ejus loci avertis-
'sent.' Qui ubi venerunt, oppidum vetere fortunâ opulentum tres exercitus diripuerunt. Eaque primùm benignitas imperatorum plebem Patribus conciliavit. Additum deinde omnium maximè tempestivo principum in multitudinem munere, ut ante mentionem ullam plebis tribunorumve decerneret senatus, ut stipendium miles de publico acciperet, quum ante id tempus de suo quisque functus eo munere esset.

LX. 'Nihil acceptum unquam a plebe tanto gaudio' traditur. 'Concursum itaque ad curiam esse, prensatasque
'exeuntium manus, et Patres verè appellatos; effectum esse
'fatentibus, ut nemo pro tam munificâ patriâ, donec quic-
'quam virium superesset, corpori aut sanguini suo parceret.' Quum commoditas juvaret, rem familiarem saltem acquiescere eo tempore, 'quo corpus addictum atque operatum rei-
'publicae esset;' tum, 'quod ultro sibi oblatum esset, non a
'tribunis plebis unquam agitatam, non suis sermonibus effla-
'gitatam,' id efficiebat multiplex gaudium cumulationemque gratiam rei. Tribuni plebis, communis ordinum laetitiae concordiaeque soli expertes, negare, 'Tam id laetum Patribus
'universis nec prosperum fore, quàm ipsi crederent. Consi-
'lium specie primâ melius fuisse, quàm usu appariturum.
'Unde enim eam pecuniam confici posse, nisi tributo populo
'indicto? ex alieno igitur aliis largitos. Neque, id etiamsi
'ceteri ferant, passuros eos, quibus jam emerita stipendia es-
'sent, meliore conditione alios militare, quàm ipsi militas-
'sent; et eosdem in sua stipendia impensas fecisse, et in alio-
'rum facere.' His vocibus moverunt partem plebis. Postremò, indicto jam tributo, edixerunt etiam tribuni 'auxilio
'se futuros, si quis in militare stipendium tributum non con-
'tulisset.' Patres bene coeptam rem perseveranter tueri: conferre ipsi primi: et, quia nondum argentum signatum erat, aes grave¹ plaustris quidam ad aerarium convehentes, speciosam etiam collationem faciebant. Quum senatus summâ fide ex censu contulisset, primores plebis, nobilium amici, ex composito conferre incipiunt. Quos quum et a Patribus col-
laudari, et a militari aetate tanquam bonos cives conspici vul-

¹ See p. 269, note 1,

gus hominum vidit, repente, spreto tribunicio auxilio, certamen conferendi est ortum. Et, lege perlatâ de indicendo Vejentibus bello, exercitum magnâ ex parte voluntarium novi tribuni militum consulari potestate Vejos duxere.

LXI. Fuere autem tribuni T. Quinctius Capitolinus, Q. Quinctius Cincinnatus, C. Julius Iulus iterum, 350.

A. Manlius, L. Furius Medullinus tertium, M. Aemilius Mamercinus. Ab his primùm circumsessi Veji sunt; sub cujus initium obsidionis quum Etruscorum concilium ad fanum Voltumnæ frequenter habitum esset, parâm constitit, bellone publico gentis universae tuendi Vejentes essent. Ea oppugnatio segnior insequenti anno fuit, parte tribunorum exercitusque ad Volscum avocâtâ bellum. Tribunos

351. militum consulari potestate is annus habuit C. Valerium Potitum tertium, M. Sergium Fidenatem, P. Cornelium Maluginensem, Cn. Cornelium Cossum, K. Fabium Ambustum, Sp. Nautium Rutilum iterum. Cum Volscis inter Ferentinum atque Ecetram signis collatis dimicatum. Romanis secunda fortuna pugnae fuit. Artena inde, Volscorum oppidum, ab tribunis obsideri coepta. Inde inter eruptionem tentatam, compulso in urbem hoste, occasio data est Romanis irrumpendi; praeterque arcem cetera capta. In arcem munitam naturâ globus armatorum concessit. Infra arcem caesi captique multi mortales. Arx deinde obsidebatur: nec aut vi capi poterat, quia pro spatio loci satis praesidii habebat; aut spem dabat deditionis, omni publico frumento, prius quàm urbs caperetur, in arcem convecto. Tadioque recessum inde foret, ni servus arcem¹ Romanis prodidisset. Ab eo milites per locum arduum accepti cepere. A quibus quum custodes trucidarentur, cetera multitudo, repentino pavore oppressa, in deditionem venit. Dirutâ et arce et urbe Artenâ, reductae legiones ex Volscis omnisque vis Romana Vejos conversa est. Proditori, praeter libertatem, duarum familiarum bona in praemium data. Servius Romanus vocitatus. Sunt, qui 'Artenam Vejentium, non 'Volscorum, fuisse' credant. Praebet errorem, quòd ejusdem nominis urbs inter Caere atque Vejos fuit: sed eam reges Romani delevere, Caereturumque, non Vejentium, fuerat.

¹ Gronovius is justly displeased at the repetition of *arx*, which occurs six times in five sentences. He suggests *eam munitam—ipsa* deinde—*servus Romanis*.

Altera haec nomine eodem in Volsco agro fuit, cujus excidium est dictum.

LIBER QUINTUS.

EPITOME.

II, &c. *IN obsidione Vejorum hibernacula militibus facta sunt. Ea res, quum esset nova, indignationem tribunorum plebis movit, querentium 'non dari plebi nec per hiemem militiae requiem.'* VII. *Equites tum primùm equis suis merere coeperunt.* XV. *Quum inundatio ex lacu Albano facta esset, vates, qui eam rem interpretaretur, de hostibus captus est.* XIX, XX, XXI. *Furius Camillus dictator decem annos obsessos Vejos cepit:* XXII. *Simulacrum Junonis Romam transtulit:* XXIII. *Decimam partem praedae Delphos Apollini misit.* XXVII. *Idem tribunus militum, quum Faliscos obsideret, proditos hostium filios parentibus remisit: statimque deditione factâ, Faliscorum victoriam justitiâ consecutus est.* XXXI. *Quum alter ex censoribus C. Julius decessisset, in locum ejus M. Cornelius suffectus est, nec id postea factum est: quoniam eo lustro a Gallis Roma capta est.* XXXII. *Furius Camillus, quum ei dies a L. Appuleio tribuno plebis dicta esset, in exilium abiit.* XXXIII, &c. *Quum Senones Galli Clusium obsiderent, et legati, a senatu missi ad componendam inter eos et Clusinos pacem, pugnantes contra Gallos in acie Clusinorum stetissent; hoc facto eorum concitati Senones urbem infesto exercitu petiêrunt,* XXXVIII, XXXIX, &c. *fusisque ad Alliam flumen Romanis, cepere urbem, praeter Capitolium, in quod se juvenus contulerat:* XLI. *Majores natu, cum insignibus honorum, quos quisque gesserat, in vestibulis aedium sedentes, occiderunt:* XLVII. *Et quum per aversam partem Capitolii jam in summum evassissent, proditi clangore anserum, M. Manlii praecipuè operâ dejecti sunt.* XLVIII. *Coactis deinde propter famem Romanis descendere, ut mille pondo auri darent, et hoc pretio finem obsidionis emerent:* XLIX. *Furius Camillus, dictator absens creatus, inter pendendum aurum cum exercitu venit, et Gallos post sextum mensem urbe expulit, ceciditque.* L.

Aedes Ajo Locutio facta : quo loco ante urbem captam vox audita erat, 'adventare Gallos.' Dictum est, ad Vejos migrandum esse propter incensam et dirutam urbem. LI, &c. Quod consilium Camillo auctore discussum est. LV. Movit populum vocis quòque omen ex centurione audita, qui, quum in forum venisset, manipulariis suis dixerat, 'Stia miles ; hìc optime manebimus.'

I. PACE alibi partâ, Romani Vejique in armis erant u. c. tantâ irâ odioque, ut victis finem adesse appareret. Co-
352. mitia utriusque populi longè diversâ ratione facta sunt. Romani auxere tribunorum militum consulari potestate numerum. Octo, quot nunquam antea, creati, M. Aemilius Mamercinus iterum, L. Valerius Potitus tertium, Ap. Claudius Crassus, M. Quinctilius Varus, L. Julius Iulus, M. Furius Camillus, M. Postumius Albinus¹. Vejentes contrâ taedio annuae ambitionis, quae interdum discordiarum causa erat, regem creavere. Offendit ea res populorum Etruriae animos, non majore odio regni, quàm ipsius regis. Gravis jam is antea genti fuerat opibus superbiâque, 'quia so-
'leñnia ludorum,' quos intermitteri nefas est, 'violenter dire-
'misset : quum ob iram repulsae, 'quodd suffragio duo-
'decim populorum alius sacerdos ei praelatus esset,' artifice², quorum magna pars ipsius servi erant, ex medio ludicro repentè abduxit. Gens itaque, ante omnes alias eò magis dedita religionibus, 'quodd excelleret arte colendi eas,' 'auxilium Vejentibus negandum, donec sub rege essent,' decrevit. Cujus decreti suppressa fama est Vejis propter metum regis ; qui, a quo tale quid dictum referretur, pro seditionis eum principe, non vani sermonis auctorem, habebat. Romanis etsi quietae res ex Etruriâ nunciabantur, tamen, quia 'omnibus conciliis eam rem agitari' afferebatur, ita muniebant, ut ancipitia munimenta essent : alia in urbem et contra oppidanorum eruptiones versa : aliis³ frons in Etruriam spectans auxiliis, si qua fortè inde venirent, obstruebatur.

¹ Livy, in asserting that there were eight military tribunes in this year, is opposed to all other authorities. Sigonius takes no notice of this, but argues, that this Camillus cannot have been the great Camillus who delivered Rome from the Gauls. Perizonius maintains, that the two last were censors, and that Livy, reading the old annals incorrectly, is mistaken in giving their names. ² *Artifices*, supply scenicos, players. ³ *Muniebant*, supply castra adversus Veios posita ; *aliis*, supply munimentis, by means of other works.

II. Quum spes major imperatoribus Romanis in obsidione, quàm in oppugnatione, esset; hibernacula etiam, res nova militi Romano, aedificari coepta; consiliumque erat, hiemando continuare bellum¹. Quod postquam tribunis plebis, jamdiu nullam novandi res causam invenientibus, Romam est alatum, in concionem prosiliunt, sollicitant plebis animos, 'Hoc illud esse' dictitantes, 'quòd aera militibus sint constituta: nec se fefellisse, id donum inimicorum veneno illitum fore. Venisse² libertatem plebis: remotam in perpetuum et ablegatam ab urbe et ab republicâ juventutem, jam ne hiemi quidem aut tempori anni cedere, ac domos et res invisere suas. Quam putarent continuatae militiae causam esse? nullam profectò aliam inventuros, quàm ne quid per frequentiam juvenum eorum, in quibus vires omnes plebis essent, agi de commodis eorum posset. Vexari praeterea et subigi multo acriùs, quàm Vejentes. Quippe illos hiemem sub tectis suis agere, egregiis muris situque naturali urbem tutantes: militem Romanum in opere ac labore, nivibus pruinisque obrutum, sub pellibus durare³, ne hiemis quidem spatio, quae omnium bellorum terrâ marique sit quies, arma deponentem. Hoc neque reges, neque ante tribuniciam potestatem creatam superbos illos consules, neque triste dictatoris imperium, neque importunos decemviros injunxisse servitutis, ut perennem militiam facerent, quod tribuni militum in plebe Romanâ regnum exercerent. Quidnam illi consules dictatoresve facturi essent, qui proconsularem imaginem⁴ tam saevam ac trucem fecerint? Sed id accidere haud immeritò. Non fuisse, ne in octo quidem tribunis militum, locum ulli plebeio. Antea trina loca cum contentione summâ patricos explere solitos: nunc jam octojuges ad imperia obtinenda ire; et ne in turbâ quidem haerere plebeium quemquam, qui, si nihil aliud, admoneat collegas; liberos, et cives eorum, non servos, militare, quoe hieme saltem in domos ac tecta reduci oporteat; et aliquo tempore anni parentes liberosque ac conjuges invisere, et usurpare libertatem, et creare magistratus.' Haec taliaque vocife-

¹ *Continuare bellum*, to carry on the war uninterruptedly. See p. 132, note 1. ² From *veneo*. ³ *Sub pellibus durare*, spent the winter exposed to hardships, in tents covered with hides. ⁴ *Proconsularem imaginem*, the substituted resemblance of the consular power, viz. the military tribuneship.

rantes, adversarium haud imparem nacti sunt Ap. Claudium, relictum a collegis ad tribunicias seditiones comprimendas; virum imbutum jam ab juventutē certaminibus plebeiis: 'quem auctorem aliquot annis antē fuisse' memoratum est, 'per collegarum intercessionem, tribuniciae potestatis dissolvendae'.

III. Is tum jam, non promptus ingenio tantum, sed usu etiam exercitatus, talem orationem habuit: 'Si unquam dubitatum est, Quirites, utrum tribuni plebis vestrā, an suā, causā seditionem semper auctores fuerint, id ego hoc anno deesse dubitari certum habeo. Et quum laetor, tandem longi erroris vobis finem factum esse, tum, quod secundis potissimum vestris rebus hic error est sublatus, et vobis, et propter vos reipublicae gratulor. An est quisquam, qui dubitet, nullis injuriis vestris, si quae fortē aliquando fuerunt, unquam aequē, quā munere Patrum in plebem, quum aera militantibus constituta sunt, tribunos plebis offensos ac concitados esse? quid illos aliud aut tum timuisse creditis, aut hodie turbare velle, nisi concordiam ordinum, quam dissolvendae maximē tribuniciae potestatis rentur esse? Sic, herecule, tanquam artifices improbi, opus quaerunt; qui et semper aegri aliquid esse in republicā volunt, ut sit, ad cuius curationem a vobis adhibeantur. Utrum³ enim defenditis, an impugnatis plebem? utrum militantium adversarii estis, an causam agitis? Nisi fortē hoc dicitis, 'Quicquid Patres faciunt, displicet; sive illud pro plebe, sive contra plebem est.' Et, quemadmodum servis suis vetant domini quicquam rei cum alienis hominibus esse, pariterque in iis beneficio ac maleficio abstineri aequum censent: sic vos interdicitis Patribus commercio plebis; ne nos comitate ac munificentia nostrā provocemus plebem, nec plebs nobis dicto audiens atque obediens sit. Quanto tandem, si quicquam in vobis, non dico civilis, sed humani esset, favere vos magis, et, quantum in vobis esset, indulgere potius comitati Patrum atque obsequio plebis oportuit⁴? quae si perpetua concordia sit, quis non spondere ausit, maximum hoc imperium inter finitimos brevi futurum esse?

IV. 'Atque ego, quā hoc consilium collegarum meo-

¹ See IV. 48. ² *Artifices improbi*, supply medici. *Et*, imitating the conduct of worthless physicians, also. ³ Addressing the tribunes.

⁴ For the construction of oportuit, see p. 38, note 1.

'rum, quo abducere infectâ re a Vejis exercitum noluerunt,
 'non utile solùm, sed etiam necessarium fuerit, postea disse-
 'ram: nunc de ipsâ conditione dicere militantiâ libet.
 'Quam orationem, non apud vos solùm, sed etiam in castris,
 'si habeatur, ipso exercitu disceptante, aequam arbitror vi-
 'deri posse. In quâ si mihi ipsi nihil, quod dicerem, in men-
 'tem venire posset, adversariorum certè orationibus conten-
 'tus essem. Negabant nuper, danda esse aera militibus,
 "quia nunquam data essent." Quonam modo igitur nunc in-
 'dignari possunt, quibus aliquid novi adjectum commodi sit,
 'eis laborem etiam novum pro portione injungi? nusquam
 'nec opera sine emolumento, nec emolumentum ferme sine
 'impensâ operâ est. Labor voluptasque, dissimillima naturâ,
 'societate quâdam inter se naturali sunt juncta. Molestè
 'antea ferebat miles, se suo sumptu operam reipublicae prae-
 'bere: gaudebat idem, partem anni se agrum suum colere;
 'quaerere, unde domi militiaeque se ac suos tueri posset:
 'Gaudet nunc, fructui sibi rempublicam esse, et laetus sti-
 'pendium accipit. Aeque igitur animo patiat, se ab domo,
 'ab re familiari, cui gravis impensa non est, paullo diutius
 'abesse. An, si ad calculos¹ eum respublica vocet, non me-
 'ritò dicat? 'Annuam aera habes, annuam operam ede. An
 "tu aequum censes, militiâ semestri solidum te stipendium"
 "'accipere?" Invitus in hac parte orationis, Quirites, moror:
 'sic enim agere debent, qui mercenario milite utuntur. At
 'nos tanquam cum civibus agere volumus: agique tanquam
 'cum patriâ nobiscum aequum censem. Aut non suscipi
 'bellum oportuit; aut geri pro dignitate populi Romani, et
 'perfici quàm primùm oportet. Perficietur autem, si urge-
 'mus obsessos: si non antè abscedimus, quàm spei nostrae
 'finem captis Vejis imposuerimus. Si, Hercule, nulla alia
 'causa, ipsa indignitas perseverantiam imponere debuit. De-
 'cem quondam annos urbs oppugnata est ob unam mulierem
 'ab universâ Graeciâ: quàm procul ab domo? quot terras,
 'quot maria distans? Nos intra vicesimum lapidem, in con-
 'spectu prope urbis nostrae, annuam oppugnationem perferre

¹ *Calculus*, a pebble used in computation. *Vocare ad calculos*,
 to call to the use of these pebbles, to call to account. Hence our
 English, to calculate. ² *Solidum stipendium*, pay for the whole
 year. *Solidus annus* is defined by Livy himself, l. 19, as that, qui
 solstitiali circumagitur orbe.

‘ piget : scilicet, quia levis causa belli est, nec satis quidquam
 ‘ justi doloris est, quod nos ad perseverandum stimulet. Sep-
 ‘ ties rebellârunt, in pace nunquam fidi fuerunt : agros nos-
 ‘ tros millies depopulati sunt : Fidenates deficere a nobis coë-
 ‘ gerunt : colonos nostros ibi interfecerunt : auctores fuere
 ‘ contra jus gentium caedis impiae legatorum nostrorum :
 ‘ Etruriam omnem adversus nos concitare voluerunt, hodie-
 ‘ que id moliantur : res repetentes legatos nostros, haud pro-
 ‘ cul afit, quin violarent.

V. ‘ Cum his molliter et per dilationes bellum geri opor-
 ‘ tet ? si nos tam justum odium nihil movet, ne illa quidem,
 ‘ oro vos, movent ? Operibus ingentibus septa urbs est, qui-
 ‘ bus intra muros coërcetur hostis. Agrum non coluit, et
 ‘ culta evastata sunt bello. Si reducimus exercitum, quis est,
 ‘ qui dubitet, illos, non a cupiditate solùm ulciscendi, sed
 ‘ etiam necessitate impositâ ex alieno praedandi, quum sua
 ‘ amiserint, agrum nostrum invasuros ? non differimus igitur
 ‘ bellum isto consilio, sed intra fines nostræ accipimus¹.
 ‘ Quid ? illud, quod propriè ad milites pertinet, quibus boni
 ‘ tribuni plebis quum stipendium extorquere voluerint, nunc
 ‘ consultum repentè volunt, quale est ? Vallum fossamque, in-
 ‘ gentis utramque rem operis, per tantum spatii duxerunt :
 ‘ castella² primò pauca, postea, exercitu aucto, creberrima
 ‘ fecerunt : munitiones non in urbem modò, sed in Etruriam
 ‘ etiam spectantes, si qua inde auxilia veniant, opposuere.
 ‘ Quid turres, quid vineas testudinesque et alium oppugnan-
 ‘ darum urbium apparatus loquar ? quum tantum laboris ex-
 ‘ haustum sit, et ad finem jam operis tandem perventum ; re-
 ‘ linquendane hæc censetis, ut ad aetatem rursus novus de
 ‘ integro his instituendis exsudetur labor ? Quanto est minus
 ‘ opera tueri facta, et instare, et perseverare, defungique
 ‘ curâ ? Brevis enim profectò res est, si uno tenore peragitur,
 ‘ nec ipsi per intermissiones has intervallaque lentiores spem

¹ *Differimus, &c.* By following that advice of the tribunes then, we do not put off the war, but receive it within our own territories.

² The use of the castella is thus described by Caesar : *Castra opportunis locis erant posita, ibique castella xxiii. facta ; quibus in castellis interdiu stationes disponebantur, ne qua subito eruptio fieret ; hæc eadem noctu excubitoribus ac firmis praesidiis tenebantur.* B. G. VII. 69.

‘nostram facimus. Loquor de opere, et de temporis jacturâ.
 ‘Quid? periculi, quod differendo bello adimus, num obliuisci
 ‘nos haec tam crebra Etruriae concilia de mittendis Vejos
 ‘auxiliis patiuntur? Ut nunc res se habet, irati sunt, ode-
 ‘runt, negant missuros: quantum in illis est, capere Vejos
 ‘licet. - Quis est, qui spondeat, eundem, si differtur bellum,
 ‘animum postea fore? quum, si laxamentum dederis, major
 ‘frequentiorque legatio itura sit: quum id, quod nunc offen-
 ‘dit Etruscos, rex creatus Vejis, spatio interposito mutari
 ‘possit, vel consensu civitatis, ut eo reconcilient Etruriae
 ‘animos, vel ipsius voluntate regis, qui obstare regnum suum
 ‘saluti civium nolit. Videte, quot res, quàm inutiles, se-
 ‘quantur illam viam consilii: jactura operum tanto labore
 ‘factorum, vastatio imminens finium nostrorum, Etruscum
 ‘bellum pro Vejente concitatum. Haec sunt, tribuni, con-
 ‘silia vestra, non, hercule, dissimilia, ac si quis aegro, qui,
 ‘curari se fortiter passus, extemplo convalescere possit, cibi
 ‘gratiâ praesentis aut potionis longinquum et forsitan insana-
 ‘bilem morbum efficiat.

VI. ‘Si, me Dius Fidius¹, ad hoc bellum nihil pertineret,
 ‘ad disciplinam certè militiae plurimum intererat, insuescere
 ‘militem nostrum, non solum paratâ victoriâ frui: sed, si res
 ‘etiam lentior sit, pati taedium, et quamvis serae spei exitum
 ‘expectare; et, si non sit aestate perfectum bellum, hiemem
 ‘opperiri; nec, sicut aestivas aves, statim autumnio tecta ac
 ‘recessum circumspicere. Obsecro vos, venandi studium ac
 ‘voluptas homines per nives ac pruinas in montes silvasque
 ‘rapit; belli necessitatibus eam patientiam non adhibebimus,
 ‘quam vel lusus ac voluptas elicere solet? Adeòne effemi-
 ‘nata corpora militum nostrorum esse putamus, adeò molles
 ‘animos, ut hiemem unam durare in castris, abesse ab domo
 ‘non possint? ut, tanquam navale bellum, tempestatibus cap-
 ‘tandis et observando tempore anni, gerant, non aestus, non
 ‘frigora pati possint? Erubescant profectò, si quis eis haec
 ‘objiciat; contendantque, et animis et corporibus suis viri-
 ‘lem patientiam inesse, et se juxtâ hieme atque aestate bella
 ‘gerere posse: nec se patrocinium mollitiae inertiaeque man-
 ‘dâsse tribunis, et meminisse, hanc ipsam potestatem non in
 ‘umbrâ nec in tectis majores suos creâsse². Haec virtute

¹ See p. 104, note 4. ² Alluding to the secession of the ple-
 beians to Mons Sacer, II. 32, 33.

' militum vestrorum, haec Romano nomine sunt digna, non
 ' Vejos tantum, nec hoc bellum intueri, quod instat; sed fa-
 ' mam et ad alia bella et ad ceteros populos in posterum quae-
 ' rere. An mediocre discrimen opinionis secuturum ex hâc
 ' re putatis? utrùm tandem finitimi populum Romanum eum
 ' esse putent, cujus si qua urbs primum illum brevissimi tem-
 ' poris sustinuerit impetum, nihil deinde timeat? an hic sit
 ' terror nominis nostri, ut exercitum Romanum non taedium
 ' longinquae oppugnationis, non vis hiemis ab urbe circum-
 ' sessâ semel amovere possit, nec finem ullum alium belli,
 ' quam victoriam, noverit; nec impetu potius bella, quàm
 ' perseverantiâ, gerat? quae in omni quidem genere militiae,
 ' maximè tamen in obsidendis urbibus, necessaria est; qua-
 ' rum plerasque, munitionibus ac naturali situ inexpugnabiles,
 ' fame sitique tempus ipsum vincit atque expugnat: sicut
 ' Vejos expugnavit; nisi auxilio hostibus tribuni plebis fue-
 ' rint, et Romae invenerint praesidia Vejentes, quae nequic-
 ' quam in Etruriâ quaerunt. An est quicquam, quod Vejen-
 ' tibus optatum aequè contingere possit, quàm ut seditionibus
 ' primum urbs Romana, deinde velut ex contagione castra
 ' impleantur? At, hercule, apud hostes tanta modestia est,
 ' ut non obsidionis taedio, non denique regni, quicquam apud
 ' eos novatum sit; non negata auxilia ab Etruscis irritaverint
 ' animos. Morietur enim extemplo, quicumque erit seditionis
 ' auctor. Nec cuiquam dicere ea licebit, quae apud vos im-
 ' pune dicuntur. Fustuarium¹ mereatur, qui signa relinquit, aut
 ' praesidio decedit. Auctores signa relinquendi et deserendi
 ' castra, non uni aut alteri militi, sed universis exercitibus, pa-
 ' lam in concione audiuntur. Aded quicquid tribunus plebi lo-
 ' quitur, etsi prodendae patriae dissolvendaeque reipublicae
 ' est, assuêstis aequi audire; et, dulcedine potestatis ejus
 ' capti, quaelibet sub eâ scelera latere sinitis. Reliquum est,
 ' ut, quae hic vociferantur, eadem in castris et apud milites
 ' agant, et exercitus corrumpant, ducibusque parere non pa-
 ' tiantur: quoniam ea demum Romae libertas est, non sena-

¹ ' When a soldier was to suffer this punishment, the tribune first
 ' struck him gently with a staff, on which signal, all the soldiers of the
 ' legion fell upon him with sticks and stones, and generally killed him
 ' on the spot. If he made his escape, for he might fly, he could not
 ' however return to his native country, because no one, not even his
 ' relations, durst admit him into their houses.' Dr ADAM.

‘tum, non magistratus, non leges, non mores majorum, non instituta patrum, non disciplinam vereri militiae.’

VII. Par jam etiam in concionibus erat Appius tribunus plebis: quum subito, unde minimè quis crederet, accepta calamitas apud Vejos et superiorem Appium in causâ, et concordiam ordinum majorem ardoremque ad obsidendos pertinaciùs Vejos fecit. Nam quum agger promotus ad urbem, vineaeque tantum non jam¹ injectae moenibus essent, dum opera interdiu fiunt intentiùs, quàm nocte custodiuntur, patefactâ repentinè portâ, ingens multitudo, facibus maximè armata, ignes conjecit; horaeque momento simul aggerem ac vineas, tam longi temporis opus, incendium hausit; multique ibi mortales, nequicquam opem ferentes, ferro ignique absumpti sunt. Quod ubi Romam est nunciatum, moestitiam omnibus, senatui curam metumque injecit, ne tum verò sustineri nec in urbe seditio, nec in castris posset, et tribuni plebis velut ab se victae reipublicae insultarent: quum repentinè, quibus census equester erat, equi publici non erant assignati, consilio priùs inter sese habito, senatum adeunt; factâque dicendi potestate, ‘equis se suis stipendia facturos’ promittunt. Quibus quum amplissimis verbis gratiae ab senatu actae essent, famaue ea forum atque urbem pervasisset, subito ad curiam concursus fit plebis. ‘Pedestris ordinis se,’ aiunt, ‘nunc esse², operamque reipublicae extra ordinem polliceri, seu Vejos, seu quò aliò ducere velint. Si Vejos ducti sint,’ negant, ‘se inde priùs, quàm captâ urbe hostium redituros esse.’ Tum verò jam superfundenti se laetitiae vix temperatum est. Non enim, sicut equites, dato magistratibus negotio, laudari jussi; neque aut in curiam vocati, quibus responsum daretur, aut limine curiae continebatur senatus: sed pro se quisque ex superiore loco ad multitudinem, in comitio stantem, voce manibusque significare publicam laetitiam. ‘Beatam urbem Romanam, et invictam, et aeternam illâ concordiâ’ dicere: laudare equites, laudare plebem, diem ipsum laudibus ferre: ‘victam esse’ fateri ‘comitatem benignitatem-

¹ *Tantum non jam*, only not quite, almost. ² Various emendations of this passage are proposed, on the ground that these men were not only *nunc*, but had always been *pedestris ordinis*. Some omit the *esse* and *que*, whilst Doering proposes *adesse*. The common reading is intelligible on the explanation of Gronovius, that they were now ready to join the ranks of the foot soldiers.

‘que senatûs.’ Certatim Patribus plebique manare gaudio lacrimae; donec, revocâtis in curiam Patribus, senatûs consultum factum est, ‘Ut tribuni militares, concione advocatâ peditibus equitibusque gratias agerent: memorem pietâtis eorum erga patriam dicerent senatum fore. Placere autem, omnibus his voluntariam extra ordinem professis militiam aera procedere.’ Et equiti certus numerus aeris est assignatus. Tum primùm equis merere equites coeperunt ¹. Voluntarius ductus exercitus Vejos non amissa modò restituit opera, sed nova etiam instituit. Ab urbe commeatus intentione, quàm antea, subvehi curâ; ne quid tam bene merito exercitui ad usum deesset.

VIII. Insequens annus tribunos militum consulari potestate habuit C. Servilium Ahalam tertium, Q. Servilium, L. Virginium, Q. Sulpicium, A. Manlium iterum, Manium Sergium iterum. His tribanis, dum cura omnium in Vejens bellum intenta est, neglectum Anxuri praesidium vacationibus militum, et Volscos mercatores vulgò receptando, proditis repentè ² portarum custodibus, oppressum

¹ These sentences from *Placere* have given rise to much discussion. *Aera procedere* has been taken by some to mean, that years of regular service were to be imputed to the irregular service of the volunteer infantry, and the same privilege has been understood as bestowed on the cavalry by *certus numerus aeris*. *Equis mereri equites coeperunt*, has been amended, by omitting *equis*, by *equis suis*, and *equo suo*, on the faith of the language used in the epitome, and the ground that the *equites* never served except on horseback. The first two sentences do not require much notice. It does not appear that any act of the senate was necessary to stamp the privilege of regular service on that of the volunteers, and the connexion between the two last sentences is so close as to render the interpretation above given extremely improbable. As to the last sentence there is in reality no difficulty. *Merere* involves *merere stipendium*, to earn pay. They then first earned or received pay on horseback. It is not true that they never served on foot. Those who offered their services were of plebeian rank, (equi publici non erant assignati,) and were obliged so to serve, when required. For these and other reasons, which our limits do not allow us to enumerate, no emendation seems necessary, and the whole passage may be thus translated: But that it was the pleasure of the senate, that pay should run on from that date to those who had volunteered their services, at a time when they were not legally required. To the horsemen also a fixed rate of pay was assigned. That was the first occasion on which the horsemen received pay, at least in that capacity. ² *Repente*, according to most commentators, qualifies *oppressum est*.

est. Minus militum periit, quia praeter aegros lixarum in modum omnes per agros vicinasque urbes negotiabantur. Nec Vejis melius gesta res, quod tum caput omnium curarum publicarum erat. Nam et duces Romani plus inter se irarum, quàm adversus hostes animi, habuerunt: et auctum est bellum adventu repentino Capenatium atque Faliscorum. Hi duo Etruriae populi, quia proximi regione erant, devictis Vejis, ' bello quòque Romano se proximos fore' credentes; Falisci propriâ etiam causâ infesti, quòd Fidenati bello se jam antea immiscuerant, per legatos ultrò citròque missos jurejurando inter se obligati, cum exercitibus necopinatò ad Vejos accessere. Fortè eâ regione, quâ M. Sergius tribunus militum praeerat, castra adorti sunt, ingentemque terrorem intulere; quia ' Etruriam omnem excitam sedibus magnâ mole adesse' Romani crediderant. Eadem opinio Vejentes in urbe concitavit. Ita ancipiti proelio castra Romana oppugnabantur; concursantesque, quum huc atque illuc signa transferrent, nec Vejentem satis cohibere intra munitiones, nec suis munimentis arcere vim, ac tueri se ab exteriori poterant hoste. Una spes erat, si ex majoribus castris subveniretur, ut diversae legiones, aliae adversus Capenatem ac Faliscum, aliae contra eruptionem oppidanorum, pugnarent. Sed castris praeerat Virginus, privatim Sergio invisus infestusque. Is, quum ' ple-raque castella oppugnata, superatas munitiones, utrinque in-vehi hostem' nunciaretur, in armis milites tenuit: ' si opus foret auxilio, collegam' dictitans ' ad se missurum.' Hujus arrogantiam pertinacia alterius aequabat; qui, ne quam opem ab inimico videretur petisse, vinci ab hoste, quàm vincere per civem, maluit. Diu in medio caesi milites; postremò, desertis munitionibus, perpauci in majora castra, pars maxima atque ipse Sergius Romam pertenderunt. Ubi quum omnem culpam in collegam inclinaret, ' acciri Virginium ex castris, interea praeesse legatos' placuit. Acta deinde in senatu res est, certatumque inter collegas maledictis. Pauci reipublicae, huic atque illi, ut quosque studium privatim aut gratia occupaverunt, adsunt¹.

¹ *Pauci, &c.* Few of the senators act with a view to the interest of the state, most with a view to the interest of one or other of the parties, as each was actuated by private affection or influence. The common nominative to both clauses (senatores) is involved in *adsunt*.

IX. *Primores Patrum, sive culpâ sive infelicitate imperatorum tam ignominiosa clades accepta esset, censuere, 'Non exspectandum justum tempus comitiorum, sed extemplo novos tribunos militum creandos esse, qui Kalendis Octobribus magistratum occiperent.'* In quam sententiam quum pedibus iretur¹, ceteri tribuni militum nihil contradicere. At enimvero Sergius Virginiusque, propter quos poenitere magistratum ejus anni senatum apparebat, primò deprecari ignominiam, deinde intercedere senatûs consulto: negare, 'se ante Idus Decembres, solennem ineundis magistratibus diem, honore abituros esse.' Inter haec tribuni plebis, quum in concordia hominum secundisque rebus civitatis inviti silentium tenuissent, feroces repentè minari tribunis militum, 'nisi in auctoritate² senatûs essent, se in vincula eos duci jussuros esse.' Tum C. Servilius Ahala tribunus militum: 'Quod ad vos attinet, tribuni plebis, minasque vestras, nae ego libenter experirer, quàm non plus in his juris, quàm in vobis animi, esset³. Sed nefas est tendere adversus auctoritatem senatûs. Proinde et vos desinite inter nostra certamina locum injuriae quaerere: et collegae aut facient, quod censet senatus, aut, si pertinaciùs tendent, dictatorem extemplo dicam, qui eos abire magistratu cogat.' Quum omnium assensu comprobata oratio esset, gauderentque Patres, 'sine tribuniciae potestatis terriculis inventam esse aliam vim majorem ad coercendos magistratus;' victi consensu omnium comitia tribunorum militum habuere, qui Kalendis Octobribus magistratum occiperent: seque ante eam diem magistratu abdicavere.

X. L. Valerio Potito quartum, M. Furio Camillo iterum⁴, M'. Aemilio Mamercino tertium, Cn. Cornelio Cossio iterum, K. Fabio Ambusto, L. Julio Iulo, tribunis militum consulari potestate, multa domi militiaeque gesta. Nam et bellum multiplex fuit eodem tempore, ad Vejios, et ad Capenam, et ad Falerios, et in Volscis, ut Anxur

¹ See p. 36, note 4. ² See p. 170, note 4. ³ *Quam, &c.*
How much less justice there is in these threats, than courage in you, i. e. how much the injustice of these threats is exceeded by your cowardice. ⁴ Sigonius, to reconcile Livy with other writers, rashly deletes *iterum*, and wherever the number of his magistracies is mentioned deletes one. It is more probable that the mistake, (if there be any,) is in Livy himself.

ab hostibus recuperaretur: et Romae simul delectu, simul tributo conferendo, laboratum est: et de tribunis plebei, cooptandis contentio fuit: et haud parvum motum duo judicia eorum, qui paullo antè consulari potestate fuerant, excivere. Omnium primum tribunis militum fuit, delectum haberi; nec juniores modò conscripti, sed seniores etiam coacti nomina dare, ut urbis custodiam agerent. Quantum autem augebatur militum numerus, tanto majore pecuniâ in stipendium opus erat: eaque tributo conferebatur, invitis conferentibus, qui domi remanebant, quia tuentibus urbem operâ quòque militari laborandum, serviendumque reipublicae erat. Haec per se gravia, indigniora ut viderentur, tribuni plebis seditiosis concionibus faciebant; ideo aera militibus constituta esse, arguendo, ‘ut plebis partem militiâ, partem tributo conficerent. Unum bellum annum jam tertium¹ trahi, et consultò malè geri, ut diutiùs gerant. In quatuor deinde bella uno delectu exercitus scriptos, et pueros quòque ac senes extractos. Jam non aestatis nec hiemis discrimen esse, ne ulla quies unquam miserae plebi sit: quae nunc etiam vectigalis ad ultimum facta sit; ut, quum confecta labore, vuneribus, postremò aetate corpora retulerint, incultaque omnia diutino dominorum desiderio² domi invenerint, tributum ex affectâ re familiari pendant; aeraque militaria, velut foenore accepta, multiplicia reipublicae reddant.’ Inter delectum tributumque, et occupatos animos majorum rerum curis, comitiis tribunorum plebis numerus expleri nequii. Pugnatum inde, in loca vacua ut patricii cooptarentur. Postquam obtineri non poterat, tamen labefactandae legis Treboniae³ causâ effectum est, ut cooptarentur tribuni plebis C. Lacerius et M. Acutius, haud dubiè patriciorum opibus.

XI. Fors ita tulit, ut eo anno tribunus plebis Cn. Trebonius esset, qui nomini ac familiae debitum praestare videretur Treboniae legis patrociniū. Is, ‘quod petissent Patres quidam, primo incepto repulsi, tamen tribunos militum ex-

¹ From the date of the first formation of a winter camp. This was the fifth year of the war itself. ² There are many words in all

languages involving ideas so complicated, that no single word can translate them. Thus *desiderium* in Latin implies, 1. Loss of an object; 2. Regret for that loss; 3. A desire to regain it. Here elegantly applied to the loss sustained by the land, from the absence of the proprietors at the siege. ³ See III. 65.

‘pugnâsse,’ vociferans, ‘legem Treboniam sublatam, et cooptatos tribunos plebis non suffragiis populi, sed imperio patriciorum; et eò revolvî rem, ut aut patricii, aut patriciorum asseclae habendi tribuni plebis sint: eripi sacratas leges, ex-torqueri tribuniciam potestatem: id fraude patriciorum, scelere ac proditione collegarum factum’ arguere. Quum arderent invidiâ¹, non Patres modò, sed etiam tribuni plebis, cooptati pariter, et qui cooptaverant; tum ex collegio tres, P. Curatius, M. Metilius, et M. Minucius, trepidi rerum suarum, in Sergium Virginiumque, prioris anni tribunos militares, incurrunt: in eos ab se iram plebis invidiamque, die dictâ, avertunt. ‘Quibus delectus, quibus tributum, quibus diutina militia longinquitasque belli sit gravis, qui clade acceptâ ad Vejos doleant, qui amissis liberis, fratribus, propin-quis, affinis, lugubres domos habeant; iis publici privati-que doloris exsequendi jus potestatemque ex duobus noxiis capitibus datam ab se,’ memorant. ‘Omnium namque malorum in Sergio Virginioque causas esse; nec id accusatorem magis arguere, quàm fateri reos; qui, noxii ambo, alter in alterum causam conferant, fugam Sergii Virginii, Sergius proditionem increpans Virginii. Quorum adeò incredibilem amentiam fuisse, ut multo verisimilius sit, compacto eam rem et communi fraude patriciorum actam. Ab his et priùs datum locum Vejentibus ad incendenda opera, belli trahendi causâ; et nunc proditum exercitum, tradita Faliscis Romana castra. Omnia fieri, ut consenescat ad Vejos juvenus: nec de agris, nec de aliis commodis plebis ferre ad populum tribuni, frequentîâque urbanâ celebrare actiones, et resistere conspirationi patriciorum possint. Praejudicium jam de reis et ab senatu, et ab populo Romano, et ab ipsorum collegis factum esse. Nam et senatûs consulto eos ab republicâ remotos esse², et, recusantes abdicare se magistratu, dictatoris metu ab collegis coërcitos esse: et populum Romanum tribunos creâsse, qui non Idibus Decembribus die solenni, sed extemplo Kalendis Octobribus magistratum occiperent, quia stare diutius respublica, his manentibus in magistratu, non posset. Et tamen eos, tot judiciis confossos praedamnatosque, venire ad populi iudicium, et existimare, defunctos se esse, satisque poenarum dedisse, quòd duobus mensibus

¹ *Invidia*, used passively. See p. 193, note 4. ² *Ab republica remotos esse*, have been deposed from the direction of public affairs.

'citiùs privati facti sint: neque intelligere, nocendi sibi diutius tum potestatem ereptam esse, non poenam irrogatam; quippe et collegis abrogatum imperium, qui certè nihil deliquissent. Illos repeterent animos Quirites, quos recenti clade acceptâ habuissent, quum fugâ trepidum, plenum vulnerum ac pavore¹ incidentem portis exercitum viderint, non fortunam aut quemquam Deorum, sed hos duces accusantem. Pro certo se habere, neminem in concione stare, qui illo die non caput, domum, fortunamque L. Virginii ac M'. Sergii sit execratus detestatusque. Minimè convenire, quibus iratos quisque Deos precatus sit, in iis suâ potestate, quum liceat et oporteat, non uti. Nunquam Deos ipsos admovere nocentibus manus. Satis esse, si occasione ulciscendi laesos arment.'

XII. His orationibus incitata plebs denis millibus aeris gravis reos condemnat, nequicquam Sergio Martem communem belli fortunamque accusante, Virginio deprecante, 'ne infelicior domi, quàm militiae, esset.' In hos versa ira populi, cooptationis tribunorum fraudisque, contra legem Treboniam factae, memoriam obscuram fecit. Victores tribuni, ut praesentem mercedem iudicii plebes haberet, legem agrariam promulgant, tributumque conferri prohibent: quum tot exercitibus stipendio opus esset, resque militiae ita prospere gererentur, ut nullo bello veniretur ad exitum spei². Namque Vejis castra, quae amissa erant, recuperata castellis praesidiisque firmanentur. Praecerant tribuni militum M'. Aemilius et K. Fabius. M. Furio in Faliscis, et Cn. Cornelio in Capenate agro hostes nulli extra moenia inventi: praedae actae, incendiisque villarum ac frugum vastati finès: oppida nec oppugnata, nec obsessa sunt. At in Volscis, depopulato agro, Anxur nequicquam oppugnatum, loco alto situm; et, postquam vis irrita erat, vallo fossâque obsideri coeptum. Valerio Potito Volsci provincia³ evenerat. Hoc statu militarium rerum, seditio intestina majore mole coorta, quàm bella tractabantur. Et, quum tributum conferri per tribunos non posset, nec stipendium imperatoribus mitteretur, acraque militaria

¹ Some read *pavoris*, as governed by *plenum*: others account for it as a change of construction. It seems to be the ablative of the manner. ² *Resque*, &c. And the military enterprises were conducted with success, but yet so, that in none of the wars were their expectations brought to an issue. ³ See p. 115, note 3.

flagitaret miles, haud procul erat, quin castra quòque urbanae seditionis contagione turbarentur. Inter has iras plebis in Patres, quum tribuni plebis 'nunc illud tempus esse' dicerent 'stabiliendae libertatis, et ab Sergiis Virginiisque ad plebeios 'viros fortes ac strenuos transferendi summi honoris'; non tamen ultrà processum est, quàm ut unus¹ ex plebe, usurpandi juris causâ, P. Licinius Calvus tribunus militum consulari potestate crearetur: ceteri patricii creati P. Maenius, L. Titinius, P. Maelius, L. Furius Medullinus, L. Publius Volscus. Ipsa plebes mirabatur, 'se tantam rem obtinuisse'; non is modò, qui creatus erat, vir nullis antè honoribus usus, vetus tantùm senator², et aetate jam gravis. Nec satis constat, cur primus ac potissimus ad novum delibandum honorem sit habitus. Alii 'Cn. Cornelii fratris³', qui tribunus militum priore anno fuerat, triplexque stipendium equitibus dederat, 'gratiâ extractum ad tantum honorem' credunt. Alii 'orationem ipsum tempestivam de concordia ordinum, Patribus plebique gratam, habuisse.' Hâc victoria comitiorum exultantes tribuni plebis, quod maximè rempublicam impediabat, de tributo remiserunt. Collatum obedienter, missumque ad exercitum est.

XIII. Anxur in Volscis brevi receptum est, neglectis die festo custodiis urbis. Insignis annus hieme gelidâ ac nivosâ fuit, adedò ut viae clausae, Tiberis innavigabilis fuerit. Annona ex antè convectâ copiâ nihil mutavit⁴. Et quia P. Licinius, ut ceperat haud tumultuosè magistratum, majore gaudio plebis, quàm indignatione Patrum, ita etiam gessit; dulcedo invasit proximis comitiis tribunorum militum plebeios creandi. Unus M. Veturius ex patriciis candidatis locum tenuit: plebeios alios tribunos militum consulari potestate omnes fere centuriae dixere, M. Pomponium, C. Duilium, Voleronem Publilium, Cn. Genucium, L. Atilium. Tristem hiemem, sive ex intemperie coeli, rap-

¹ All the others enumerated, except Furius, were plebeians. This is evidently, therefore, a mistake of Livy's, and may, according to Perizonius, have arisen from Licinius having been foremost in the list of successful candidates. ² It is doubted when plebeians obtained admission into the senate, but this passage proves that it was previous to this date. ³ Cornelius must either have been only his brother by the mother's side, or must have been a plebeian adopted into the patrician family of the Cornelii. ⁴ Mutavit, supply se.

tim mutatione in contrarium factâ, sive aliâ quâ de causâ, gravis pestilensque omnibus animalibus aestas excepit. Causa¹ insanabili pernicië quando nec causa nec finis inveniebatur, libri Sibyllini ex senatûs consulto aditi sunt. Duumviri sacris faciundis, lectisternio² tunc primùm in urbe Romana facto, per dies octo Apollinem, Latonamque et Dianam, Herculem, Mercurium atque Neptunum tribus, quàm amplissimè tum apparari poterat, stratis lectis placavere. Privatum quòque id sacrum celebratum est. 'Totâ urbe patentibus januis, promiscuoque usu rerum omnium in propatulo posito, notos ignotosque passim advenas in hospitium ductos' ferunt; 'et cum inimicis quòque benignè ac comiter sermones habitos, jurgiis ac litibus temperatum; vinctis quòque dempta in eos dies vincula; religioni deinde fuisse, quibus eam opem Dii tulissent, vinciri.' Interim ad Vejos terror multiplex fuit; tribus in unum bellis collatis. Namque eodem, quo antea, modo circa munimenta, quum repentè Capenates Faliscique subsidio venissent, adversus tres exercitus ancipiti proelio pugnatum est. Ante omnia adjuvit memoria damnationis Sergii ac Virginii. Itaque majoribus castris, unde antea cessatum fuerat, brevi spatio circumductae copiae Capenates, in vallum Romanum versos, ab tergo aggrediuntur. Inde pugna coepta et Faliscis intulit terrorem, trepidantesque eruptio ex castris opportunè facta avertit. Repulso deinde insecuti victores ingentem ediderunt caedem. Nec ita multo pòst jam palantes, veluti fortè oblatis, populatores Capenatis agri reliquias pugnae absumpsere: et Vejentium refugientes in urbem multi ante portas caesi, dum prae metu, ne simul Romanus irrumperet, objectis foribus extremos suorum excludere.

XIV. Haec eo anno acta. Et jam comitia tribunorum militum aderant, quorum prope major Patribus, quàm belli, cura erat; quippe non communicatum modò cum plebe, sed prope amissum, cernentibus summum imperium. Itaque clarissimis viris ex composito praeparatis ad petendum, quos praetereundi verecundiam crederent fore, nihilominus ipsi,

¹ The more ordinary form is *perniciëi*. ² In the *lectisternium*, (lectus, sterno) 'couches were spread for the gods as if about to feast, 'and their images taken down from their pedestals, and placed upon 'their couches round the altars, which were loaded with the richest 'dishes.' Dr ADAM.

peritde, ac si omnes candidati essent, cuncta experientes, non homines modò, sed Deos etiam, excipiebant; in religionem vertentes comitia biennio habita: 'priore anno intolerandam hiemem prodigiisque divinis similem coortam: proximo non prodigia, sed jam eventus, pestilentiam agris urbiue illatam haud dubiâ irâ Deum: quos pestis ejus arcendae causâ placandos esse, in libris fatalibus inventum sit. Comitibus, auspiciatò quae fierent, indignum Diis visum honores vulgari, discriminaque gentium confundi.' Praeterquam majestate petentium, religione etiam attoniti homines patricios omnes, partem magnam honoratissimum quemque, tribunos

U. C. 357. militum consulari potestate creavere, L. Valerium Potitum quintum, M. Valerium Maximum, M. Furium Camillum tertium¹, L. Furium Medullinum tertium, Q. Servilium Fidenatem iterum, Q. Sulpicium Camerinum iterum. His tribunis ad Vejos nihil admodum memorabile actum est. Tota vis in populationibus fuit. Duo summi imperatores, Potitus a Faleriis, Camillus a Capenâ, praedas ingentes egere, nullâ incolumi relictâ re, cui ferro aut igni noceri posset.

XV. Prodigia interim multa nunciari; quorum pleraque, et quia singuli auctores erant, parum credita spretaque, et quia, hostibus Etruscis, per quos ea procurarent, aruspices non erant. In unum omnium curae versae sunt, quòd lacus in Albano nemore sine ullis coelestibus aquis, causâve quâ aliâ, quae rem miraculo eximeret, in altitudinem insolitam crevit. Quidnam eo Dii portenderent prodigio, missi sciscitatum oratores ad Delphicum oraculum: sed propior interpretis fati oblatu senior quidam Vejens, qui, inter cavillantes in stationibus ac custodiis milites Romanos Etruscosque, vaticinantis in modum, cecinit², 'Priùs quàm ex lacu Albano aqua emissa foret, nunquam potiturum Vejis Romanum.' Quod primò, velut temerè jactum, sperni, agitari deinde sermonibus coeptum est; donec unus ex statione Romanâ percunctatus proximum oppidanorum, (jam per longinquitatem belli commercio sermonum facto,) 'quisnam is esset, qui per ambages de lacu Albano jaceret³?' postquam audivit aruspicem esse, vir haud intacti religione animi, causatus 'de privati portenti procura-

¹ See p. 302, note 4.
verba.

² See p. 52, note 4.

³ Jaceret, supply

'tione, si operae illi esset, consulere velle,' ad colloquium vatem elicit ¹. Quumque progressi ambo a suis longius essent inermes, sine ullo metu; praevalens juvenis Romanus senem infirmum, in conspectu omnium raptum, nequicquam tumultuantibus Etruscis, ad suos transtulit. Qui quum perductus ad imperatorem, inde Romam ad senatum missus esset, sciscitantibus, quidnam id esset, quod de lacu Albano docuisset, respondit: 'Profectò iratos Deos Vejenti populo illo fuisse die, quo sibi eam mentem objecissent, ut excidium patriae fatale proderet. Itaque, quae tum cecinerit divino spiritu instinctus, ea se nec, ut indicta sint, revocare posse; et tacendo forsitan, quae Dii immortales vulgari, velint, haud minus, quàm celanda effando, nefas contrahi. Sic igitur libris fatalibus, sic disciplinâ Etruscâ traditum esse, ut quando aqua Albana abundâsset, tum, si eam Romanus ritè emisisset, victoriam de Vejentibus dari. Antequam id fiat, Deos moenia Vejentium deserturos non esse.' Exsequebatur inde, quae solennis derivatio esset ². Sed 'auctorem levem, nec satis fidum super tantâ re' Patres rati, decrevere, 'legatos sortesque oraculi Pythici expectandas.'

XVI. Priùs quàm a Delphis oratores redirent, Albanive prodigii piacula invenirentur, novi tribuni militum consulari potestate, L. Julius Iulus, L. Furius Medullinus quartum, L. Sergius Fidenas, A. Postumius Regillensis, P. Cornelius Maluginensis, A. Manlius, magistratum iniêrunt. ^{u. c.} ^{358.} Eo anno Tarquinienses novi hostes exorti. Quia simul multis belis, Volcorum ad Anxur, ubi praesidium obsidebatur, Aequorum ad Lavicos, qui Romanam ibi coloniam oppugnabant, ad hoc Vejenti quòque et Falisco et Capenati bello occupatos videbant Romanos, nec intra muros quietiora negotia esse certaminibus Patrum ac plebis; inter haec locum injuriae rati esse, praedatum in agrum Romanum cohortes expeditas mittunt. 'Aut enim passuros inultam eam injuriam Romanos, ne novo bello se onerarent; aut exiguo, eo-que parum valido, exercitu persecuturos.' Romanis indignitas major, quàm cura, populationis Tarquiniensium fuit.

¹ *Causatus*, &c. Having pretended that he wished to consult the prophet regarding the expiation of a portent affecting his own private interests, enticed him to a conference. ² *Exsequebatur*, &c. Then he proceeded to detail the solemn mode of leading away the water in streams.

Eo nec magno conatu suscepta, nec in longum dilata res est. A. Postumius et L. Julius non justo delectu, (etenim ab tribunis plebis impediabantur,) sed propè voluntariorum, quos adhortando incitaverant, coactâ manu, per agrum Caeretem obliquis tramitibus egressi, redeuntes a populationibus gravesque praedâ Tarquinienses oppressere. Multos mortales obtruncant, omnes exuunt impedimentis; et, receptis agrorum suorum spoliis, Romam revertuntur. Biduum ad recognoscendas res datum dominis: tertio incognita (erant autem ea pleraque hostium ipsorum) sub hastâ venire; quodque inde redactum, militibus est divisum. Cetera bella, maximèque Vejens, incerti exitûs erant. Jamque Romani, desperatâ ope humanâ, fata et Deos spectabant, quum legati ab Delphis venerunt, sortem oraculi afferentes, congruentem responso captivi vatis. 'Romane, aquam Albanam cave lacu contineri, cave in mare manare suo flumine sinas. Emissam per agros rigabis, dissipatamque rivis exstingues. Tum tu insiste audax hostium muris; memor, quam¹ per tot annos obsides urbem, ex eâ tibi his, quae nunc panduntur, fatis victoriam datam. Bello perfecto, donum amplum victor ad mea templa portato: sacraque patria, quorum omnia cura est, instaurata, ut assolet, facito.'

XVII. Ingens inde haberi captivus vates coeptus, eumque adhibere tribuni militum Cornelius Postumiusque ad prodigiû Albani procurationem ac Deos ritè placandos coepere. Inventumque tandem est, ubi neglectas ceremonias intermissumve solenne Dii arguerent; nihil profectò aliud esse, quàm magistratus, vitio creatos, Latinas² sacrumque in Albano monte non ritè concepisse³. Unam expiationem eorum esse, ut tribuni militum abdicarent se magistratu, auspicia de integro repeterentur, et interregnum iniretur. Ea ita facta sunt

¹ It is hardly necessary to notice that the relative is an adjective, agreeing with its substantive, sometimes expressed, but much oftener understood. In this sentence, for the purpose of strengthening the part of the sentence containing the relative, *quam* comes first, and has the substantive, *urbem*, expressed; *eâ*, the antecedent in sense, but not in position, has the substantive understood. ² *Latinas*, supply *ferias*, celebrated annually on the Alban mountain, at first for one, afterwards for several days.

³ Doering here quotes Macrobius, Sat. i. 16. *Feriae conceptivae sunt, quae quotannis a magistratibus vel a sacerdotibus concipiuntur in dies certos, vel etiam incertos: ut sunt Latinae, Sementivae, Paganalia, Compitalia.*

ex senatûs consulto. Interreges tres deinceps fuere, L. Valerius, Q. Servilius Fidenas, M. Furius Camillus. Nunquam desitum interim turbari, comitia interpellantibus tribunis plebis, donec convenisset priûs, 'ut major pars tribunorum militum ex plebe crearetur.' Quae dum aguntur, concilia Etruriae ad fanum Voltumnae habita, postulantibusque Capenatibus ac Faliscis, 'ut Vejos communi animo consilioque omnes Etruriae populi ex obsidione eriperent,' responsum est: 'antea se id Vejentibus negasse, quia, unde consilium non petissent super tantâ re, auxilium petere non deberent. Nunc jam pro se fortunam suam illis negare; maximè in eâ parte Etruriae. Gentem invisitatam, novos accolae Gallos esse, cum quibus nec pax satis fida, nec bellum pro certo sit: sanguini tamen nominique et praesentibus periculis consanguineorum id dari, ut, si qui juventutis suae voluntate ad id bellum eant, non impédiant.' 'Eum magnum advenisse hostium numerum,' fama Romae erat. Eoque mitescere discordiae intestinae metu communi, ut fit, coeptae.

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359. XVIII. Haud invitis Patribus P. Licinium Calvum praerogativa¹ tribunum militum non petentem creant, moderationis expertae in priore magistratu virum, ceterum jam tum exactae aetatis: omnesque deinceps ex collegio ejusdem anni refici apparebat, L. Titinium, P. Maenium, P. Maelium, Cn. Genucium, L. Atilium²: qui priûs quàm renunciarentur, jure vocatis tribubus³ permissu interregis P. Licinius Calvus ita verba fecit: 'Omen concordiae, Quirites, rei maximè in hoc tempus utilis, memoriâ nostri magistratûs vos his comitiis petere in insequentem annum video, si collegas eosdem reficitis, etiam usu meliores factos. Me⁴ jam non eun-

¹ See p. 203, note 2. ² All these were not the former colleagues of Licinius Calvus, nor is the remark of Sigonius sufficient to account for this discrepancy, when he says that they were only said *refici*, not *refectos esse*, for we have Genucius immediately after mentioned as actually elected. It must either be forgetfulness on the part of Livy, or *omnesque*, &c. must mean: It was evident that all whom the people were re-electing had belonged to the body of military tribunes of the same year. ³ See p. 203, note 2. Some put the comma after *renunciarentur*, thereby making Licinius speak only to the tribes *jure vocatis*. Sigonius has the reading here given, but supposes *tribubus* to have the force of a *tribubus*. It evidently means *to the tribes*. It has been a subject of discussion, why *tribubus*, and not *centuriis*?

⁴ Another and more general mode of pointing is a full stop after *video*,

‘ dem, sed umbram nomenque P. Licinii relictum videtis. Vi-
 ‘ res corporis affectae, sensus oclhorum atque aurium hebetes,
 ‘ memoria labat, vigor animi obtusus. En vobis,’ inquit, ‘ ju-
 ‘ venem,’ filium tenens, ‘ effigiem atque imaginem ejus, quem
 ‘ vos antea tribunum militum ex plebe primum fecistis. Hunc
 ‘ ego, institutum disciplinâ meâ, vicarium pro me reipublicae
 ‘ do dicoque. Vosque quaeso, Quirites, delatum mihi ultro
 ‘ honorem huic petenti, meisque pro eo adjectis precibus,
 ‘ mandetis.’ Datum id petenti patri; filiusque ejus P. Lici-
 nius tribunus militum consulari potestate cum iis, quos suprâ
 scripsimus, declaratus. Titinius Genuciusque tribuni militum,
 profecti adversus Faliscos Capenatesque, dum bellum majore
 animo gerunt, quàm consilio, praecipitavere in insidias. Ge-
 nucius, morte honestâ temeritatem luens, ante signa inter pri-
 mores cecidit. Titinius, in editum tumulum ex multâ trepi-
 datione militibus collectis, aciem restituit; nec se tamen aequo
 loco hosti commisit. Plus ignominiae erat, quàm cladis, ac-
 ceptum; quae prope in cladem ingentem vertit; tantum inde
 terroris non Romae modò, quò multiplex fama pervenerat, sed
 in castris quòque fuit ad Vejos. Aegre ibi miles retentus a
 fugâ est, quum pervasisset castra rumor, ‘ ducibus exercituque
 ‘ caeso, victorem Capenatem ac Faliscum Etruriaequae omnem
 ‘ juventutem haud procul inde abesse.’ His tumultuosiora
 Romae, jam castra ad Vejos oppugnari, jam partem hostium
 tendere ad urbem agmine infesto, crediderant: concursumque
 in muros est, et matronarum, quas ex domo conciverat pub-
 licus pavor, obsecrationes¹ in templis factae: precibusque ab
 Diis petatum, ‘ et exitium ab urbis tectis templisque ac moe-
 ‘ nibus Romanis arcerent, Vejosque eum averterent terrorem,
 ‘ si sacra renovata ritè, si procurata prodigia essent.’

XIX. Jam ludi Latinaeque² instauratae erant: jam ex la-
 cu Albano aqua emissa in agros, Vejosque fata appetebant.
 Igitur, fatalis dux ad excidium illius urbis servandaeque pa-
 triae³, M. Furius Camillus dictator dictus magistrum equi-
 tum P. Cornelium Scipionem dixit. Omnia repentè muta-
 verat imperator mutatus. Alia spes, alius animus hominum,

and a comma after *factos*. But that destroys the inference *omen*, &c.
 drawn from *si*, &c., whilst there is no connexion betwixt *si*, &c. and
me, &c. ¹ The generic term is *supplicatio*, including *obsecrationes*,
 and *gratulationes*. ² See p. 310, note 2. ³ A change of con-
 struction, of which Livy is fond: dux *ad*,—dux *patriae*.

fortuna quòque alia urbis videri. Omnium primùm in eos, qui a Vejis in illo pavore fugerant, more militari animadvertit¹, effecitque, ne hostis maximè timendus militi esset. Deinde, indicto delectu in diem certam, ipse interim Vejos ad confirmandos militum animos intercurrit: inde Romam ad scribendum novum exercitum redit, nullo detrectante militiam. Peregrina etiam juvenus, Latini Hernicique, operam suam pollicentes ad id bellum, venire: quibus quum gratias in senatu egisset dictator, satis jam omnibus ad id bellum paratis, 'ludos magnos² ex senatù consulto' vovit 'Vejis captis se facturum; aedemque Matutae matris³ refectam dedicaturum, jam antè ab rege Ser. Tulio dedicatam.' Profectus cum exercitu ab urbe expectatione hominum majore, quàm spe⁴, in agro primùm Nepesino cum Faliscis et Capenatibus signa confert. Omnia ibi summâ ratione consilioque acta fortuna etiam, ut fit, secuta est. Non proelio tantùm fudit hostes, sed castris quòque exiit, ingentique praedâ est potitus; cujus pars maxima ad quaestorem redacta est: haud ita multum militi datum. Inde ad Vejos exercitus ductus, densioraque castella facta; et a procursationibus, quae multae temere inter murum ac vallum fiebant, edicto, ne quis injussu pugnaret, ad opus milites traducti. Operum fuit omnium longè maximum ac laboriosissimum, cuniculus in arcem hostium agi coeptus. Quod ne intermitteretur opus, neu sub terrâ continuus labor eosdem conficeret, in partes sex munitorum numerum divisit. Senae horae in orbem operi attributae sunt: nocte ac die nunquam antè omissum, quàm in arcem viam facerent.

XX. Dictator, quum jam in manibus videret victoriam esse, urbem opulentissimam capi, tantumque praedae fore, quantum non omnibus in unum collatis antè bellis fuisset; ne quam inde aut militum iram ex malignitate praedae partitae, aut invidiam apud Patres ex prodigâ largitione caperet, literas ad senatum misit: 'Deûm immortalium benignitate,

¹ Probably *decimatio*, selecting by lot every tenth man for punishment. ² See p. 110, note 1. The games vowed (votivi) were celebrated on no fixed day, and to Jupiter only. ³ Quoted by Stroth, Quid? Ino, Cadmi filia, nonne Leucothoe nominata a Graecis, Matuta habetur a nostris? Cicero, Tusc. Quaest. I. 12. ⁴ *Expectatione*, &c. With confident expectations on the part of his countrymen, rather than simple hope.

‘ suis consiliis, patientiâ militum, Vejos jam fore in potestate
 ‘ populi Romani. Quid de praedâ faciendum censerent?’
 Duae senatum distinebant sententiae¹: senis P. Licinii,
 ‘ quem primum dixisse a filio interrogatum’ ferunt, ‘ edici pa-
 ‘ lam placere populo, ut, qui particeps esse praedae vellet, in
 ‘ castra Vejos iret:’ altera Ap. Claudii, qui, ‘ largitionem no-
 ‘ vam, prodigam, inaequalem, inconsultam’ arguens, ‘ si se-
 ‘ mel nefas ducerent, captam ex hostibus in aerario exhausto
 ‘ bellis pecuniam esse,’ auctor erat stipendii ex eâ pecuniâ
 ‘ militi numerandi, ut eo minus tributi plebes conferret. ‘ Ejus
 ‘ enim doni societatem sensuras aequaliter omnium domos:
 ‘ non avidas in direptiones manus otiosorum urbanorum prae-
 ‘ repturas fortium bellatorum praemia esse: quum ita ferme
 ‘ eveniat, ut segnior sit praedator, ut quisque laboris pericu-
 ‘ lique praecipuam petere partem soleat.’ Licinius contrâ
 ‘ suspectam et invisam semper eam pecuniam fore,’ aiebat;
 ‘ causasque criminum ad plebem, seditionum inde ac legum
 ‘ novarum, praebituram. Satiùs igitur esse, reconciliari eo
 ‘ dono plebis animos: exhaustis atque exinanitis tributo tot
 ‘ annorum succurri: et sentire praedae fructum ex eo bello,
 ‘ in quo prope consenuerint. Gratiùs id fore laetiusque, quod
 ‘ quisque suâ manu ex hoste captum domum retulerit, quàm
 ‘ si multiplex alterius arbitrio accipiat. Ipsum dictatorem
 ‘ fugere invidiam ex eo criminaque. Eo delegâsse ad sena-
 ‘ tum. Senatum quòque debere rejectam rem ad se permit-
 ‘ tere plebi, ac pati habere, quod cuique fors belli dederit.’
 Haec tutior visa sententia est, quae popularem senatum fa-
 ceret. Edictum itaque est, ‘ ad praedam Vejentem, quibus
 ‘ videretur, in castra ad dictatorem proficiscerentur.’

XXI. Ingens profecta multitudo replevit castra. Tum
 dictator, auspicatò egressus, quum edixisset, ut arma milites
 caperent, ‘ Tuo ductu,’ inquit, ‘ Pythice Apollo, tuoque nu-
 ‘ mine instinctus pergo ad delendam urbem Vejos: tibi-
 ‘ hinc decumam partem praedae voveo. Te simul, Juno Re-
 ‘ gina, quae nunc Vejos colis, precor, ut nos victores in nos-
 ‘ tram, tuamque mox futuram, urbem sequare: ubi te dignum
 ‘ amplitudine tuâ templum accipiat.’ Haec precatus, supe-
 rante multitudine, ab omnibus locis urbem aggreditur, quo
 minor ab cuniculo ingruentis periculi sensus esset. Vejentes,

¹ Some commentators read *una* before *senis*.

ignari se jam ab suis vatibus, jam ab externis oraculis proditos, jam in partem praedae suae vocatos Deos, alios, votis ex urbe suâ evocatos¹, hostium templa novasque sedes spectare, seque ultimum illum diem agere; nihil minùs timentes, quàm subrutis cuniculo moenibus arcem jam plenam hostium esse, in muros pro se quisque armati discurrunt; mirantes ‘quidnam id esset, quòd, quum tot per dies nemo se ab stationibus Romanis movisset, tum, velut repentino icti furore, improvidi currerent ad muros.’ Inseritur huic loco fabula; ‘immolante rege Vejentium, vocem aruspicias dicentis, “qui ejus hostiae exta prosecuisset, ei victoriam dari,” exauditam in cuniculo, movisse Romanos milites, ut adaperto cuniculo, exta raperent, et ad dictatorem ferrent.’ Sed in rebus tam antiquis, si quae similia veri sint, pro veris accipiantur, satis habeam. Haec, ad ostentationem scenae, gaudentis miraculis, aptiora², quàm ad fidem, neque affirmare, neque refellere est operae pretium. Cuniculus, delectis militibus eo tempore plenus, in aede Junonis, quae in Vejentanâ arce erat, armatos repentè edidit. Et pars aversos in muris invadunt hostes: pars claustra portarum revellunt: pars, quum ex tectis saxa tegulaeque a mulieribus ac serviitiis jacerentur, inferunt ignes. Clamor omnia variis terrentium ac paventium vocibus, mixto mulierum ac puerorum ploratu, complet. Memento temporis dejectis ex muro undique armatis, patefactisque portis, quum alii agmine irruerent, alii desertos scanderent muros, urbs hostibus impletur, omnibus locis pugnatur. Deinde, multà jam edità caede, senescit pugna: et dictator praecones edicere jubet, ‘ut ab inermi abstineatur.’ Is finis sanguinis fuit. Dedi inde inermes coepti; et ad praedam miles permissu dictatoris discurret. Quae quum ànte oculos ejus aliquantum spe atque opinione major, majorisque pretii rerum ferretur, dicitur manus ad coelum tollens precatus esse, ‘ut si cui deorum hominumque nimia sua fortuna populique Romani videretur, ut eam invidiam lenire, quàm minimo suo privato

¹ *Jam in partem*, alluding to the vow to Apollo; *alios*,—*evocatos*, to the invitation to Juno. ‘When the Romans besieged a town, and thought themselves sure of taking it, they used solemnly to call out of it (*evocare*) the gods under whose protection the place was supposed to be.’ Dr ADAM. ² *Haec*, &c. Stories such as these, fitter for display on the stage, which takes delight in extraordinary events.

‘incommodo publicoque populi Romani, liceret¹.’ ‘Con-
vertentem se inter hanc venerationem,’ traditur memoriae,
‘prolapsum cecidisse;’ idque omen pertinuisse postea eventu
rem conjectantibus visum ad damnationem ipsius Camilli,
captae deinde urbis Romanae, quod post paucos accidit an-
nos, cladem. Atque ille dies caede hostium ac direptione
urbis opulentissimae est consumptus.

XXII. Postero die libera corpora dictator sub coronâ ven-
didit. Ea sola pecunia in publicum redigitur, haud sine irâ
plebis. Et quod retulere secum praedae, nec duci, ‘qui ad
‘senatum, malignitatis auctores quaerendo, rem arbitrii sui
‘rejecisset;’ nec senatui, sed Liciniae familiae, ‘ex quâ filius
‘ad senatum retulisset, pater tam popularis sententiae auctor
‘fuisset,’ acceptum referebant. Quum jam humanae opes
egestae a Vejis essent, amoliri tum Deum dona ipsosque
Deos, sed colentium magis, quàm rapientium, modo, coepere;
namque delecti ex omni exercitu juvenes, purè lautis corpori-
bus, candidâ veste, quibus deportanda Romam regina Juno
assignata erat, venerabundi templum iniêre, primò religiosè
admoventes manus: quòd id signum, more Etrusco, nisi cer-
tae gentis sacerdos, atrectare non esset solitus. Dein quum
quidam, seu spiritu divino tactus, seu juvenili joco, ‘Visne
‘Romam ire Juno?’ dixisset, ‘annuisse’² ceteri ‘Deam’ con-

¹ *Ut eam, &c.* That it might be allowed to lighten that odium, by the least possible injury to his own private interest, and to the public interests of the Roman people. This is the reading of the best MSS. and of Sigonius. Glarean, on the other hand, and after him a host of commentators, founding on the sentiments imputed to Camillus by Plutarch and Valerius Maximus, read, *Suo privato incommodo, quam minimo publico P. R.*, giving him the patriotic wish to render light the odium, by his own private loss, *rather than* the public loss: or, by his own private loss, but if not, by as small a public loss as possible: or, by his own private loss, *for* the smallest possible public loss. But we have no right to adapt Livy to suit the language of Plutarch and Valerius, and, throughout, reference is made doubly to himself and the public, in the *invidia*, the *incommodum*, and the *eventus Populi Romani* on this account seems preferable to *Populo Romano*, as *liceret* would, in the latter case, apply only to one of the parties; in the former both are understood. ² *Nuo*, I nod; an expression of will peculiar to the gods; hence *numen*, a nod; the divine will; the divine power to accomplish its will; the divinity which so wills. *Adnuo*, I assent by a nod: here appropriately applied to Juno.

clamaverunt : inde fabulae adjectum est, ‘ vocem quòque dicentis, “ Velle,” auditam.’ ‘ Motam certè sede suâ parvi molimenti adminiculis, sequentis modo’ accepimus ‘ levem ac facilem translato fuisse : integramque in Aventinum, ‘ aeternam sedem suam,’ quò vota Romani dictatores vocaverant, ‘ perlatam,’ ubi templum ei postea idem, qui voverat, Camillus dedicavit. Hic Vejorum occasus fuit, urbi opulentissimae Etrusci nominis, magnitudinem suam vel ultimâ clade indicantis : quòd decem aestates hiemesque continuas circumsessa¹, quum plus aliquanto cladium intulisset, quàm accepisset, postremò, jam fato tum denique urgente, operibus tamen, non vi, expugnata est².

XXIII. Romam ut nunciatum est, ‘ Vejos captos,’ quamquam et prodigia procurata fuerant, et vatium responsa, et Pythicae sortes notae ; et, quantum humanis adjuvari consiliis potuerat res, ducem M. Furium, maximum imperatorum omnium, legerant ; tamen, quia tot annis variè ibi bellatum erat, multaeque clades acceptae, velut ex insperato immensum gaudium fuit ; et, priùs quàm senatus decerneret, plena omnia templa Romanarum matrum, grates Diis agentium, erant. Senatus in quadriduum, quot dierum nullo antè bello, supplicationes³ decernit. Adventus quòque dictatoris, omnibus ordinibus obviâ effusus, celebratio, quàm ullius unquam antea fuit : triumphusque omnem consuetum honorandi diei illius modum aliquantam excessit. Maximè conspectus ipse est, curru equis albis juncto urbem invectus : parumque id non civile modò, sed humanum etiam, visum. ‘ Jovis Solisque ‘ equis aequiparari dictatorem,’ in religionem etiam traherant⁴ : triumphusque ob eam unam maximè rem clarior, quàm gratio, fuit. Tum Junoni reginae templum in Aven-

¹ Veii had only been besieged for nine years, the siege commencing u. c. 350, see iv. 61 ; and only for seven years uninterruptedly in summer and winter, the first winter camp being formed 352. See C. 2.

² The siege of Veii introduced three novelties into the Roman military service of great importance : 1. Winter encampments. 2. Military pay. 3. Lines of circumvallation and contravallation ; the one round the besieged city, the other turned against any force assailing from without the besieging army, (C. 1.)

³ See p. 216, note 5.

⁴ According to Stroth *dictatorem* is equivalent to *equos, dictatoris*, and *equis* is the dative. Is it not rather *dictatorem equis*, (by having the horses peculiar to) *Jovis et Solis, aequiparari Jovi et Soli* ?

tino locavit¹, dedicavitque Matutae matri. Atque, his divinis humanisque rebus gestis, dictaturâ se abdicavit. Agi deinde de Apollinis dono coeptum. 'Cui se decumam vo-
'visse praedae partem' quum diceret Camillus, pontifices
'solvendum religione populum' censerent; haud facilè iniba-
tur ratio jubendi referre praedam populum, ut ex eâ pars de-
bita in sacrum secerneretur. Tandem eò, quod levissimum
videbatur, decursum est, 'ut, qui se domumque religione ex-
'solvere vellet, quum sibimet ipse praedam aestimâset suam,
'decumae pretium partis in publicum deferret; ut ex eo do-
'num aureum, dignum amplitudine templi ac numine Dei, ex
'dignitate populi Romani fieret.' Ea quòque collatio plebis
animos a Camillo alienavit. Inter haec pacificatum legati a
Volskis et Aequis venerunt: impetrataque pax, magis 'ut
'fessa tam diutino bello acquiesceret civitas,' quàm 'quòd
'digni peterent.'

XXIV. Vejis captis, sex tribunos militum consulari
U. C. potestate insequens annus habuit, duos P. Cornelios,
360. Cossum et Scipionem, M. Valerium Maximum iterum,
K. Fabium Ambustum tertium, L. Furium Medullinum quin-
tùm, Q. Servilium tertium. Corneliis Faliscum bellum, Va-
lerio ac Servilio Capenas sorte evenit. Ab iis non urbes vi-
ant operibus tentatae, sed ager est depopulatus, praedaeque
rerum agrestium actae. Nulla felix² arbor, nihil frugiferum
in agro relictum. Ea clades Capenatem populum subegit.
Pax petentibus data. In Faliscis bellum restabat. Romae
interim multiplex seditio erat: cujus leniendae causâ 'colo-
'niam in Volsços, quòd tria millia civium Romanorum scribe-
'rentur, deducendam' censuerant: triumvirique ad id creati
terna jugera et septunces viritim diviserant. Ea largitio
sperni coepta; quia 'spei majoris avertendae solatium objec-
'tum' censebant. 'Cur enim relegari plebem in Volsços,
'quum pulcherrima urbs Veji agerque Vejentanus in conspec-
'tu sit, uberior ampliorque Romano agro.' Urbem quòque
urbi Romae, vel situ, vel magnificentia publicorum privato-

¹ *Locare*, to give out an edifice to be built on contract; *conducere*, *redimere*, to undertake the contract: hence *locator*, conductor, redemtor.

² *Felix arbor*, a fruit-bearing tree. So Horace,

Inutilesque falce ramos amputans,

Feliciores inserit.

Epod. ii. 11.

The opposite, *infelix*, I. 26, signifies a scaffold for execution.

rumque tectorum ac locorum, praeponabant. Quin illa quòque actio movebatur, quae post captam utique Romam a Gallis celebratior fuit, transmigrandi Vejos. Ceterum, partim plebi partim senatui destinabant habitandos Vejos; 'duasque urbes communis reipublicae incolae a populo Romano posse.' Adversus quae quum optimates ita tenderent, ut 'morituros se citius' dicerent, 'in conspectu populi Romani, quàm quicquam earum rerum rogaretur. Quippe nunc in unâ urbe tantum dissensionum esse, quid in duabus fore? Victamne ut¹ quisquam victrici patriae praeferret? sineretque, majorem fortunam captis esse Vejis, quàm incolumibus fuerit? Postremò, se relinqui a civibus in patriâ posse: ut relinquant patriam atque cives, nullam vim unquam subacturam; et T. 'Sicinium' (is enim ex tribunis plebis rogationis ejus lator erat) 'conditorem Vejos sequantur, relicto Deo Romulo, Dei filio, parente et auctore urbis Romae;'—

XXV. Haec quum foedis certaminibus agerentur, (nam partem tribunorum plebis Patres in suam sententiam traxerant,) nulla res alia manibus temperare plebem cogebat, quàm quòd, ubi rixae committendae causâ clamor ortus esset, principes senatûs, primi turbae offerentes se, peti, feriri, atque occidi jubebant. Ab horum aetatibus dignitatibusque et honoribus violandis dum abstinerebatur, et ad reliquos similes conatus verecundia irae obstabat; Camillus identidem omnibus locis concionabatur: 'Haud mirum id quidem esse, furere civitatem, quae, damnata voti², omnium rerum potiores curam, quàm religione se exsolvendi, habeat. Nihil de collatione dicere, stipis³ veriùs, quàm decumae; quando eâ se quisque privatim obligaverit, liberatus sit populus. Enimvero, illud se tacere, suam conscientiam non pati; quòd ex eâ tantum praedâ, quae rerum moventium⁴ sit, decuma designetur: urbis atque agri capti, quae et ipsa voto continea-

¹ See p. 229, note 3. ² As every vow was regarded as a bargain between the supplicant and the divine power, in which the one agreed to perform a certain act, provided the other granted a certain favour, the bestowal of the favour made the performance of the vowed act a debt. Hence such expressions as *obligare votis*, *damnare votis*, to grant the desired favour, and thus to render the vower liable in the performance of his part of the bargain. ³ 'This word is

'usually put for a small coin, as we say a penny or farthing, offered to the gods, at games or the like, or given as an alms to a beggar.' Dr ADAM. ⁴ Quae moveri possunt. Nepos, Themistocles, 2.

'tur', mentionem nullam fieri.' Quum ea disceptatio, anceps senatui visa, delegata ad pontifices esset; adhibito Camillo, visum collegio, 'quod ejus ante conceptum votum Vejentium fuisset, et post votum in potestatem populi Romani venisset, ejus partem decumam Apollini sacram esse.' Ita in aestimationem urbs agerque venit: pecunia ex aerario prompta, et tribunis militum consularibus, 'ut aurum ex eâ coëmerent,' negotium datum. Cujus quum copia non esset, matronae, coetibus ad eam rem consultandam habitis, et communi decreto pollicitae tribunis militum aurum et omnia ornamenta sua, in aerarium detulerunt. Grata ea res, ut quae maximè senatui unquam², fuit: honoremque ob eam munificentiam ferunt matronis habitum, ut pilento ad sacra ludosque, carpentis festo profestoque uterentur. Pondere ab singulis auri accepto aestimatoque, ut pecuniae solverentur, 'crateram auream fieri' placuit, 'quae donum Apollini Delphos portaretur.' Simul ab religione animos remiserunt, integrant seditionem tribuni plebis: incitatur multitudo in omnes principes, ante alios in Camillum. 'Eam praedam Vejentanam publicando sacrandoque ad nihilum redegissee.' Absentes ferociter increpant: praesentium, quum se ultro iratis offerrent, verecundiam habent. Simul extrahi rem ex eo anno viderunt, tribunos plebis latores legis in annum eosdem reficiunt. Et Patres hoc idem de intercessoribus legis annisi. Ita tribuni plebis magnâ ex parte iidem refecti.

XXVI. Comitibus tribunorum militum Patres summâ ope evicerunt, ut M. Furius Camillus crearetur. 'Propter bella' simulabant 'parari ducem,' sed largitioni tribuniciae adversarius quaerebatur. Cum Camillo creati tribuni mili-

U. C. 361. tum consulari potestate, L. Furius Medullinus sextum,

C. Aemilius, L. Valerius Publicola, Sp. Postumius, P. Cornelius iterum. Principio anni tribuni plebis nihil moverunt, donec M. Furius Camillus in Faliscos, cui id bellum mandatum erat, proficisceretur. Differendo deinde elanguit res: et Camillo, quem adversarium maximè metuebant, gloria in Faliscis crevit. Nam, quum primò moenibus se hostes tenerent, tutissimum id rati, populatione agrorum atque incen-

¹ Some read *contineantur*. Others refer *contineatur* to *urbis* alone. May it not refer to *mentionem*? ² Such elliptical expressions, which are not infrequent, may be filled up, *ut ulla res quae unquam fuit maxime grata senatui*.

diis villarum coëgit eos egredi urbe; sed timor longiùs progredi prohibuit. Mille fere passuum ab oppido castra locant; nullâ re aliâ fidentes ea satis tuta esse, quàm difficultate adiutùs, asperis confragosisque circâ, et partim arctis, partim arduis viis. Ceterùm Camillus, captivum indicem ex agris secutus ducem, castris multâ nocte motis, primâ luce aliquanto superioribus locis se ostendit. Trifariam Romani muniebant. Alius exercitus proelio intentus stabat. Ibi impedire opus conatos hostes fundit fugatque; tantumque inde pavoris Faliscis injectum est, ut, effusâ fugâ castra sua, quae propiora erant, praelati¹, urbem peterent. Multi caesi vulneratique, priùs quàm paventes portis inciderent. Castra capta; praeda ad quaestores redacta cum magnâ militum irâ: sed, severitate imperii victi, eandem virtutem² et oderant et mirabantur. Obsidio inde urbis, et munitiones, et interdum per occasionem impetus oppidanorum in Romanas stationes, proeliaque parva fieri; et teri tempus, neutrò inclinâtâ spe; quum frumentum copiaeque aliae ex antè convecto largiùs obsessis, quàm obsidentibus, suppeterent. Videbaturque aequè diuturnus futurus labor, ac Vejis fuisset; ni fortuna imperatori Romano simul et cognitae rebus bellicis virtutis³ specimen et maturam victoriam dedisset.

XXVII. Mos erat Faliscis, eodem magistro liberorum et comite uti: simulque plures pueri, quod hodie quòque in

¹ See p. 86, note 5. ² *Virtus* seems to be derived from *vir*, and to signify that quality which best becomes a man. In the early ages of every nation, valour in war is the one which most commands admiration; hence the notions of valour originally attached by the Romans to *virtus*, by the Greeks to ἀγαθος, (ἀγα,) and our own Highlanders to a *pretty man*. As skill in war, and the quality which secure conquest by policy, as well as force, came next into high esteem, *virtus* acquired that meaning. Ultimately it came to signify that combination of moral excellence which we denominate *virtue*. All those meanings abound in the classics. ³ Founding on this, that fortune might give victory, but could not give *specimen virtutis*, Gronovius proposes, *re non cognitae* in bellica virtutis specimen, ei. Others, with the same view, consider *specimen* as the nominative, and the second *et* as signifying *even*; whilst some delete the last *et*. In the view mentioned in the last note, all these suggestions are unnecessary. The sentence means, Had not fortune presented the Roman general at once with an opportunity of displaying consummate policy in the art of war, for which he was already famed, and, in consequence, a speedy victory.

Graeciâ manet, unius curæ demandabantur. Principum liberos, sicut fere fit, qui scientiâ videbatur praeexcellere, erudiebat. Is quum in pace instituisset pueros ante urbem lusûs exercendiquê causâ producere; nihil eo more per belli tempus intermisso, tum, modò brevioribus, modò longioribus spatiis, trahendo eos a portâ, lusu sermonibusque variatis, longiùs solito, ubi res dedit, progressus, inter stationes eos hostium castraque inde Romana in praetorium ad Camillum perduxit. Ibi scelesto facinori scelestiorem sermonem addidit: ‘Falerios ‘se in manus Romanis tradidisse; quando eos pueros, quorum parentes capita ibi rerum sint, in potestatem dederit.’ Quae ubi Camillus audit, ‘Non ad similem,’ inquit, ‘tui ‘nec populum, nec imperatorem, scelestus ipse cum scelesto ‘munere venisti. Nobis cum Faliscis, quae pacto fit humano, ‘societas non est. Quam ingeneravit natura, utrisque est, ‘eritque. Sunt et belli, sicut pacis, jura: justèque ea, non ‘minùs quàm fortiter, didicimus gerere. Arma habemus, ‘non adversus eam aetatem, cui etiam captis urbibus parci- ‘tur; sed adversus armatos, et ipsos, qui, nec laesi, nec lacessiti a nobis, castra Romana ad Vejos oppugnârunt. Eos ‘tu, quantum in te fuit, novo scelere vicisti: ego Romanis ‘artibus, virtute, opere, armis, sicut Vejos, vincam.’ Denu- datum deinde eum, manibus post tergum illigatis, reducendum Falerios pueris tradidit: virgasque eis, quibus proditorum agerent in urbem verberantes, dedit. Ad quod spectaculum concursu populi primùm facto, deinde a magistratibus de re novâ vocato senatu, tanta mutatio animis est injecta, ut, qui modò, efferati odio irâque, Vejentium exitum penè, quàm Capenatium pacem, mallent, apud eos pacem universa posceret civitas. Fides Romana, justitia imperatoris, in foro et curiâ celebrantur: consensuque omnium legati ad Camillum in castra, atque inde permissu Camilli Romam ad senatum, qui dederent Falerios, proficiscuntur. Introducti ad senatum ita locuti traduntur: ‘Patres conscripti, victoriâ, cui nec ‘Deus, nec homo quisquam invidet, victi a vobis et imperatore vestro, dedimus nos vobis; rati, quo nihil victori pulchrius est, meliùs nos sub imperio vestro, quàm legibus nostris, victuros. Eventu hujus belli duo salutaria exempla ‘prodita humano generi sunt. Vos fidem in bello, quàm praesentem victoriam, maluistis: nos, fide provocati, victoriam ‘ultra detulimus. Sub ditione vestrâ sumus. Mittite, qui

‘arma, qui obsides, qui urbem patentibus portis accipiant. Nec vos fidei nostrae, nec nos imperii vestri poenitebit.’ Camillo et ab hostibus et a civibus gratiae actae. Faliscis in stipendium militum ejus anni, ut populus Romanus tributo vacaret, pecunia imperata. Pace datâ, exercitus Romam reductus.

XXVIII. Camillus meliore multo laude, quàm quum triumphantem albi per urbem vexerant equi¹, insignis justitiâ fideque, hostibus victis, quum in urbem redisset, tacitè² ejus verecundiam non tulit senatus, quin sine morâ voti liberaretur: crateramque auream donum Apollini Delphos legati qui ferrent, L. Valerius, L. Sergius, A. Manlius, missi longâ unâ nave, haud procul freto Siculo a piratis Liparensium excepti, devehuntur Liparas. Mos erat civitatis, velut publico latrocinio partam praedam dividere. Fortè eo anno in summo magistratu erat Timasitheus quidam, Romanis vir similior, quàm suis. Qui, ‘legatorum nomen, donumque, et Deum, cui mitteretur, et doni causam’ veritus ipse, multitudinem quòque, quae semper ferme regenti est similis, religionis justae implevit: adductosque in publicum hospitium legatos, cum praesidio etiam navium Delphos prosecutus, Romam inde sospites restituit. Hospitium cum eo senatûs consulto est factum, donaque publicè data. Eodem anno in Aequis variè bellatum: adèd ut in incerto fuerit et apud ipsos exercitus et Romae, vicissent, victine essent. Imperatores Romani fuere ex tribunis militum C. Aemilius, Sp. Postumius. Primò rem communiter gesserunt: fusis inde acie hostibus, ‘Aemilium praesidio Verruginem obtinere’ placuit, ‘Postumium fines vastare.’ Ibi eum, incomposito agmine negligentius ab re bene gestâ euntem, adorti Aequi, terrore injecto, in proximos compulere tumulos: pavorque inde Verruginem etiam ad praesidium alterum est perlatus. Postumius, suis in tutum receptis, quum concione advocatâ terrorem increparet ac fugam; ‘fusus esse ab ignavissimo et fugacissimo hoste:’ conclamat universus exercitus, ‘meritò se ea audire, et fateri admissum flagitium; sed eosdem correcturos esse, neque diuturnum id gaudium hostibus fore.’ Poscentes,

¹ See C. 23. ² Gronovius proposes *taciti*, as referring to *ejus*. Might *tacite* not be referred to *redisset*, as contrasting his present quiet return with his former triumph?

‘ ut confestim inde ad castra hostium duceret,’ (in conspectu erant posita in plano,) nihil poenae recusabant, ni ea ante noctem expugnâssent. Collaudatos ‘ corpora curare, paratosque ‘ esse quartâ vigiliâ’ jubet. Et hostes, nocturnam fugam ex tumulto Romanorum ut ab eâ viâ, quae ferebat Verruginem, excluderent, fuere obvii : proeliumque ante lucem (sed luna pernox erat) commissum est : et haud incertius¹ diurno proelio fuit. Sed clamor Verruginem perlatus, quum castra Romana crederent oppugnari, tantum injecit pavoris, ut, nequicquam retinente atque obsecrante Aemilio, Tusculum palati fugerent. Inde fama Romam perlata est, ‘ Postumium exercitumque ‘ occisum.’ Qui, ubi prima lux metum insidiarum effusè sequentibus sustulit, quum perequâtâssent aciem, promissa repens, tantum injecit ardoris, ut non ultrâ sustinuerint impetum Aequi. Caedes inde fugientium, qualis, ubi irâ magis, quàm virtute, res geritur, ad perniciem hostium facta est; tristemque ab Tusculo nuncium nequicquam exterritâ civitate, literae a Postumio laureatae² sequuntur : ‘ victoriam populi ‘ Romani esse : Aequorum exercitum deletum.’

XXIX. Tribunorum plebis actiones quia nondum invenerant finem, et plebs continuare latoribus legis tribunatum, et Patres reficere intercessores legis annisi sunt. Sed plus suis comitiis plebs valuit. Quem dolorem ulți Patres sunt, senatûs consulto facto, ‘ ut consules,’ invisus plebi magistratus, ‘ crearentur.’ Annum post quintum decimum creati consules³ L. Lucretius Flavus, Ser. Sulpicius Camerinus. Principio hujus anni, ferociter, quia nemo ex collegio intercessurus erat, coortis ad perferendam legem tribunis plebis, nec segniùs ob id ipsum consulibus resistentibus, omnique civitate in unam eam curam conversâ, Vitelliam coloniam Romanam in suo agro Aequi expugnant. Colonorum pars maxima incolumis, quia nocte proditione oppidum captum liberam per aversa urbis fugam dederat, Romam perfu-

¹ *Incertain proelium*, either a battle of which the result is doubtful, or, as here, which cannot be fought with distinct movements, on account of the darkness.

² *Litterae laureatae*, letters wrapped round with laurel, a custom commonly observed by generals announcing a victory.

³ *Annum post quintum decimum*, after the fifteenth year had expired, that is, fifteen free years after the last consuls, who were C. Cornelius Cossus and L. Furius Medullinus, 246. See II. 54.

gere. L. Lucretio consuli ea provincia evenit. Is, cum exercitu profectus, acie hostes vicit; victorque Romam ad majus aliquanto certamen rediit. Dies dicta erat tribunis plebis biennii superioris A. Virginio et Q. Pomponio, quos defendi Patrum consensu ad fidem senatûs pertinebat. Neque enim eos aut vitæ ullo crimine alio aut gesti magistratûs quisquam arguebat, præterquam 'quòd, gratificantes Patribus, rogationi tribuniciae intercessissent.' Vicit tamen gratiam senatûs plebis ira; et pessimo exemplo innoxii denis millibus gravis aeris¹ condemnati sunt. Id aegre passi Patres. Camillus palàm sceleris plebem arguere: 'quæ, jam in suos versa, non intelligeret, se pravo judicio de tribunis intercessionem sustulisse; intercessione sublatâ, tribuniciam potestatem evertisse. Nam, quòd illi sperarent, effrenatam licentiam ejus magistratûs Patres laturos, falli eos. Si tribunicia vis tribunicio auxilio repelli nequeat, aliud telum Patres inventuros esse.' Consulesque increpabat, 'quòd fide publicâ decipi tribunos eos taciti tulissent, qui senatûs auctoritatem secuti essent.' Haec propalam concionabundus in dies magis augebat iras hominum.

XXX. Senatum verò incitare adversus legem² haud desistebat: 'ne aliter descenderent in forum, quum dies fœrendæ legis venisset, quàm ut qui meminissent, sibi pro aris focusque et Deum templis ac solo, in quo nati essent, dimicandum fore. Nam quod ad se privatim attineat, si suæ gloriæ sibi inter dimicationem patriæ meminisse sit fas, sibi amplum quòque esse, urbem ab se captam frequentari, quotidie se frui monumento gloriæ suæ, et ante oculos habere urbem latam in triumpho suo³, insistere omnes vestigiis laudum suarum. Sed nefas ducere, desertam ac relictam ab Diis immortalibus incolì urbem; et in captivo solo habitare populum Romanum, et victricem patriâ victam mutari⁴.' His adhortationibus principis concitati

¹ See p. 269, note 1. ² The law for emigrating to Veii. ³ Alluding to the practice of carrying, on wooden frames, representations of the cities taken by the triumphing general. ⁴ *Et victricem, &c.* And a vanquished to be taken in exchange for a victorious country. The original meaning of *muto* (*movito*) is *to move*, and this is its force in the 46th Chapter; *mutari finibus*, to move himself from his place of residence. Motion implies change, hence *muto*, to change. The original meaning implies a motion to the object sought, and from the object left. Hence *muto*, with the accusative of the thing, to

Patres, senes juvenesque, quum ferretur lex, agmine facto in forum venerunt: dissipatique per tribus, suos quisque tribules prensantes, orare cum lacrimis coepere, 'Ne eam patriam, pro quâ fortissimè felicissimèque ipsi ac patres eorum dimicassent, desererent,' Capitolium, aedem Vestæ, cetera circà templa Deorum ostentantes. 'Ne exsulem, extorrem populum Romanum ab solo patrio ac diis penatibus in hostium urbem agerent; eoque rem adducerent, ut melius fuerit, non capi Vejos, ne Roma desereretur.' Quia non vi agebant, sed precibus, et inter preces multa Deorum mentio erat, religiosum parti maximæ fuit. Et legem unâ plures tribus antiquarunt, quàm jusserunt¹. Adeoque ea victoria laeta Patribus fuit, ut postero die, referentibus consulibus, senatûs consultum fieret, 'ut agri Vejentani septena jugera plebi divididerentur; nec patribus familiae tantum, sed ut omnium in domo liberorum capitum ratio haberetur; vellentque in eam spem liberos tollere.'

XXXI. Eo munere delenitâ plebe, nihil certatum u. c. est, quo minùs consularia comitia haberentur. Creati 363. consules L. Valerius Potitus, M. Manlius, cui Capitolino postea etiam² fuit cognomen. Hi consules magnos ludos fecere, quos M. Furius dictator voverat Vejenti bello³. Eodem anno aedes Junonis Reginae, ab eodem dictatore eodemque bello vota, dedicatur: 'celebratamque dedicationem ingenti matronarum studio' tradunt. Bellum haud memorabile in Algidio cum Aequis gestum est, fuis hostibus priùs penè, quàm manus consererent. Valerio, quòd perseverantior caedendis in fugâ fuit, triumphus; Manlio, ut ovans⁴ ingrederetur urbem, decretum est. Eodem anno novum bellum cum Volsiniensibus exortum; quòd propter famem pesti-

which the change (motion *to*) is made, and the ablative of the thing changed, (motion *from*,) as in this passage and Horace,

Cur valle permutem Sabinâ,
Divitias operosiores?

Sometimes with a more immediate reference to its secondary meaning, to *change*, it governs the accusative of the object left, and the ablative, (as of *price*,) of that for which the change is made, as, *Exsilioque domos et dulcia limina mutant*. VIRGIL, G. II. 511. ¹ *Et, &c.* And the tribes, by a majority of one, rejected the law. In the same way, *uno plus Etruscorum occidisse*, II. 7. For *antiquo*, see p. 288, note 1. ² His name was M. Manlius Vulso, and another Manlius Capitolinus is mentioned, IV. 42. *Etiam* may refer to either of these circumstances. ³ See C. 19. ⁴ See p. 156, note 2.

lentiamque in agro Romano, ex siccitate caloribusque nimis ortam, exercitus duci nequivit. Ob quae Volsinienses; Salpinatibus adjunctis superbiâ elati, ultro agros Romanos incur-savere. Bellum inde duobus populis indictum. C. Julius censor decessit: in ejus locum M. Cornelius suffectus. Quae res postea religioni fuit; quia eo lustr¹ Roma est capta. Nec deinde unquam in demortui locum censor sufficitur. Consulibusque morbo implicitis placuit, 'per interregnum *'renovari auspicia.'* Itaque, quum ex senatûs consulto consules magistratu se abdicassent, interrex creatur M. Furius Camillus; qui P. Cornelium Scipionem, is deinde L. Valerium Potitum interregem prodidit. Ab eo creati sex tribuni militum consulari potestate; ut, etiamsi cui eorum incommoda valetudo fuisset, copia magistratuum reipublicae esset.

XXXII. Kalendis Quinctilibus² magistratum occu-
 pere L. Lucretius, Ser. Sulpicius, M. Aemilius, L.
 364. Furius Medullinus septimùm, Agrippa Furius, C. Aemilius iterum. Ex his L. Lucretio et C. Aemilio Volsiniensis provincia evenit: Salpinates Agrippae Furio et Ser. Sulpicio. Prius cum Volsiniensibus pugnatum est: bellum numero hostium ingens, certamine haud sanè asperum fuit. Fusa concursu primo acies in fugam: millia octo armatorum ab equitibus interclusa, positis armis, in deditionem venerunt. Ejus belli fama effecit, ne se pugnae committerent Salpinates. Moenibus armati se tutabantur. Romani praedas passim et ex Salpinati agro, et ex Volsiniensi, nullo eam vim arcente, egerunt; donec Volsiniensibus fessis bello eâ conditione, 'ut
 'res populo Romano redderent, stipendiumque ejus anni exercitui praestarent,' in viginti annos induciae datae. Eodem anno M. Caedicius de plebe nuntiavit tribunis, 'se in Novâ
 'viâ, ubi nunc sacellum est, supra aedem Vestae, vocem
 'noctis silentio audisse clariorem humanâ, quae magistratibus
 'dici juberet, Gallos adventare.' Id, ut fit, propter auctoris humilitatem spretum, et quòd longinqua, eoque ignotior, gens erat. Neque Deorum modò monita, ingruente fato, spreta; sed humanam quòque opem, quae una erat, M. Furium ab urbe amovere. Qui, die dictâ ab L. Apuleio tribuno plebis propter praedam Vejentanam, filio quòque adolescente per

¹ *Lustrum*, the space between one purification of the people and another, (I. 44.) or the purificatory sacrifice itself, (the original meaning,) or simply, five years.

² See p. 151, note 3.

idem tempus orbat, quum, accitis domum tribulibus clientibusque, (magna pars plebis erat¹), percunctatus animos eorum, responsum tulisset, 'se collaturos, quanti damnatus esset, absolvere eum non posse,' in exilium abiit; precatus ab Diis immortalibus, 'si innoxio sibi ea injuria fieret, primo quoque tempore desiderium sui civitati ingratae facerent.' Absens quindecim millibus gravis aeris damnatur.

XXXIII. Expulso cive, quo manente, si quicquam humanorum certi est, capi Roma non potuerat; adventante fatali urbi clade, legati ab Clusinis veniunt, auxilium adversus Gallos petentes. 'Eam gentem traditur' famâ, 'dulcedine frugum maximèque vini, novâ tum voluptate, captam, Alpes transisse, agrosque ab Etruscis antè cultos possedisse: et invexisse in Galliam vinum illiciendae gentis causâ Aruntem Clusinum, irâ corruptae uxoris ab Lucumone,' cui tutor is fuerat ipse², praepotente juvene, et a quo expeti poenae, nisi externa vis quaesita esset, nequirent. Hunc transeuntibus Alpes ducem, auctoremque Clusium oppugnandi fuisse.' Equidem haud abnuerim, Clusium Gallos ab Arunte, seu quo alio Clusino, adductos: sed 'eos, qui oppugnaverint Clusium, non fuisse, qui primi Alpes transierint,' satis constat. Ducentis quippe annis antè, quàm Clusium oppugnarent, urbemque Romam caperent, in Italiam Galli transcenderunt: nec cum his primum Etruscorum, sed multo antè cum iis, qui inter Appenninum Alpesque incolebant, saepe exercitus Gallici pugnare. Tuscorum ante Romanum imperium latè terrâ marique opes patuere. Mari supero inferoque, quibus Italia insulae modo cingitur, quantum potuerint³, nomina sunt argumento, quòd alterum Tuscum communi vocabulo gentis, alterum Hadriaticum mare, ab Hadriâ Tuscorum coloniâ, vocare Italicae gentes. Graeci eadem Tyrrhenum atque Hadriaticum vocant. Ii in utrumque mare vergentes incoluere urbibus duodenis terras, priùs cis Apenninum ad inferum mare, postea trans Apenninum, totidem, quot capita originis

¹ *Magna pars plebis erat*, either they constituted a great portion of the plebeians, or a great portion of them belonged to the plebeian body. The former is improbable, as they would hardly have so easily despaired of getting Camillus acquitted. That the clients of the patricians were distinct from the plebeians, we learn from II. 64. See p. 135, note 1.

² *Cui Lucumoni tutor is Aruns fuerat ipse.*
³ *Doering proposes patuerint.*

erant, coloniis missis : quae trans Padum omnia loca, excepto Venetorum angulo, qui sinum circumcolunt maris, usque ad Alpes tenuere. Alpinis quodque ea gentibus haud dubiè origo est, maximè Raetis : quos loca ipsa efferârunt¹, ne quid ex antiquo, praeter sonum linguae, nec eum incorruptum, retinerent.

XXXIV. De transitu in Italiam Gallorum haec accepimus. Prisco Tarquinio Romae regnante, Celtarum, quae pars Galliae tertia est, penes Bituriges summa imperii fuit. Ii regem Celtico dabant. Ambigatus is fuit, virtute fortunâque quum suâ, tum publicâ, praepollens, quod imperio ejus Gallia adedè frugum hominumque fertilis fuit, ut abundans multitudo vix regi videretur posse. Hic magno natu ipse jam, exonerare praegravante turbâ regnum cupiens, ‘ Bellovesum ac Sigovesum, sororis filios, impigros juvenes, missurum se esse, in quas Dii dedissent auguriis sedes,’ ostendit. ‘ Quantum ipsi vellent numerum hominum, excirent, ne qua gens arcere advenientes posset.’ Tum Sigoveso sortibus dati Hercinii saltus : Belloveso haud paulo laetiorum in Italiam viam Dii dabant. Is, quod ejus ex populis² abundabat, Bituriges, Arvernos, Senones³, Aeduos, Ambarros, Carnates, Aulercos, excivit. Profectus ingentibus peditum equitumque copiis, in Tricastinos venit. Alpes inde oppositae erant : quas inexsuperabiles visas haud equidem miror, nullâ dum viâ (quod quidem continens memoria sit⁴, nisi de Hercule fabulis credere libet) superatas. Ibi quum velut septos montium altitudo teneret Gallos, circumspectarentque, quâ-

¹ *Effer-us*, barbarous : *effer-o*, I make barbarous, another instance of that numerous class of verbs, derived from nouns and adjectives, simply by changing the termination into *o*. This *o*, Dr Hunter agrees with Mr Young of Glasgow in thinking probably a change of *ago*, *ao*, *o*, giving the energy of *doing* to the adjective or noun. ² The old editions read *iis ex populis*, meaning either the nations of Italy, or, more obviously, the nations immediately after enumerated, in which sense Crevier suggests *his*. Sigonius proposes, on the authority of some MSS., *quod ea gens populis*. The reading given is that of the best MSS., where *ejus* must refer to Ambigatus. Gronovius proposes *septem*. ³ As we read in the next Chapter of the *Senones* being *recentinimi advenarum*, this seems a mistake of some transcribers, perhaps for *Santones*. ⁴ According to Gronovius, *quod quidem factum esse* ; but we should require *non factum esse*. It is more probable *continens sit* has the force of *continuat* : as far, at least, as human memory comprehends.

nam per juncta coelo juga in alium orbem terrarum transirent, religio etiam tenuit, quòd allatum est, 'advenas quae-
'rentes agrum ab Salyum gente oppugnari.' Massilienses erant
hi, navibus a Phocaeâ profecti. Id Galli fortunae suae omen
rati adjuvare, ut, quem primum in terram egressi occupa-
verant, locum patentibus silvis communirent. Ipsi per Tau-
rinos saltusque invios Alpes transcenderunt: fuscisque acie
Tusci haud procul Ticino flumine, quum, in quo consede-
rant, agrum Insubrium appellari audissent, cognomine Insu-
bribus pago Aeduorum¹; ibi, omen sequentes loci, condidere
urbem: Mediolanum² appellârunt.

XXXV. Alia subinde manus Cenomanorum, Elitovio duce
vestigia priorum secuta, eodem saltu, favente Belloveso, quum
transcendisset Alpes, ubi nunc Brixia ac Verona urbes sunt,
(locos tenuere Libui) considunt. Post hos Salluvii, prope
antiquam gentem Laevos Ligures, incolentes circa Ticinum
amnem. Penino deinde Boii Lingonesque transgressi, quum
jam inter Padum atque Alpes omnia tenerentur, Pado rati-
bus trajecto, non Etruscos modò, sed etiam Umbros, agro
pellunt: intra Apenninum tamen sese tenuere. Tum Se-
nones, recentissimi advenarum, ab Utente flumine usque ad
Aesim fines habuere. Hanc gentem Clusium, Romanque
inde, venisse comperio. Id parum certum est, solamne, an
ab omnibus Cisalpinorum Gallorum populis adjutam³. Clu-
sini, novo bello exterriti, quum multitudinem, quum formas
hominum invisitatas cernerent et genus armorum, audirent-
que, 'saepe ab iis, cis Padum ultraque, legiones Etruscorum
'fusae,' quanquam adversus Romanos nullum eis jus societa-
tis amicitiaeve⁴ erat, nisi 'quòd Vejentes consanguineos ad-
'versus populum Romanum non defendissent,' legatos Ro-
mam, qui auxilium ab senatu peterent, misere. De auxilio
nihil impetratum. Legati tres M. Fabii Ambusti filii missi,
qui senatûs populique Romani nomine agerent cum Gallis,
'ne, a quibus nullam injuriam accepissent, socios populi Ro-
'mani atque amicos oppugnarent. Romanis eos bello quò-
'que, si res cogat, tuendos esse. Sed melius visum, bellam

¹ Cognomine *Insubribus* existente pago Aeduorum.

² There was a town of this name, both in the country of the Insubres and of the Santones.

³ Why not *sola*, *adjuta*, says Bauer, to agree with *veneris*?

⁴ Yet, two sentences below, they are called both *socii* and *amici*.

‘ipsum amoveri, si posset; et Gallos, novam gentem, pace
‘potius cognosci, quàm armis.’

XXXVI. Mitis legatio, ni praeferoces legatos, Gallisque
magis quàm Romanis similes, habuisset. Quibus, postquam
mandata ediderunt in concilio Gallorum, datur responsum :
‘Etsi novum nomen audiant Romanorum, tamen credere vi-
‘ros fortes esse, quorum auxilium a Clusinis in re trepidâ sit
‘imploratum. Et, quoniam legatione adversus se maluerint,
‘quàm armis, tueri socios, ne se quidem pacem, quam illi
‘afferant, aspernari, si Gallis, egentibus agro, quem latius
‘possideant, quàm colant, Clusini, partem finium concedant :
‘aliter pacem impetrari non posse. Et responsum coram
‘Romanis accipere velle : et, si negetur ager, coram iisdem
‘Romanis dimicatuuros, ut nunciare domum possent, quan-
‘tum Galli virtute ceteros mortales praestarent. Quodnam
‘id jus esset, agrum a possessoribus petere, aut minari arma ?’
Romanis quaerentibus, et, ‘quid in Etruriâ rei Gallis esset ?’
quum illi, ‘se in armis jus ferre,’ et ‘omnia fortium virorum
‘esse,’ ferociter dicerent, accensis utrinque animis ad arma
discurritur, et proelium conseritur. Ibi, jam urguntibus Ro-
manam urbem fatis, legati contra jus gentium arma capiunt.
Nec id clàm esse potuit, quum ante signa Etruscorum tres
nobilissimi fortissimique Romanae juventutis pugnarent. Tan-
tum eminebat peregrina virtus¹. Quin etiam Q. Fabius,
evectus extra aciem equo, ducem Gallorum, ferociter in ipsa
signa Etruscorum incursantem, per latus tranfixum hastâ, oc-
cidit : spoliaque ejus legentem Galli agnovere, perque totam
aciem, ‘Romanum legatum esse,’ signum datum est. Omissâ
inde in Clusinos irâ, receptui canunt, minantes Romanis.
Erant, qui ‘extemplo Romam eundum’ censerent. Vicere
seniores, ut legati priùs mitterentur questum injurias, postu-
latumque, ‘ut pro jure gentium violato Fabii dederentur.’
Legati Gallorum quum ea, sicut erant mandata, exposuissent,
senatui nec factum placebat Fabiorum, et jus postulare bar-
bari videbantur. Sed, ne id, quod placebat, decernerent in
tantae nobilitatis viris, ambitio obstabat². Itaque, ne penes

¹ The valour of the Fabii. ² *Ambitio*, going about to procure
votes; a desire of securing favour either from the people, or, as here,
from a noble family: generally, an improper desire.

ipso culpa esset cladis fortè Gallico bello acceptae¹, cognitionem de postulatis Gallorum ad populum rejiciunt. Ubi tanto plus gratia atque opes valere, ut quorum de poenâ agebatur, tribuni militum consulari potestate in insequentem annum crearentur. Quo facto, haud secus quàm dignum erat, infensi Galli, bellum propalam minantes, ad suos redeunt. Tribuni militum cum tribus Fabiis creati Q. u. c. Sulpicius Longus, Q. Servilius quartum, Ser. Cornelius 365. Maluginensis.

XXXVII. Quum tanta moles mali instaret, (adeò occaecat animos fortuna, ubi vim suam ingruentem refringi non vult,) civitas, quae adversus Fidenatem ac Vejentem hostem alioque finitimos populos, ultima experiens auxilia, dictatorem multis tempestatibus dixisset; ea tunc, invisitato atque inaudito hoste ab oceano terrarumque ultimis oris bellum ciente, nihil extraordinarii imperii aut auxilii quaesivit. Tribuni, quorum temeritate bellum contractum erat, summae rerum praeerant: delectumque nihil accuratiorem, quàm ad media² bella haberi solitus erat, (extenuantes etiam famam belli,) habebant. Interim Galli, postquam accepere, 'ultro honorem' habitum violatoribus juris humani, elusamque legationem 'suam esse,' flagrantem irâ, cujus impotens est gens, confestim signis convulsis, citato agmine iter ingrediuntur. Ad quorum praetereuntium raptim tumultum quum exterritae urbes ad arma concurrerent, fugaque agrestium fieret, 'Romam se ire,' magno clamore significabant; quâcunque ibant, equis virisque longè ac latè fuso agmine immensum obtinentes loci. Sed, antecedente famâ nunciisque Clusinorum, deinceps inde aliorum populorum, plurimum terroris Romam celeritas hostium tulit: quippe quibus, velut tumultuario exercitu raptim ducto, aegre ad undecimum lapidem occursum est, quâ flumen Allia, Crustuminiis montibus praealto defluens alveo, haud multum infra viam Tiberino amni misceatur. Jam omnia contrâ circâque hostium plena erant, et nata

¹ Livy would have written more accurately *accipiendae*; but he supposes the senators as foreseeing the possibility of their being, at some future time, so situated as to look upon a disaster at the hands of the Gauls as *already sustained*. ² *Media bella*, wars neither dangerous nor the reverse; ordinary wars.

in vanos tumultus gens, truci cantu clamoribusque variis, horrendo cuncta compleverant sono ¹.

XXXVIII. Ibi tribuni militum, non loco castris antè capto, non præmunito vallo, quò receptus esset, non Deorum saltem, si non hominum, memores, nec auspicato, nec litato ², instruunt aciem deductam in cornua, ne circumveniri multitudine hostium possent. Nec tamen æquari ³ frontes poterant, quum extenuando infirmam et vix cohaerentem mediam aciem haberent. Paullum erat ab dextrâ editi loci, quem subsidiariis repleri placuit; eaque res, ut initium pavoris ac fugae, sic una salus fugientibus fuit. Nam Brennus, regulus Gallorum, in paucitate hostium artem maximè timens, ratus ad id captum superiorem locum, ut, ubi Galli cum acie legionum rectâ fronte concucurrissent, subsidia in aversos transversosque impetum darent, ad subsidiarios signa convertit: si eos loco depulisset, haud dubius, facilem in aequo campi tantum superanti multitudini victoriam fore. Adeò non fortuna modò, sed ratio etiam, cum barbaris stabat. In alterâ acie nihil simile Romanis, non apud duces, non apud milites, erat. Pavor fugaeque occupaverat animos, et tanta hominum oblivio, ut multo major pars Vejos, in hostium urbem, quum Tiberis arceret, quàm recto itinere Romam ad conjuges ac liberos fugerent. Parumper subsidiarios tutatus est locus. In reliquâ acie simul est clamor, proximis ab latere, ultimis ab tergo, auditus, ignotum hostem priùs penè quàm viderent, non modò non ⁴ tentato certamine, sed ne clamore quidem reddito, integri intactique fugerunt. Nec ulla caedes pugnantium fuit. Terga caesa suomet ipsorum certamine in turbâ impredientium fugam ⁵. Circa ripam Tiberis, quò armis abjectis totum sinistrum cornu defugit, magna strages facta est: multosque, imperitos nandi aut invalidos, graves loriciis aliisque tegminibus hausere gurgites. Maxima tamen pars incolumis Vejos perfugit: unde non modò ⁶ praesidii quicquam, sed ne nuncius quidem cladis, Romam est missus. Ab dextro cornu,

¹ A custom common to all barbarous nations; so the Germans and Caledonians, described in Tacitus, the usual practice of the Persians in Xenophon, the Indian war-whoop, and the Highland pibroch.

² *Litare*, to sacrifice till the victims are found favourable; *exercitus litatus*, an army for whom the victims are so sacrificed.

³ See p. 216, note 2. ⁴ See p. 46, note 1, Canon II. ⁵ *Terga*, &c. They were cut down from behind, whilst, in a confused mass, they impeded each other's flight. ⁶ See p. 46, note 1, Canon I.

quod procul a flumine et magis sub monte steterat, Romam omnes petière, et, ne clausis quidem portis urbis, in arcem confugerunt.

XXXIX. Gallos quodque velut obstupefactos miraculum victoriae tam repentinae tenuit. Et ipsi pavore defixi primum steterunt, velut ignari, quid accidisset. Deinde insidias vereri: postremò caesorum spolia legere, armorumque cumulos, ut mos eis est, concervare. Tum demum, postquam nihil usquam hostile cernebatur, viam ingressi, haud multo ante solis occasum ad urbem Romam perveniunt. Ubi quum praegressi equites, 'non portas clausas, non stationem pro portis' excubare, non armatos esse in muris, retaliissent; aliud priori simile miraculum eos sustinuit; noctemque veriti et ignotae situm urbis, inter Romam atque Anienem concedere, exploratoribus missis circa moenia aliasque portas, 'quaenam' hostibus in perditâ re consilia essent.' Romani, quum pars major ex acie Vejos petisset, nemo superesse quemquam praeter eos, qui Romam refugerant, crederet, complorati omnes, pariter vivi mortuique, totam prope urbem lamentis impleverunt. Privatos deinde luctus stupefecit publicus pavor, postquam 'hostes adesse' nunciatum est. Mox ululatus cantusque dissonos, vagantibus circa moenia turmatim barbaris, audiebant. Omne inde tempus suspensos ita tenuit animos usque ad lucem alteram, ut identidem¹ jam in urbem futurus videretur impetus;—primo adventu, quo accesserant ad urbem, 'mansuros enim ad Alliam fuisse, nisi hoc consilii foret.'—Deinde sub occasum solis, quia haud multum diei supererat, 'ante noctem' rati 'se invasuros;—tum in noctem dilatum' consilium esse, quo plus pavoris inferrent.'—Postremò lux appropinquans exanimare: timorique perpetuo ipsum malum continens fuit², quum signa infesta portis sunt illata. Nequaquam tamen eâ nocte, neque insequenti die similis illi, quae ad Alliam tam pavidè fugerat, civitas fuit. Nam quum

¹ *Identidem*, from time to time, has a manifest allusion to the various stages of the enemy's advance;—the approach to the city;—the approach of evening;—the night;—the dawn of the following day, when the Gauls actually entered. As *futurus videretur impetus* has an evident bearing on all these, I have, according to the suggestion of Gronovius, so pointed it. ² *Timorique*, &c. And the calamity itself came with unbroken succession on their ceaseless apprehension.

defendi urbem posse, tam parvâ relictâ manu, spes nulla esset, placuit, 'cum conjugibus ac liberis juventutem militarem senatusque robur in arcem Capitoliumque concedere; armisque et frumento collatis, ex loco inde munito Deos hominesque et Romanum nomen defendere. Flaminem¹ sacerdotisque Vestales sacra publica a caede, ab incendiis procul auferre; nec antè deseri cultum eorum, quàm non superessent, qui colerent. Si arx Capitoliumque, sedes Deorum, si senatus, caput publici consilii, si militaris juvenus super fuerit imminenti ruinae urbis, facilem jacturam esse seniorum, relictæ in urbe utique peritaræ turbæ.' Et, quo id æquiore animo de plebe multitudo ferret, senes triumphales consularesque 'simul se cum illis' palàm dicere 'obituros: nec his corporibus, quibus non arma ferre, non tueri patriam possent, oneratos inopiam armatorum.'

XL. Haec inter seniores morti destinatos jactata solatia. Versæ inde adhortationes ad agmen juvenum, quos in Capitolium atque in arcem prosequabantur, commendantes virtutem eorum juventæque, urbis per trecentos sexaginta annos² omnibus bellis victricis, quaecunque reliqua esset, fortunam. Digredientibus, qui spem omnem atque opem secum ferebant, ab iis, qui captæ urbis non superesse statuerant exitio; quam ipsa res speciesque miserabilis erat, tum muliebris fletus et concursatio incerta, nunc hos nunc illos sequentium, rogitantiumque viros natosque, 'cui se fato darent,' nihil, quod humanis superesset malis, relinquebant. Magna pars tamen earum in arcem suos prosecutæ sunt, nec prohibente ullo, nec vocante; quia, quod utile obsessis ad minuendam imbellem multitudinem, id parum humanum erat. Alia maximè plebis turba, quam nec capere tam exiguus collis, nec alere in tantâ inopiâ frumenti poterat, ex urbe effusa velut agmine jam uno petiit Janiculum³. Inde pars per agros dilapsi, pars urbes petunt finitimas, sine ullo duce aut consensu, suam quisque spem, sua consilia, communibus deploratis⁴, exsequentes.

¹ We learn from the next Chapter that this was the Flamen Quirinalis. ² The custom of neglecting odd numbers in impassioned passages, renders it unnecessary to discuss the difference between this and the true date. ³ This hill lay in a direction different from that by which the Gauls were approaching, and on the road to Caere.

⁴ *Deploratis*, having been lamented, as for ever lost, a term derived from lamentations at funerals.

Flamen interim Quirinalis virginesque Vestales, omissâ rerum suarum curâ, ' quae sacrorum secum ferenda, quae' (quia vires ad omnia ferenda deerant) ' relinquenda essent,' consultant, ' quisve ea locus fideli asservaturus custodiâ esset; ' optimum ducunt, condita in doliolis sacello proximo aedibus flaminis Quirinalis, ubi nunc despui religio est, defodere: cetera, inter se onere partito, ferunt viâ quae sublicio ponte¹ ducit ad Janiculum. In eo clivo eas quum L. Albinus, de plebe Romanâ homo, conspexisset, plastro conjugem ac liberos vehens inter ceteram turbam, quae inutilis bello urbe excedebat; salvo etiam tum discrimine divinarum humanarumque rerum, irreligiosum ratus, ' sacerdotes publicos sacraque populi Romani pedibus ire, ferrique²; se ac suos in ' vehiculo conspici; ' descendere uxorem ac pueros jussit, virgines sacraque in plastrum imposuit: et Caere, quod iter sacerdotibus erat, pervexit.

XLI. Romae interim, satis jam omnibus, ut in tali re, ad tuendam arcem compositis, turba seniorum, domos regressa, adventum hostium obstinato ad mortem animo exspectabat. Qui eorum curules gesserant magistratus, ut in fortunae pristinæ honorumque aut virtutis insignibus morerentur, quae angustissima vestis est tensas³ ducentibus triumphantibusve, eâ vestiti medio aedium eburneis sellis sedere. Sunt qui, ' M. Fabio pontifice maximo praefante carmen⁴, devovisse⁵ ' eos se pro patriâ Quiritibusque Romanis, tradant. Galli, et quia interpositâ nocte a contentione pugnae remiseraut animos, et quod nec in acie ancipiti usquam certaverant proelio, nec tum impetu aut vi capiebant urbem, sine irâ, sine ardore animorum ingressi postero die urbem patente Collinâ portâ, in forum perveniunt, circumferentes oculos ad templa Deum arcemque, solam belli speciem tenentem. Inde, modico relicto praesidio, (ne quis in dissipatos ex arce aut Capitolio impetus fieret,) dilapsi ad praedam vacuis oc-

¹ See I. 33. ² *Pedibus ire*, referring to *sacerdotes*; *ferri* to *sacra*. ³ *Tensae*, chariots in which the gods were drawn by the leading men, in solemn processions. ⁴ The same as *praeunte*. See p. 249, note 2. *Carmen*, see p. 27, note 3. ⁵ A custom not unusual amongst the Romans, for generals and leading men to devote themselves to death, Diis Manibus et Telluri, in cases of extreme danger. From this being done in favour of the emperors, comes our expression, *devoted to his service*.

cursu hominum viis, pars in proxima quaeque tectorum agmine ruunt; pars ultima, velut ea demum intacta et referta praedâ, petunt. Inde rursus ipsâ solitudine absteriti, ne qua fraus hostilis vagos exciperet, in forum ac propinqua foro loca conglobati redibant: ubi eos, plebis aedificiis obse-
ratis, patentibus atriis principum, major propè cunctatio tenebat aperta, quàm clausa, invadendi. Adeò haud secus quàm venerabundi intuebantur in aedium vestibulis¹ sedentes viros, praeter ornatum habitumque humano augustiorem, majestate etiam, quam vultus gravitasque oris prae se ferebat, simillimos Diis. Ad eos velut simulacra versi quum starent, M. Papirius unus ex his dicitur Gallo, barbam suam, ut tum omnibus promissa erat, permulcenti, scipione eburneo in caput incusso iram movisse; 'atque ab eo initium caedis ortum, ceteros in sedibus suis trucidatos. Post principum caedem
'nulli deinde mortalium parci, diripi tecta, exhaustis injici ignes.'

XLII. Ceterum, seu non omnibus delendae urbis libido erat, seu ita placuerat principibus Gallorum, 'et ostentari quaedam incendia terroris causâ, si compelli ad deditionem caritate sedium suarum obsessi possent; et non omnia concremari tecta, ut, quodcunque superesset urbis, id pignus ad flectendos hostium animos haberent;' nequaquam perinde atque in captâ urbe primâ die aut passim aut latè vagatus est ignis. Romani, ex arce plenam hostium urbem cernentes, vagosque per vias omnes cursus, quum aliâ atque aliâ parte nova aliqua clades oriretur, non mentibus solùm concipere², sed ne auribus quidem atque oculis satis constare poterant. Quocunque clamor hostium, mulierum puerorumque ploratus, sonitus flammae, et fragor ruentium tectorum avertisset³, paventes ad omnia, animos oraque et oculos flectebant, velut ad spectaculum a fortunâ positi occidentis patriae, nec ullius rerum suarum relictis, praeterquam corporum, vindices. Tanto ante alios miserandi magis, qui unquam obsessi sunt, quòd

¹ This must mean that the Gauls were in vestibulis, or Livy has forgotten that he stated the senators to be medio aedium.

² The old reading is concipere; a suggested reading, which has been extensively adopted, consipere. The former is the most expressive of strong mental alienation, indicating the loss of the power even of receiving impressions from without, and is therefore preferable.

³ Avertisset. We should undoubtedly read advertisset.

interclusi a patriâ obsidebantur, omnia sua cernentes in hostium potestate. Nec tranquillior nox diem tam foedè actum excepit: lux deinde noctem inquietam¹ insecuta est. Nec ullum erat tempus, quod a novae semper cladis alicujus spectaculo cessaret. Nihil tamen, tot onerati atque obruti malis, flexerunt animos, quin, etsi omnia flammis ac ruinis aequata vidissent, quamvis inopem parvumque, quem tenebant, collem, libertati relictum, virtute defenderent; et jam, quum eadem quotidie acciderent, velut assueti malis, abalienaverant ab sensu rerum suarum animos; arma tantum ferrumque in dextris, velut solas reliquias spei suae, intuentes.

XLIII. Galli quòque, per aliquot dies in tecta modò urbis nequicquam bello gesto, quum inter incendia ac ruinas captae urbis nihil superesse, praeter armatos hostes, viderent, nec quicquam tot cladibus territos, nec flexuros ad deditionem animos, ni vis adhiberetur; experiri ultima, et impetum facere in arcem statuunt. Primâ luce, signo dato, multitudo omnis in foro instruitur. Inde, clamore sublato ac testudine factâ, subeunt. Adversus quos Romani nihil temere nec trepidè, ad omnes aditus stationibus firmatis, quâ signa ferri videbant, eâ robore virorum opposito scandere hostem sinunt: 'quo successerit magis in arduum, eo pelli posse per proclive 'faciliùs' rati. Medio fere clivo restitere: atque inde ex loco superiore, qui prope suâ sponte in hostem inferebat, impetu facto, strage ac ruinâ fudere Gallos: ut nunquam postea nec pars, nec universi tentaverint tale pugnae genus. Omissâ itaque spe per vim atque arma subeundi, obsidionem parant: cujus ad id tempus immemores, et, quod in urbe fuerat, frumentum incendiis urbis absumpserant, et ex agris per ipso dies raptum omne Vejos erat. Igitur, exercitu diviso, 'partim per finitimos populos praedari' placuit, 'partim obsideri 'arcem; ut obsidentibus frumentum populatores agrorum 'praeberent.' Proficiscentes Gallos ab urbe ad Romanam experiendam virtutem fortuna ipsa Ardeam, ubi Camillus exulabat, duxit; qui moestior ibi fortunâ publicâ, quàm suâ, quum Diis hominibusque accusandis senesceret, indignando mirandoque 'ubi illi viri essent, qui secum Vejos Falerios- 'que cepissent, qui alia bella fortiùs semper, quàm feliciùs, 'gessissent;' repentè audit, Gallorum exercitum adventare,

¹ *Inquieta?*

atque de eo pavidos Ardeates consultare. Nec secus quam divino spiritu tactus, quum se in mediam concionem intulisset, abstinere suetus antè talibus conciliis;

XLIV. 'Ardeates,' inquit, 'veteres amici; novi etiam cives mei, quando et vestrum beneficium ita tulit, et fortuna hoc egit mea, nemo vestrum conditionis meae oblitum me huc processisse putet: sed res ac periculum commune cogit, quod quisque possit in re trepidâ praesidii, in medium conferre. Et quando ego vobis pro tantis vestris in me meritis gratiam referam, si nunc cessavero? aut ubi usus erit mei vobis, si in bello non fuerit? Hâc arte in patriâ steti; et, invictus bello, in pace ab ingratis civibus pulsus sum. Vobis autem, Ardeates, fortuna oblata est, et pro tantis pristinis populi Romani beneficiis¹, quanta ipsi meministis, (nec enim exprobranda apud memores sunt²), gratiae referendae, et huic urbi decus ingens belli ex hoste communi pariendi. Quae effuso agmine adventat, gens est, cui natura corpora animosque magna magis, quam firma, dederit. Eo in certamen omne plus terroris, quam virium, ferunt. Argumento sit clades Romana. Patentem cepere urbem; ex arce Capitolioque his exiguâ resistitur manu. Jam obsidionis taedio victi abscedunt, vagique per agros palantur, cibo vinoque raptim hausto repleti. Ubi nox appetit, prope rivos aquarum, sine munimento, sine stationibus ac custodiis, passim ferarum ritu sternuntur, nunc ab secundis rebus magis etiam solito incauti. Si vobis in animo est, tueri moenia vestra, nec pati haec omnia Galliam fieri, primâ vigiliâ capite arma frequentes: me sequimini ad caedem, non ad pugnam. Nisi victos³ somno, velut pecudes, trucidandos tradidero, non recuso eundem Ardeae rerum mearum exitum, quem Romae habui.'

XLV. Aequis iniquisque persuasum erat, tantum bello virum neminem usquam eâ tempestate esse. Concione dimissâ, corpora curant, intenti, quam mox signum daretur. Quo dato, primae silentio noctis ad portas Camillo praesto

¹ See IV. 9, 10, 11.

² So Terence,

Nam isthaec commemoratio,

Quasi exprobratio est immemoris beneficii.

And. I. 1, 16.

³ Others, *victos*. *Vinci* somno, to be overpowered by sleep, with a reference to a man's state before; *vinciri* somno, to be fettered by sleep, referring to his state during sleep.

fuere. Egressi, haud procul urbe, sicut praedictum erat, castra Gallorum, intuta neglectaque ab omni parte nacti, clamore invadunt. Nusquam proelium, omnibus locis caedes est: nuda corpora et soluta somno trucidantur. Extremos tamen pavor cubilibus suis excitos, quae aut unde vis esset, ignaros, in fugam, et quosdam in hostem ipsum improvidos tulit. Magna pars in agrum Antiatem delati, incursione ab oppidanis in palatos factâ, circumveniuntur. Similis in agro Veienti Tuscorum facta strages est: qui urbis, jam prope quadringentesimum annum vicinae, oppressae ab hoste invisitato inauditoque, aded nihil miseriti sunt, ut in agrum Romanum eo tempore incursiones facerent, plenique praedae Vejos etiam, praesidiumque et spem ultimam Romani nominis, in animo habuerint oppugnare. Viderant eos milites Romani, vagantes per agros et congregatos agmine, praedam prae se agentes, et castra cernebant haud procul Vejis posita. Inde primùm miseratio sui, deinde indignitas, atque ex eâ ira animos cepit, 'Etruscine etiam, a quibus bellum Gallicum in se avertissent, ludibrio esse clades suas?' Vix temperavere animis, quin extemplo impetum facerent: compressique a Caedicio centurione, quem sibimet ipsi praefecerant, rem in noctem sustinuerunt¹. Tantùm par Camillo defuit auctor, cetera eodem ordine eodemque fortunae eventu gesta. Quin etiam, ductibus captivis, qui caedi nocturnae superfuerant, ad aliam manum Tuscorum ad Salinas profecti, nocte insequenti ex improviso majorem caedem edidere, duplicique victoriâ ovantes Vejos redeunt.

XLVI. Romae interim plerumque obsidio segnis et utrinque silentium esse, ad id tantùm intentis Gallis, ne quis hostium evadere inter stationes posset: quum repentè juvenis Romanus admiratione in se cives hostesque convertit. Sacrificium erat statum in Quirinali colle genti Fabiae. Ad id faciendum C. Fabius Dorso, Gabino cinctu², sacra manibus gerens, quum de Capitolio descendisset, per medias hostium stationes egressus, nihil ad vocem cujusquam terroremve motus, in Quirinalem collem pervenit. Ibiq̃ue omnibus solen-

¹ See p. 219, note 1. ² The *cinctus Gabinus*, a mode of dress adopted on solemn occasions, is thus described by Dr Adam, from Servius: 'The *toga* was tucked up, and the lappet of it thrown over the left shoulder, and brought round under the right arm to the breast, so that it girded him, and made the *toga* shorter and closer.'

niter peractis, eâdem revertens similiter constanti vultu graduque, satis sperans 'propitios esse Deos, quorum cultum ne 'mortis quidem metu prohibitus deseruisset,' in Capitolium ad suos rediit, seu attonitis Gallis miraculo audaciae, seu religione etiam motis, cujus haudquaquam negligens est gens. Vejis interim non animi tantum in dies, sed etiam vires, crescebant; nec Romanis solum eò convenientibus, ex agris, qui a proelio adverso aut clade captae urbis palati fuerant, sed etiam ex Latio voluntariis confluentibus, ut in parte praedae essent. Maturum jam videbatur, repeti patriam eripique ex hostium manibus: sed corpori valido caput deerat. Locus ipse ¹ admonebat Camilli, et magna pars militum erat, qui ductu auspicioque ejus res prospere gesserant; et Caedicius negare, 'se commissurum, cur sibi aut Deorum aut hominum 'quisquam imperium finiret potius, quàm ipse memor ordinis sui posceret imperatorem ².' Consensu omnium placuit, 'ab Ardeâ Camillum acciri; sed antea consulto senatu, qui 'Romae esset.' Adeò regebat omnia pudor, discriminaque rerum prope perditis rebus servabant. Ingenti periculo trans-eundum per hostium custodias erat. Ad eam rem Pontius Cominius, impiger juvenis, operam pollicitus, incubans cortici, secundo Tiberi ad urbem defertur. Inde, quâ proximum fuit a ripâ, per praeruptum, eoque neglectum hostium custodiae, saxum in Capitolium evadit: et, ad magistratus ductus, mandata exercitûs edit. Accepto inde senatûs decreto, 'ut et, 'comitiis curiatis, revocatus de exsilio, jussu populi Camillus 'dictator extemplo diceretur, militesque haberent imperatorem, quem vellent,' eâdem degressus nuncius Vejos contendit: missique Ardeam legati ad Camillum, Vejos eum perduxere: seu, (quod magis credere libet, non prius profectum ab Ardeâ, quàm comperit legem latam,) 'quòd nec injussu 'populi mutari finibus posset, nec, nisi dictator dictus, auspicia in exercitu habere,' lex curiata lata est, dictatorque absens dictus ⁴.

¹ Veii, where he had been so signally successful. ² *Et Caedicius, &c.* And Caedicius asserted that he should not run the risk of any divine or human power terminating his command, in preference to himself remembering his subordinate rank, and demanding the presence of his lawful commander. ³ The meaning of this passage is considered as doubtful, and several commentators have despaired of eliciting from it any distinct interpretation. This, however, appears

XLVII. Dum haec Vejis agebantur, interim arx Romae Capitoliumque in ingenti periculo fuit. Namque Galli, seu vestigio notato humano, quâ nuncius a Vejis pervenerat, seu suâ sponte animadverso ad Carmentis saxorum¹ ascensu aequo, nocte sublustri, quum primò inermem, qui tentaret viam, praemisissent, tradentes inde arma, ubi quid iniqui esset, alterni innisi, sublevantesque in vicem et trahentes alii alios, prout postulare locus; tanto silentio in summum evasere, ut non custodes solùm fallerent, sed ne canes quidem, sollicitum animal ad nocturnos strepitus, excitarent. Anseres non fefellere², quibus sacris Junoni in summâ inopiâ cibi tamen abstinebatur. Quae res salutis fuit. Namque clangore eorum alarumque crepitu excitus M. Manlius, qui triennio antè consul fuerat, vir bello egregius, armis arreptis, simul ad arma ceteros ciens, vadit; et, dum ceteri trepidant, Gallum, qui jam in summo constiterat, umbone ictum deturbat: cujus casus prolapsi quum proximos sterneret, trepidantes alios, armisque omissis saxa, quibus adhaerebant, manibus amplexos, trucidat. Jamque et alii congregati telis missilibusque saxis proturbare hostes, ruinâque tota prolapsa acies in praeceps deferri. Sedato deinde tumultu, reliquum noctis (quantum in turbatis mentibus poterat, quum praeteritum quòque periculum sollicitaret) quieti datum est. Luce ortâ, vocatis classico ad concilium militibus ad tribunos, quum et rectè et perperam facto pretium deberetur; Manlius primùm ob virtutem laudatus donatusque, non ab tribunis solùm militum, sed consensu etiam militari: cui universi selibras farris et quartarios vini ad aedes ejus, quae in arce erant, contulerunt. Rem dictu parvam, ceterùm inopia fecerat eam argumentum ingens

to be the force of the words: There are two opinions as to the mode taken for the return of Camillus. One is, that he was recalled after a decree of the senate had enabled the people at *Veii* to hold the comitia curiata, and invest him with an irregular dictatorial power. The other, and the more probable, that he was nominated at *Rome*, and that the messenger was invested with power to tell him in the usual formula, *dictatorem absentem dictum*. The Comitia Curiata alone bestowed military power; hence C. 52, *Comitia Curiata, quae rem militarem continent*. *Mutari*, see p. 325, note 4. ¹ *Saxum* is the old reading; *saxorum*, a conjecture of Gronovius. *Saxo* is found in some MSS. *Aequo* must, in any case, be understood as having a comparative reference to the difficulties of other parts of the ascent. ² *Non fefellere*, they did not escape the notice of. See p. 91, note 5.

caritatis, quum, se quisque victu suo fraudans, detractum corpori atque usibus necessariis ad honorem unius viri conferret. Tum vigiles ejus loci, quâ fefellerat ascendens hostis, citati : et quum ' in omnes more militari se animadversurum' Q. Sulpicius tribunus militum pronuntiâset ; consentiente clamore militum, in unum vigilem conjicientium culpam, deterritus, a ceteris abstinuit : reum haud dubium ejus noxae, approbantibus cunctis, de saxo dejecit¹. Inde intentiores utrinque custodiae esse ; et apud Gallos, quia vulgatum erat, ' inter Vejos ' Romamque nuncios commeare ;' et apud Romanos, ab nocturni periculi memoriâ. .

XLVIII. Sed ante omnia obsidionis bellicae mala fames utrinque exercitum urgebat : Gallos pestilentia etiam, quum loco jacente inter tumulos castra habentes, tum ab incendiis torrido et vaporis pleno, cineremque, non pulverem modò, ferente, quum quid venti motum esset. Quorum intolerantissima gens, humorique ac frigori assueta, quum aestu et angore vexata, vulgatis velut in pecua morbis, moreretur ; jam pigritiâ singulos sepeliendi promiscuè acervatos cumulos hominum urebant : bustorumque inde Gallicorum nomine insignem locum fecere. Induciae deinde cum Romanis factae, et colloquia permissu imperatorum habita : in quibus quum identidem Galli famem objicerent, eâque necessitate ad deditionem vocarent, dicitur avertendae ejus opinionis causâ multis locis panis de Capitolio jactatus esse in hostium stationes. Sed jam neque dissimulari, neque ferri ultrâ fames poterat. Itaque, dum dictator delectum per se Ardeae habet, magistrum equitum L. Valerium a Vejis abducere exercitum jubet, parat, instruitque, quibus haud impar adoriatur hostes : interim Capitolinus exercitus, stationibus vigiliisque fessus, superatis tamen humanis omnibus malis, quum famem unam natura vinci non sineret, diem de die prospectans, ecquod auxilium ab dictatore appareret ; postremò spe quòque jam, non solùm cibo,

¹ ' The Romans extended their rewards and punishments even to the geese and dogs : the former were ever after held in honour at Rome, and a flock of them was always kept at the public expense. A golden image of a goose was set up in memory of their service ; and a goose was every year carried on a soft litter finely adorned ; while those dumb guards, the dogs, were held in abhorrence by the Romans, who every year impaled one of them alive on a branch of elder.' Notes to Hooke.

deficiente, et, quum stationes procederent¹, prope obruentibus infirmum corpus armis, 'vel dedi, vel redimi se, quâcun-
'que pactione possent,' jussit²; jactantibus non obscurè Gallis, 'haud magnâ mercede se adduci posse, ut obsidionem re-
'linquant.' Tum senatus habitus, tribunisque militum negotium datum, ut paciscerentur. Inde inter Q. Sulpicium tribunum militum et Brennum regulum Gallorum colloquio transacta res est, et mille pondo auri pretium populi gentibus mox imperaturi factum. Rei, foedissimae per se, adjecta indignitas est. Pondera ab Gallis allata iniqua, et, tribuno recusante, additus ab insolente Gallo ponderi gladius: auditaque intoleranda Romanis vox, 'Vae victis esse.'

XLIX. Sed Diique et homines prohibuere redemptos vivere Romanos. Nam forte quâdam, prius quàm infanda merces perficeretur, per altercationem nondum omni auro appenso, dictator intervenit; 'auferrique aurum de medio, et Gallos submoveri' jubet. Quum illi renitentes 'pactos' dicerent 'sese,' negat 'eam pactionem ratam esse, quae, postquam ipse dictator creatus esset, injussu suo ab inferioris juris magistratu facta esset:' denunciatque Gallis, 'ut se ad proelium expediant.' 'Suos in acervum conjicere sarcinas, et arma aptare, ferroque, non auro, recuperare patriam' jubet, 'in conspectu habentes fana Deûm, et conjuges, et liberos, et solum patriae deformae belli malis, et omnia, quae defendi repetique et ulcisci fas sit.' Instruit deinde aciem, ut loci natura patiebatur, in semirutae solo urbis, et naturâ inaequali; et omnia, quae arte belli secunda suis eligi praeparare poterant, providit. Galli, novâ re trepidi, arma capiunt, irâque magis, quàm consilio, in Romanos incurrunt. Jam verterat fortuna, jam Deorum opes humanaque consilia rem Romanam adjuvabant. Igitur primo concursu haud majore momento fusi Galli sunt, quàm ad Alliam vicerant. Justiore altero deinde proelio³ ad octavum lapidem Gabinâ viâ,

¹ *Quum stationes procederent*, when the guards were still kept up, according to Gronovius, or when the guards went to their assigned posts; or when the guards walked feebly and slowly along, according to Bauer. Sigonius conjectures *in stationes*.

² In this intricate sentence, the leading clause is *Capitolinus exercitus—jussit*.
³ The ancient writers of Roman history are not agreed as to the cause which saved Rome from the Gauls. The account given by Polybius is very different from that of Livy. He attributes their return to domestic causes, and expressly says that the Romans agreed to all their de-

quò se ex fugâ contulerant, ejusdem ductu auspicioque Camilli vincuntur. Ibi caedes omnia obtinuit. Castra capiuntur, et ne nuncius quidem cladis relictus. Dictator, recuperatâ ex hostibus patriâ¹, triumphans in urbem redit: interque jocos militares, quos inconditos jaciunt, *Romulus ac parens patriae conditorque alter urbis* haud vanis laudibus appellatur. Servatam deinde bello patriam iterum in pace haud dubiè servavit, quum prohibuit migrari Vejos, et tribunis rem intentiùs agentibus post incensam urbem, et per se inclinatâ magis plebe ad id consilium. Eaque causa fuit non abdicae post triumphum dictaturae, senatu obsecrante, 'ne rempublicam in incerto relinqueret statu.'

L. Omnium primùm, ut erat diligentissimus religionum cultor, quae ad Deos immortales pertinebant, retulit; et senatûs consultum facit, 'Fana omnia, quòd ea hostis possederat, restituerentur, terminarentur², expiarenturque, expiatioque eorum in libris per duumviros quaereretur; cum Caeribus hospitium publicè fieret³, quòd sacra populi Romani ac sacerdotes recepissent, beneficioque ejus populi non intermissus honos Deûm immortalium esset: ludi Capitolini fierent, quòd Jupiter optimus maximus suam sedem atque arcem populi Romani in re trepidâ tutatus esset: collegiumque ad eam rem M. Furius dictator constitueret ex iis, qui

mands. It may be observed, that, in all cases, Livy represents the Romans in as favourable a light as possible, shielding them with a most jealous eye from all dishonour. This, and the account of the departure of Porsenna, given in the second book, are striking instances.

¹ 'Whatever may have been the true account of this famous adventure, the Romans have given it a place in their history, retained a deep impression of their danger from the Gauls, and from thence dated the origin of some particulars in their policy, which seem to have arisen from such an impression. They set apart particular funds in the treasury, to be spared in all other possible exigencies of the state, and reserved for a resource in the case of a Gaulish invasion. They subjected the magistrate to certain general restrictions, but allowed an exception in case of an invasion from the Gauls; and it is likely, that in the age in which they took these alarming impressions, they had not yet acquired those advantages of discipline and military skill, in which they were afterwards so much superior to the Gauls, and other barbarous neighbours.' Dr FERGUSON.

² *Terminarentur*, their boundaries fixed. ³ The Caeretes received all the rights of Roman citizens, except that of voting: hence, in *tabulas Caereturum referri*, to be deprived of the right of voting.

‘ in Capitolio atque arce habitarent.’ Expiandae etiam vocis nocturnae, ‘ quae nuncia cladis ante bellum Gallicum audita ‘ neglectaque esset,’ mentio illata, jussumque templum in Novâ viâ Ajo Locutio¹ fieri. Aurum, quod Gallis ereptum erat, quodque ex aliis templis inter trepidationem in Jovis cellam collatum, quum, in quae referri oporteret, confusa memoria esset, sacrum omne judicatum, et sub Jovis sellâ poni juseum. Jam antè in eo religio civitatis apparuerat, quòd, quum in publico deesset aurum, ex quo summa pactae mercedis Gallis confieret, a matronis collatum acceperant, ut sacro auro abstineretur. Matronis gratiae actae, honosque additus, ut earum, sicut virorum, post mortem solennis laudatio esset. Iis peractis, quae ad Deos pertinebant, quaeque per senatum agi poterant; tum demum, agitantibus tribunis plebem assiduis concionibus, ut, relictis ruinis, in urbem paratam Vejos transmigrarent, in concionem, universo senatu prosequente, escendit, atque ita verba fecit:

LI. ‘ Adeò mihi acerbae sunt, Quirites, contentiones cum ‘ tribunis plebis, ut nec tristissimi exsili solatium aliud habuerim, quoad Ardeae vixi, quàm quòd procul ab his certaminibus eram: et ob eadem haec, non, si me senatûs consulto populi que jussu revocaretis, rediturus unquam fuerim. Nec nunc me, ut redirem, mea voluntas mutata, sed vestra fortuna perpulit. Quippe, ut in suâ sede maneret patria, id agebatur; non ut ego utique in patriâ essem. Et nunc quiescerem ac tacerem libenter, nisi haec quòque pro patriâ dimicatio esset; cui deesse, quoad vita suppetat, aliis turpe, Camillo etiam nefas est. Quid enim repetiimus²? quid obsessam ex hostium manibus eripuimus, si recuperatam ipsi deserimus? et quum, victoribus Gallis, captâ totâ urbe, Capitolium tamen atque arcem Diique et homines Romani tenuerint, habitaverint; victoribus Romanis, recuperatâ urbe, arx quòque et Capitolium deseretur? et plus vastitatis huic urbi secunda nostra fortuna faciet, quàm adversa fecit? Equidem, si nobis cum urbe simul positae traditaeque per manus religiones nullae essent, tamen tam evidens numen hâc tempestate rebus adfuit Romanis, ut omnem negligentiam divini cultûs exemptam hominibus putem. Intuemini enim horum deinceps annorum vel secundas res, vel adver-

¹ Aio, loquor.

² Propter quid enim repetiimus patriam.

‘sas: inveniētis omnia prospere evenisse sequentibus Deos,
 ‘adversa spernentibus. Jam omnium primum Vejens bellum
 ‘(per quot annos, quanto labore gestum!) non antè cepit
 ‘finem, quàm monitu Deorum aqua ex lacu Albano emissa
 ‘est. Quid haec tandem urbis nostrae clades nova? num
 ‘antè exorta est, quàm spreta vox coelo emissa de adventu
 ‘Gallorum? quàm gentium jus ab legatis nostris violatum?
 ‘quàm a nobis, quum vindicari deberet, eâdem negligentia
 ‘Deorum praetermissum? Igitur victi captique ac redempti
 ‘tantum poenarum Diis hominibusque dedimus, ut terrarum
 ‘orbi documento¹ essemus. Adversae deinde res admonue-
 ‘runt religionum. Confugimus in Capitolium ad Deos, ad
 ‘sedem Jovis optimi maximi: sacra in ruinâ rerum nostrarum
 ‘alia terrae celavimus², alia, avecta in finitimas urbes, amo-
 ‘vimus ab hostium oculis. Deorum cultum, deserti ab Diis
 ‘hominibusque, tamen non intermisimus. Reddidere igitur
 ‘patriam, et victoriam, et antiquum belli decus amissum: et
 ‘in hostes, qui caeci avaritiâ in pondere auri foedus ac fidem
 ‘fefellerunt, verterunt terrorem fugamque et caedem.

LII. ‘Haec culti neglectique numinis tanta monumenta³
 ‘in rebus humanis cernentes, ecquid sentitis, Quirites, quan-
 ‘tum vixdum e naufragiis prioris culpae cladisque emergen-
 ‘tes paremus nefas? Urbem auspicatò inauguratòque condi-
 ‘tam habemus: nullus locus in eâ non religionum Deorum-
 ‘que est plenus: sacrificiis solennibus non dies magis stati,
 ‘quàm loca sunt, in quibus fiant. Hos omnes Deos, publi-
 ‘cos privatosque, Quirites, deserturi estis? Quàm par ves-
 ‘trum factum est⁴, quod in obsidione nuper in egregio ado-
 ‘lescente C. Fabio, non minore hostium admiratione, quàm
 ‘vestrâ, conspectum est; quum inter Gallica tela degressus
 ‘ex arce solenne Fabiae gentis in colle Quirinali obiit? An
 ‘gentilitia sacra ne in bello quidem intermitteri, publica sacra
 ‘et Romanos Deos etiam in pace deserui placet? et pontifices
 ‘flaminesque negligentiores publicarum religionum esse, quàm
 ‘privatus in solenni gentis fuerit? Forsitan aliquis dicat, ‘aut
 ‘Vejis ea nos facturos, aut huc inde missuros sacerdotes nos-
 ‘tros, qui faciant:’ quorum neutrum fieri salvis ceremoniis
 ‘potest. Et ne omnia generatim sacra omnesque percenseam

¹ See p. 33, note 1.

² *Terrae celare*, an unusual construction.

³ In the same way as *documentum*, so *monumentum*, any thing which warns.

⁴ Supply *ei*. The sentence is ironical.

' Deos ; in Jovis epulo num alibi, quàm in Capitolio, pulvinar
 ' suscipi potest ? Quid de aeternis Vestae ignibus signoque,
 ' quod imperii pignus custodiâ ejus templi tenetur, loquar ?
 ' quid de ancilibus vestris, Mars Gradive, tuque Quirine pa-
 ' ter¹ ? haec omnia in profano deseri placet sacra, aequalia
 ' urbi, quaedam vetustiora origine urbis ? Et videte, quid in-
 ' ter nos ac majores intersit. Illi sacra quaedam in monte
 ' Albano Lavinioque² nobis facienda tradiderunt. An ex
 ' hostium urbibus Romam ad nos transferri sacra religiosum
 ' fuit : hinc sine piaculo³ in hostium urbem Vejos transfere-
 ' mus ? Recordamini, agitedum, quoties sacra instaurentur,
 ' quia aliquid ex patrio ritu negligentia casuve praetermissum
 ' est. Modò quae res, post prodigium Albani lacûs, nisi in-
 ' stauratio sacrorum auspiciorumque renovatio, affectae Ve-
 ' jenti bello reipublicae remedio fuit ? At etiam, tanquam ve-
 ' terum religionum memores, et peregrinos Deos transtulimus
 ' Romam, et instituimus novos. Juno Regina, transvecta a
 ' Vejis, nuper in Aventino quàm insigni ob excellens matro-
 ' narum studium celebrique dedicata est die ? Ajo Locutio
 ' templum, propter coelestem vocem exauditam in Novâ viâ,
 ' jussimus fieri : Capitolinos ludos solennibus aliis addidimus :
 ' collegiumque ad id novum, auctore senatu, condidimus.
 ' Quid horum opus fuit suscipi, si unâ cum Gallis urbem Ro-
 ' manam relicturi fuimus ? si non voluntate mansimus in Ca-
 ' pitolio per tot menses obsidionis ? si ab hostibus metu re-
 ' tenti sumus ? De sacris loquimur et de templis : quid tan-
 ' dem de sacerdotibus ? Nonne in mentem venit, quantum
 ' piaculi committatur ? Vestalibus nempe una illa sedes est,
 ' ex quâ eas nihil unquam, praeterquam urbs capta, movit.
 ' Flamini Diali noctem unam manere extra urbem nefas est.
 ' Hos Vejentes pro Romanis facturi estis sacerdotes, et Ves-
 ' tales tuae te deserent, Vesta ? et flamen peregrè habitando
 ' in singulas noctes tantum sibi rei publicae piaculi con-

¹ Either because Romulus was the reputed son of Mars, or because the city which the shields protected was founded by him, or because, in Livy's opinion, Romulus and not Numa had instituted the ceremonies connected with them, Romulus is mentioned with Mars as having an interest in the *ancilia*. See I. 20. ² Gronovius conjectures *Lavinioque*, to get rid of the unusual in *Lavinio*. ³ Here, and in a sentence below, *piaculum* signifies the commission of a deed requiring expiation.

‘trahet? Quid alia, quae auspicatò agimus omnia fere intra
 ‘pomoerium, cui oblivioni, aut cui negligentiae damus? Co-
 ‘mitia curiata, quae rem militarem continent; comitia cen-
 ‘turiata, quibus consules tribunosque militares creatis, ubi
 ‘auspicatò, nisi ubi adsolent, fieri possunt¹? Vejosne haec
 ‘transferemus? an comitiorum causâ populus tanto incom-
 ‘modo in desertam hanc ab Diis hominibusque urbem con-
 ‘veniet?’

LIII. ‘Sed² res ipsa cogit vastam incendiis ruinisque re-
 ‘linquere urbem, et ad integra omnia Vejos migrare, nec hic
 ‘aedificando inopem plebem vexare. Hanc autem jactari
 ‘magis causam, quàm veram esse, ut ego non dicam, appa-
 ‘rere vobis, Quirites, puto; qui meministis, ante Gallorum
 ‘adventum, salvis tectis publicis privatisque, stante incolumi
 ‘urbe, hanc eandem rem actam esse, ut Vejos transmigrare-
 ‘mus³. Et videte, quantum inter meam sententiam vestram-
 ‘que intersit, tribuni. Vos, etiamsi tunc faciendum non
 ‘fuerit, nunc utique faciendum putatis; ego contrà, (nec id
 ‘mirati sitis priùs, quàm, quale sit, audieritis,) etiamsi tunc
 ‘migrandum fuisset, incolumi totâ urbe, nunc has ruinas re-
 ‘linquendas non censerem. Quippe tum causa nobis in ur-
 ‘bem captam migrandi victoria esset, gloriosa nobis ac pos-
 ‘teris nostris; nunc haec migratio nobis misera ac turpis,
 ‘Gallis gloriosa est. Non enim reliquisse victores, sed ami-
 ‘sisse victi, patriam videbimur; hoc ad Alliam fuga, hoc
 ‘capta urbs, hoc circumsessum Capitolium necessitatis im-
 ‘posuisse, ut desereremus penates nostros, exsiliumque ac fu-
 ‘gam nobis ex eo loco conscisceremus, quem tueri non pos-
 ‘semus. Et Galli evertere potuerunt Romam, quam Romani
 ‘restituere non videbuntur potuisse? Quid restat, nisi ut, si
 ‘jam novis copiis veniant, (constat enim vix credibilem mul-
 ‘titudinem esse,) et habitare in captâ ab se, desertâ a vobis,
 ‘hâc urbe velint, sinatis? Quid? si non Galli hoc, sed ve-
 ‘teres hostes vestri, Aequi Volscive, faciant, ut commigrent
 ‘Romam, velitisne illos Romanos, vos Vejentes esse? an⁴

¹ Livy has been censured for putting this argument in the mouth of Camillus, who was himself vested with military power, bestowed by the Comitia Curiata held at Veii. But we have already seen that Livy leans to the opinion, that these Comitia were held at Rome. See p. 341, note 4.

² Sed ushers in an objection to be answered.

³ See C. 24. ⁴ There are two readings of this passage, the one

‘ malitis hanc solitudinem vestram, quàm urbem hostium, esse? non equidem video, quid magis nefas sit. Haec scelerata, quia piget aedificare, haec dedecora pati parati estis? Si totâ urbe nullum melius ampliusve tectum fieri possit, quàm casa illa conditoris est nostri, non in casis, ritu pastorum agrestiumque, habitare est satius inter sacra penatesque vestros, quàm exsulatum publicè ire? Majores nostri, convenae pastoresque, quum in his locis nihil, praeter silvas paludesque, esset, novam urbem tam brevi aedificârunt: nos, Capitolio, arce incolumi, stantibus templis Deorum, aedificare incensa piget? et, quod singuli facturi fuimus, si aedes nostrae deflagrâssent, hoc in publico incendio universi recusamus facere?’

LIV. ‘ Quid tandem? si fraude, si casu Vejis incendium ortum sit, ventoque (ut fieri potest) diffusa flamma magnam partem urbis abumat; Fidenas inde, aut Gabios, aliamve quam urbem quaesituri sumus, quò transmigremus? Adeò nihil tenet solum patriae, nec haec terra, quàm matrem appellamus, sed in superficie¹ tignisque caritas nobis patriae pendet? Equidem, fatebor vobis, etsi minùs injuriae vestrae, quàm meae calamitatis, meminisse juvat², quum abessem, quotiescunque patria in mentem veniret, haec omnia occurrebant, colles, campique, et Tiberis, et assueta oculis regio, et hoc coelum, sub quo natus educatusque essem. Quae vos, Quirites, nunc moveant potiùs caritate suâ, ut maneatis in sede vestrà, quàm postea, quum reliqueritis ea, macerent desiderio. Non sine causâ Dii hominesque hunc urbi condendae locum elegerunt, saluberrimos colles, flumen opportunum, quo ex mediterraneis locis fruges devehantur, quo maritimi commeatus accipiantur; mare³ vicinum ad commoditates, nec expositum nimiam propinquitatem ad peri-

adopted, supported by Gronovius, with this sense: The Romans, in removing to Veii, must either have wished Rome to be peopled by enemies, or preferred it to be a desert; either alternative, according to Camillus, being disgraceful. The other reading, supported by the MSS. and Bauer, is *non malitis*, Would you not prefer inhabiting this spot, ruined as it is, to residing in an enemy's city? Bauer is ingenious, but Gronovius seems sound. ¹ *Superficies*, the surface of the *solum*,—the buildings. ² *Etsi*, &c. Although I delight to dwell in my memory less on the wrong you did me, than my own affliction. ³ *Mari* is a happy conjecture of Bauer's, making all the adjectives refer to *locum*.

' cula classium externarum : regionum Italiae medium, ad incrementum urbis natum unicè locum. Argumento est ipsa magnitudo tam novae urbis. Trecentessimus sexagesimus quintus annus urbis, Quirites, agitur : inter tot veterrimos populos tamdiu bella geritis ; quum interea, ne singulas loquar urbes, non conjuncti cum Aequis Volsci, tot tam valida oppida, non universa Etruria, tantum terrâ marique polens, atque inter duo maria latitudinem obtinens Italiae, bello vobis par est. Quod quum ita sit, quae (malum ¹) ratio est, expertis alia experiri ², quum jam, ut virtus vestra transire aliò possit, fortuna certè loci hujus transferri non possit ? Hic Capitolium est, ubi quondam capite humano invento ³ responsum est, ' eo loco caput rerum summamque imperii fore.' Hic, quum auguratò liberaretur Capitolium, Juventas Terminusque ⁴ maximo gaudio patrum nostrorum moveri se non passi. Hic Vestae ignes, hic ancilia coelo demissa, hic omnes propitii manentibus vobis Dii.'

LV. Movisse eos Camillus quum aliâ oratigine, tum eâ, quae, ad religiones pertinebat, maximè dicitur. Sed rem dubiam decrevit vox opportuna emissa ; quòd quum senatus pòst paullo de his rebus in curiâ Hostiliâ ⁵ haberetur, cohortesque, ex praesidiis revertentes, fortè agmine forum transirent, centurio in comitio exclamavit : ' Signifer, statue signum : hic manebimus optimè.' Quâ voce auditâ, et senatus, ' accipere se omen,' ex curiâ egressus, conclamavit, et plebs circumfusa approbavit. Antiquatâ ⁶ deinde lege, promiscue urbs aedificari coepta. Tegula publicè praebita est : saxi materiaeque caedendae ⁷, unde quisque vellet, jus factum ; praedibus acceptis, eo anno aedificia perfecturos. Festinatio curam exemit vicos dirigendi, dum, omisso sui alienique discrimine, in vacuo aedificant. Ea est causa, ut veteres cloacae, primò per publicum ductae, nunc privata passim subeant tecta ; formaque urbis sit occupatae magis, quàm divisae, similis.

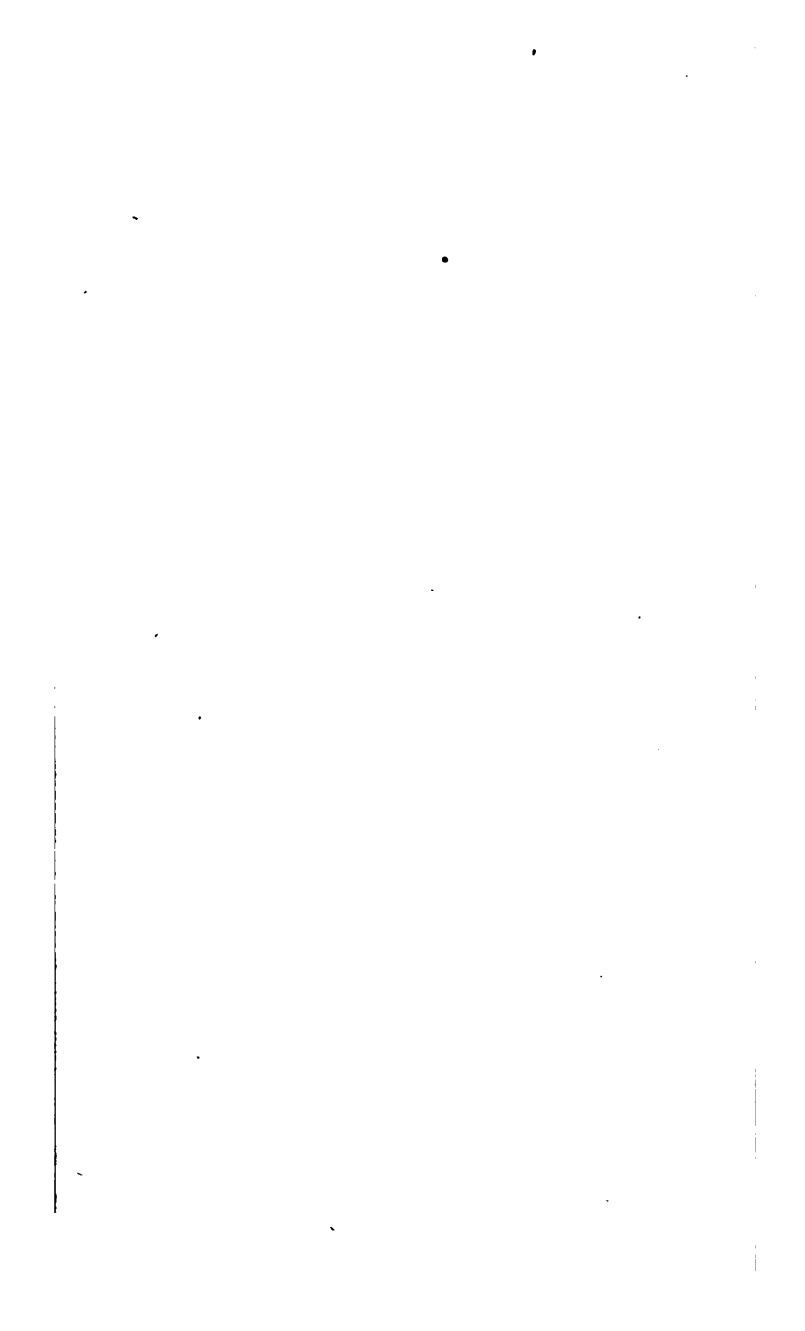
¹ A term indicative of indignation. ² Either *experiri alia expertis*, to try things different from, or rather *expertis experiri alia*, for those who have already tried to try. ³ See I. 55. ⁴ See p. 62, note 5. ⁵ See I. 30. ⁶ See p. 288, note 1. ⁷ It is perhaps

in allusion to the state of Rome at this time, that Horace speaks,

Nec fortuitum spernere cespitem

Leges sinebant.

Car. ii. 15. 17.



**HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL
INDEX.**

To Mrs. Garrison

Containing the 1st. of the Atlantic
Estimate of the 1st. of the Atlantic
2nd.

HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL INDEX.

The Roman numbers refer to the Books of Livy's History, the Arabic to the Chapters.

ABO

- Aborigines, the inhabitants of Latium, when Aeneas settled in that country. The Trojans and they combined, received from Aeneas the common name of Latins. I. 1, 2.
- Achivi, the inhabitants of Achaia, a term applied likewise to the whole Greeks. I. 1.
- Actiacus-a-um, belonging to *Actium*, a promontory of Acarnania, off which Augustus defeated Antony in a naval engagement. I. 19.
- Acutius, M., nominated as a tribune of the people, in contravention of the Trebonian law. V. 10.
- Aebutius, L., consul, u. c. 291. He died in his consulship of a pestilence then raging. III. 6.
- Aebutius Elva, M., one of the triumviri appointed to settle a colony in Ardea. IV. 11.
- Aebutius Cornicen, Postūmus, consul, u. c. 313. IV. 11.
- Aebutius Elva, Postūmus, master of the horse in the dictatorship of A. Servilius, u. c. 320, when the Fidenates and Veientes made an inroad on the Roman territory. IV. 21.
- Aebutius, T., consul, u. c. 255. In the same year, he was master of the horse in the dictatorship of A. Postumius, and commanded a wing in the battle with the Latins, fought at the lake Regillus, where he wounded the opposite general Octavius Mamilius in the breast, but was himself obliged to retire in consequence of a wound in the right arm. II. 19.
- Aediles, Roman magistrates, whose principal office seems to have been to assist all the other magistrates in the discharge of unimportant duties. They attended to the state of the buildings, celebrated the religious games, inspected the weights and measures, registered the laws, and administered justice in trifling matters. They were of two kinds, *plebeii* and *curules*. The former were at

AED

- first assistants of the tribunes of the commons, were sacrosancti, and elected at the Comitia Curiata. The latter were appointed principally to attend to the public games, and they were both at a later period elected in the Comitia Tributa. III. 6, 55, 57; IV. 30.
- Aelius, P., one of three, who were the first plebeian quaestors, u. c. 346. IV. 54.
- Aemilius, C., tribune of the soldiers with consular power, u. c. 361. He routed the Aequi, but his army, in a panic from a false report of the destruction of his colleague Postumius, fled to Tusculum from Verrugo. When in the same office a second time, u. c. 364, he routed the Volsinienses. V. 26, 28, 32.
- Aemilius, L., consul, u. c. 270. He routed the Volsci and Aequi. Again consul, u. c. 276, he routed the Veientes. He was elected a third time, u. c. 281, in a year distinguished for intestine disturbances, and a successful resistance made to a consular levy. II. 42, 49, 54.
- Aemilius, Mam., military tribune, u. c. 317, when Fidenae revolted to Lars Tolumnius, king of the Veientes. Next year appointed dictator to oppose that people, he routed them in a battle principally remarkable for its having witnessed the second capture of the *spolia opima*. He was again created dictator, u. c. 321, on the rumour of an Etrurian war, but resigned his office without having had occasion to lead forth the Roman troops, having, however, first limited the duration of the censorial power to the period of a year and a half. For this he was degraded by the censors, but was a third time appointed dictator, u. c. 329, when he routed the combined forces of the Fidenates and Veientes, and took Fidenae. IV, 16-20, 23, 24, 31-34.
- Aemilius, M., consul, u. c. 345. IV. 53. Perhaps this may be the same individual with the military tribune, u. c. 364. V. 32.
- Aemilius Mamercinus, M., military tribune, u. c. 350, the first year of the siege of Veii, re-elected two years after, and a third time, u. c. 354, when he commanded along with Q. Fabius in the camp before Veii. IV. 61; V. 1, 10.
- Aemilius, Ti., consul, u. c. 284 and 287. He laid waste the lands of the Sabines in his first consulship, and incurred the animosity of the Patrician party, by his support of the agrarian law. II. 61, 62; III. 1.
- Aeneas, a Trojan prince, son of Anchises and Venus; who, after the destruction of Troy, settled in Latium, and founded Lavinium. He fell in battle with the Etruscans, and was worshipped as the Jupiter Indigetis, or supreme tutelary god of his country. I. 1, 2.
- Aeneas Silvius, the third king of Alba. I. 3.
- Aequi, or Aequicölæ, an Italian tribe, dwelling near the source, and principally to the north of the river Anio, between the Marsian and Sabine hills. They were fierce and warlike in their dispositions, and long annoyed the Romans in the early ages of the republic, as may be seen, I. 32; II. 30, 31, 40, 43, 48, 53, 58, 60;

III. 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 10, 23-26, 28, 30, 31, 38, 42, 60, 61, 66, 70; IV. 26, 30, 45, 47, 49, 53, 55; V. 16, 28, 29, 31. They were not completely subdued till u. c. 451.

Aesis, a river forming the northern boundary of Picenum, and the southern of that part of Umbria possessed by the Senones, near the mouth of which stands Ancona. V. 35.

Aius Locutius, a deity to whom the Romans dedicated a temple, after the delivery of Rome from the Gauls. V. 50.

Alba Longa, a town of Latium, south-east of Rome, founded by Ascanius with settlers from Lavinium, where the descendants of Aeneas reigned for fourteen generations, till the foundation of Rome. It received its epithet *Longa* from its situation on the ridge of a hill. A war broke out between the Romans and its inhabitants, (*Albāni*;) in the reign of Tullus Hostilius, which ended in the submission of the Albans, and ultimately in the destruction of the Alban city. The inhabitants were, according to the usual policy of the early Romans, transferred to Rome, inhabiting the Caelian hill, and their chief men raised to the Patrician dignity. I. 3, 22-25, 27-31, 33. The space between *Tusculum* and *Alba* is called *Albāna vallis*. III. 7. *Albanus Mons*, a hill near Alba, the scene of the *Latinae feriae*, and in later times of Roman triumphs. I. 3.

Albinus, L., a plebeian, who conveyed the vestal virgins and their sacred charge to Caere, when Rome was entered by the Gauls. V. 40.

Albīnus, L., one of the first tribunes of the commons, u. c. 261. II. 33.

Albūla, the ancient name of the Tiber, which latter name the river received from the circumstance of King Tiberinus being drowned in it. I. 3.

Algīdum, a town of Latium, south-east of Rome, on the *Via Latina*. III. 2. *Algidus Mons*, a hill near the town Algidum, sacred to Diana. From their central situation, they seem to have been frequently the rallying points of the enemies of early Rome. III. 23, 25, 27, 29, 30, 31; IV. 26.

Alienus, L., an aedile of the people, who successfully arraigned the consul Veturius, for having sold the plunder taken from the Aequi, instead of dividing it amongst the soldiers. III. 31.

Allia, a small tributary of the Tiber, entering its left bank north of Rome, crossing the *Via Salaria*, on whose banks, at the eleventh milestone, the Roman army was totally defeated by Brennus, king of the Gauls, xv. Kal. Sextilis, u. c. 365, the same day with that on which the Fabii were slain at Cremera, ever after esteemed an unlucky day. V. 37, 38.

Alpes, a chain of very high mountains, encircling the north of Italy, and extending from the south of Histria on the east to the west of the Intomelii on the west, a range of nearly 600 miles. This great mountain barrier has received, both in ancient and modern times,

different names in its different branches from peculiar circumstances, the ancients preserving, however, the common term *Alpes*. According to Livy, the first who crossed them in large bodies were the Gauls, by the *saltus Taurini*. I. 1; V. 34.

Ambarri, a tribe of Gallia Lugdunensis, a little to the north of Lugdunum. V. 34.

Ameriola, a town taken by Tarquinius Priscus, in a war with the Prisci Latini. I. 38.

Amulius, the younger son of Proca, the 13th king of Alba Longa. He dethroned his elder brother Numitor, but was ultimately slain by Romulus and Remus, the grandchildren of that prince by his daughter Rhea Silvia, whom Amulius had in vain attempted to render childless, by making her a vestal virgin. I. 3, 5, 6.

Ancus Marcius, the grandson of Numa Pompilius by his daughter, and fourth king of Rome. He mounted the throne, u. c. 114, distinguished himself by his piety, his successes against the Latins, the additions he made to the Roman city of the Aventine and the Janiculum, besides extending the Roman territory to the sea, and founding Ostia, the sea-port of Rome. He died after a prosperous reign of twenty-four years. I. 32-35.

Anio, a tributary of the Tiber, falling into its left bank, not far north from Rome, and forming the southern boundary of the Sabine country. From its vicinity to Rome, it was the scene of many of the engagements in which that city contended with its neighbours. I. 27, 36; IV. 17.

Antistius, L., a Roman soldier who acted as centurion of the dismounted *equites* in an engagement with the Volsci, and was elected tribune of the commons in his absence, u. c. 333. He successfully arraigned C. Sempronius of misconduct in the war with the Volsci. IV. 38, 42, 44.

Antium, a town of the Volsci on the sea-coast, almost due south of Rome. It was strongly fortified, and though repeatedly colonized by Romans, was engaged in frequent hostilities, heading the other Volscians, with Rome. Their fleet was at last destroyed, u. c. 408, and the prows of their ships adorned the Rostra, hence so called. The inhabitants are named *Antiātes*, and received the rights of Roman citizens. II. 33, 63, 65; III. 1, 4.

Antias or Ancius, Sp., a Roman ambassador, slain along with three others, by the orders, or through the carelessness of Tolumnius, king of the Veientes. IV. 17.

Antonius Merenda, Q., military tribune, u. c. 333. IV. 42.

Antonius Merenda, T., a decemvir, u. c. 304, in the second year of that magistracy. III. 36.

Anxur, a town of the Volsci on the sea-coast, and the Via Appia, afterwards, in Livy's time, called Tarracinae. It was taken and retaken by the Romans, and ultimately colonized by them. IV. 59; V. 8, 13, 16.

Apenninus Mons, a range of mountains, extending about 700 miles

- through Italy from north to south, branching off from the Alps, in Liguria, to near Rhegium, in the country of the Bruttii. V. 33.
- Apollo, worshipped as the god of the fine arts, the son of Jupiter and Latona, and brother of Diana, believed to furnish his priests with prophetic powers; hence, according to some, the epithet *Pythius*, (from *πυθαγορείαι*). I. 56; III. 63; IV. 25, 29; V. 13, 15, 23, 25.
- Appidiæ, a Latin town, taken by Tarquinius Priscus in the beginning of his reign. I. 35.
- Apronius, C., one of the tribunes of the commons, elected after the deposition of the decemviri, u. c. 305. III. 54.
- Apuleius, L., a tribune of the commons, u. c. 364, who was the prosecutor of the action against Camillus, which drove him from Rome. IV. 32.
- Aquillii, a family who engaged in the plot to crush the infant liberty of Rome, which was detected by a slave, in the first year of the Roman republic. Along with the other conspirators they were scourged and beheaded. II. 4, 5.
- Aquillius, C., consul, u. c. 267. He conquered the Hernici. II. 40.
- Arcadia, a hilly and pastoral country of Greece in the centre of the Peloponnesus, bounded by all the other divisions of that Peninsula. I. 5.
- Ardea, a town of the Rutuli, south of Rome, besieged by Tarquinius Superbus in the last year of his reign. A device of the senate restored to them land, which the Romans had appropriated to themselves, when appointed judges betwixt the *Ardeates* and the Aricini, an act for which the former people revolted. They were the first who successfully attacked the Gauls under Camillus. I. 57; III. 71, 72; IV. 1, 7, 9-11; V. 43, 44.
- Argilëtum, a hill or street in Rome. I. 19.
- Aricia, a Latin town, south-east of Rome, on the Via Appia, at the foot of the Alban mount. Inhabitants called *Aricini*. I. 50; II. 14; III. 71, 72.
- Aristodēmus, tyrant of Cumæ, in whose court Tarquinius Superbus died. He afterwards detained, as the heir of Tarquin, some Roman ships, to compensate for the effects of Tarquin detained by the Romans. II. 21, 34.
- Arsia, a wood in the neighbourhood of Rome. II. 7.
- Artēna, a town belonging to the Caeretes, between Caere and Veii, destroyed by the Roman kings. IV. 61.
- Artēna, a town of the Volsci, destroyed by the Romans, u. c. 351, IV. 61.
- Aruns, a son of the Corinthian Damaratus, (who settled in Tarquinii,) and brother to Lucumo, afterwards Tarquinius Priscus. I. 34.
- Aruns, son of Porsena, the Etrurian king. After leaving the siege of Rome, he fell in battle with the Aricini. II. 14.
- Aruns, *Clusinus*, an inhabitant of Clusium, who invited the Gauls to attack Clusium. V. 33.

Arverni, a tribe of Gauls, in Aquitania Prima, on the banks of the Eläver and contiguous streams. They claimed a Trojan descent. V. 34.

Ascanius, called also Iulus, the son of Aeneas and Creusa, or of Aeneas and Lavinia. He left Lavinium to Lavinia, and founded Alba Longa. I. 1, 3.

Asia, one of the three divisions of the ancient world, bounded on the west by the Tanais, the Palus Maeotis, the Pontus Euxinus, the Mediterranean, and the Sinus Arabicus. On the other three sides it is incompassed by seas. I. 45.

Aterius, A., consul, u. c. 300, the year in which ambassadors were sent to Greece to collect laws. He was chosen a tribune of the commons, though a patrician, u. c. 307. III. 31, 65.

Athēnae, the capital of Attica, a country of Graecia Propria, north-east of the Peloponnesus. It was long renowned for its love of liberty, the capricious democracy of its government, its devotedness to all the fine arts and philosophy, and the peculiar nature of its laws, which it received from the celebrated Solon. It never recovered its defeat at the close of the Peloponnesian war, and ultimately yielded to the Roman arms. III. 31.

Atilius, L., one of the first military tribunes, u. c. 311. IV. 7.

Atilius, L., a military tribune, u. c. 356, a year in which pestilence raged in Rome. V. 13.

Atinius, Ti., a plebeian whose dreams are narrated, II. 36.

Atys, the 6th king of Alba Longa. I. 3.

Aventinus, the 12th king of Alba Longa. I. 3.

Aventinus, one of the seven hills on which Rome was built, first added to the city by Ancus Martius, for the reception of the inhabitants of Politorium, a Latin city. I. 6, 33; II. 28; III. 50.

Augustus, a name (said to be derived from *augeo*) first given to the Emperor C. Octavius, grand-nephew, and adopted son of Julius Caesar. After the death of the first Emperor, he formed with Antony and Lepidus the second triumvirate, and ultimately, by depriving the latter of power, and defeating the former at Actium, he became sole master of the Roman world, at the age of thirty-two years. He died at Nola, after having enjoyed the empire forty-four years. I. 19; IV. 20.

Aulerci, a tribe of Gauls, either the *Cenomāni*, between the rivers Sarta and Ledus, or the *Eburovices*, north of the Cenomani, on the south bank of the Sequana. The former were in the north of Lugdunensis tertia, the latter in the south of Lugdunensis quarta. V. 34.

Aurunci, an Italian tribe in the west of Campania, supposed to be the remains of the ancient Ausones, and inhabiting the banks of the Liris, and the neighbourhood of Caieta and Minturnae. II. 16, 17, 26.

B

Bellovesus, nephew of Ambigatus, the leading prince of Celtic Gaul. He crossed the Alps in the reign of Tarquinius Priscus, with the surplus population of several Gaulish tribes, and founded Mediolanum, in the country of the Isubres. V. 34, 35.

Bituriges, a tribe of Gauls on the banks of the Eläver and Liger in Aquitania Secunda, or, according to the early division, in Gallia Celtica, and at one time the leading tribe of that country. They are distinguished from another tribe of the same name, the Bituriges Vivisci, on the banks of the Garunna, by the adjunct Cubi. V. 34.

Boii, a tribe of Gallia Celtica, on the banks of the Ligeris, east of the Bituriges. There are several tribes of that name in Gaul, and they seem to have settled extensively in the north of Italy. V. 35.

Bolae, a Latin town on a tributary of the Tiber, east of Rome, colonised by the Aequi. IV. 49.

Brennus, prince of the Senōnes Galli, who took and plundered Rome, u. c. 365, in consequence of the provocation which they had received, from the Roman ambassadors having fought against them, contrary to the law of nations, when they were besieging Clusium. He retired from Rome without having gained possession of the Capitol, according to Livy, in consequence of a double defeat, but according to others, from domestic causes, and after having exacted a humiliating ransom. V. 38, 48.

Brixia, the capital of the Cenomani, in Gallia Cisalpina, west of the Lacus Benacus, on the Via Aemilia, founded by a tribe of Gauls. V. 35.

C.

Cacus, a shepherd in the neighbourhood of the Palatine hill, of great strength and ferocity, who was slain by Hercules, for having stolen some oxen. I. 7.

Caecilius, Q., a tribe of the commons, u. c. 316. IV. 16.

Caecilius, T., one of the first military tribunes with consular power, u. c. 311. IV. 7.

Caedicius, a centurion, who commanded the Roman troops after they had fled to Veii from their defeat at Allia, and delivered the command into the hands of Camillus. V. 45, 46.

Caedicius, L., a tribe of the commons, who unsuccessfully arraigned Sp. Servilius, u. c. 279. II. 52.

Caedicius, M., a plebeian, who heard a supernatural voice announcing the approach of the Gauls. V. 32.

Caenina, (inhabitants Caeninenses, adjective Caeninus,) a town of the Sabines, one of the states whose women were seized to be the wives of the Romans under Romulus. They retaliated by making war on the Romans, but were completely defeated. I. 9, 10.

Caere, a town of Etruria, north-west of Rome, on the banks of the Caeretanus river. The inhabitants (*Caerites*) seem to have been long on friendly terms with the Romans, and Neibuhr conjectures that the word *Caerimonia*, derived from them, indicates the extent to which the Romans borrowed their ritual from them. They hospitably sheltered the priests and sacred things of the Romans after the assault by the Gauls, and received in return all the rights of Roman citizens, except the privilege of voting, and hence the phrase, in *Caeritum tabulas referri*, to be deprived of that right. I. 2; V. 40, 50.

Caesar, the name of a family in the Julian clan, assumed in late times as an imperial title. I. 19; IV. 20.

Camēnae, (from *cano*,) the Muses, daughters of Jupiter and Mnemosyne, nine goddesses who presided over the various departments of poetry, and its concomitants music and dancing. Their names were Calliope, Clio, Erato, Euterpe, Melpomene, Polyhymnia, Thalia, Terpsichore and Urania. I. 21.

Cameria, a Latin town taken by Tarquinius Priscus. I. 38.

Campania, a district of Italy, separated by the river Liris from Latium on the north, by the Apennines from Samnium on the east, and the river Silarus from Lucania on the south. II. 92.

Canuleius, C., a tribune of the commons, who succeeded, v. c. 310, in abrogating the law against the intermarriage of patricians and plebeians. IV. 1-6.

Canuleius, M., a tribune of the commons, v. c. 335, who assisted in the successful prosecution of C. Sempronius. IV. 44.

Capēna, a town of Etruria, north of Rome, on the Via Flaminia. Inhabitants *Capēnātes*. V. 8, 10, 12, 13, 24.

Capena, *Porta*, a gate of Rome, on the east, whence the road leading to Capena issued. I. 26.

Capētus, the eighth King of Alba Longa. I. 3.

Capitolium, (adjective *Capitolinus*,) a celebrated hill, one of the seven on which Rome stood, called also *Tarpeius* and *Saturnius*. On the east of it lay the Forum and Palatine hill, on the west a plain tract, on the north the Quirinal, on the south, the Aventine. It was the citadel of Rome, and on it was built the famous temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, begun by Tarquinius Priscus, and finished by Tarquinius Superbus. I. 10, 33, 38, 53, 55; II. 8; III. 15, 18, 29; V. 39, 43, 47, 49.

Capra, a marsh in the Campus Martius. I. 16.

Capua, the capital of Campania on the Via Appia, founded, according to Livy, by Etrurians, and afterwards seized by the Samnites. It was for a long time distinguished for its magnificence and opulence, but never recovered the effects of Roman vengeance, for receiving Hannibal's troops, whom at the same time it completely enervated. IV. 37.

Capys, the seventh king of Alba Longa. I. 3.

Capys, the conjectural leader of the Samnites who seized Vulturis, afterwards Capua, and gave his name to that city. IV. 37.

Carmenta or **tis**, the mother of the Arcadian prince Evander, whose Grecian name was Themis or Nicostrata, called Carmenta, from her prophetic songs. I. 7; V. 47.

Carmentalis, Porta, a gate leading from the south of the Capitolium, through which the Fabii marched to Cremera. II. 49.

Carautes, a tribe of Gauls in Lugdunensis Quarta, between Ligeris and Sequana, in whose territories the Druids held their annual meetings. V. 34.

Carthāgo, a celebrated commercial city, once the capital of Africa Propria, and long the rival of Rome. It was founded by a colony of Phoenicians, and stood on a kind of peninsula, fifteen miles north of Tunis. When it came into hostile collision with Rome, it was in possession of the whole coast of Africa, from the deserts of Lybia to the straits of Gibraltar, a great part of Spain and Sicily, Sardinia, and other small islands. It sustained three wars with Rome, in which it was often successful, but was taken and destroyed by Scipio Africanus, at the close of the third Punic war. Various attempts were afterwards made to rebuild it, but it never again rose to eminence, and was finally destroyed by the Saracens in the seventh century. Its government seems to have been oligarchical, with occasional checks from democratic fury. IV. 29.

Carventum, (tanus-a-um,) a Latin town. IV. 53, 55.

Cassius, Sp., thrice consul, u. c. 252, 261, 268, and master of the horse, 253. His last consulship was memorable for its being the era of the introduction of the Agrarian law. It is certain that he was condemned, and put to death, u. c. 269, but there is considerable discussion as to the cause. According to Livy, it was the suspicion entertained of his motives, from his favouring at once the commons and the allies, that he was aiming at the sovereignty. II. 17, 18, 33, 41.

Castor, said to be the son of Tyndarus and Leda, produced from an egg, along with Clytemnestra, at the same time with Pollux and Helen from another egg, the offspring of Jupiter and Leda. He was celebrated for riding, and Pollux, (who shared with him his immortality,) for boxing. The temple dedicated to him included Pollux. II. 20, 42.

Celtae, the inhabitants of Gallia Celtica, the third part of Gaul, bounded by the Sequana on the north, and the Garumna on the south, till the time of Augustus, who assigned the portion of it between the Ligeris and the Garumna to Aquitania, calling it also by a new name, *Lugdunensis*. V. 34.

Cenomāni, a tribe of Gauls, belonging to the Auleri, in Lugdunensis Tertia, on the banks of the Ledus, who settled in the north of Gallia Cisalpina. V. 35.

Ceno or **on**, a sea-port of Latium, to the east of Antium. II. 63.

Censor, a Roman magistrate, whose province was originally simply to relieve the consuls of the trouble connected with taking the *census*, or valuation of the number and wealth of the Roman citizens. The

Censors were two in number, and were first instituted, u. c. 312. Their functions were afterwards extended to regulating the manners of citizens in all ranks, degrading senators and others to inferior stations at their pleasure, superintending the proceedings of the ediles, and fixing the rate of taxes. Their power was checked by the right of appeal from one to the other, or to the people. They were at first eligible only from the patricians, but ultimately from the plebeians. They were elected in the Centuriata every five years, but remained in power only a year and a half after u. c. 321. From a superstition connected with the invasion of the Gauls, no new censor was elected to supply the place of one who had died in office, and his colleague resigned. IV. 8, 24; V. 31.

Ceres, worshipped as the goddess of corn and husbandry, the daughter of Saturn and Vesta, and sister of Jupiter. Eleusis in Greece was celebrated for her worship, and the mysteries connected with it. II. 41; III. 55.

Circe, the daughter of Sol and Perseis, celebrated for her knowledge of herbs, and her enchantments. She fled from Colchis to Circeii, on the Italian coast, where she was visited by Ulysses on his return from Troy. I. 49.

Circeii, a Latin town on the sea-coast, in the country of the Volsci, colonized by Tarquinius Superbus. I. 56; II. 39.

Circus, a term applied to places where public spectacles were exhibited. Of these there are mentioned, *Maximus*, I. 35, 56; *Apollinaris*, III. 63; *Flaminius*, III. 54.

Claudius, Ap., a Sabine, whose name was originally Attus Clausus, who settled in Rome with a great body of retainers. He rose to distinction in the Roman state, gave name to a tribe, founded an illustrious family, was consul, 259 u. c., when domestic sedition (in which he vehemently supported the Patrician party,) and war distracted the state, and during his whole life devoted himself to the cause of the aristocracy. II. 16, 21, 23, 27, 29, 30, 44.

Claudius, Ap., son of the former Claudius, pursued his course of aristocratic aggrandisement. He was consul, u. c. 283, during a war with the Volsci, before whom the army which he commanded voluntarily fled, through hatred of their general. He was arraigned before the people, but died before the termination of the prosecution. II. 56, 58, 59, 61.

Claudius, Ap., grandson of the first Claudius, was one of the first decemviri, u. c. 303, and continued in office (for the last year illegally, and self-elected,) during three years, till his violent and tyrannical disposition, which he had concealed for some time, drove the Romans into open and successful resistance. The immediate occasion of his ruin was his base conduct to Virginia. He killed himself u. c. 306. III. 33-58.

Claudius Crassus, Ap., son of the decemvir, and a military tribune, u. c. 331, when he was left in charge of the city. IV. 35, 36.

Claudius Crassus, Ap., grandson of the decemvir, and military tribune

- in the third year of the siege of Veii, u. c. 352. He preserved the family rancour against the plebeians. IV. 48; V. 1, 3, 7, 20.
- Claudius, C., son of the first Ap. Claudius, and uncle of the decemvir. He was consul, u. c. 294, but was unsuccessful in his application for the office of decemvir, u. c. 304, by the arts of his nephew, whom, however, by his advice and intercession he endeavoured to preserve from the consequences of his tyrannical conduct. He seems to have had less influence in the state, and to have been less vigorous than the other Claudii. III. 15, 35, 40, 58; IV. 6.
- Claudius Cicero, C., a tribune of the commons; u. c. 300, who successfully arraigned Romilius. III. 31.
- Claudius, M. the creature and client of the decemvir Claudius, who was his instrument in his designs on Virginia, claiming her as his slave. He went ultimately into exile. III. 44-58.
- Cloacina, the goddess who presided over the common sewers of Rome. III. 48.
- Coelia, a Roman virgin, one of the hostages given to King Porsena, who escaped from her guards, and swam across the Tiber. II. 13.
- Coelii, a family of Albans, who were incorporated among the Roman patricians by Tullus Hostilius. I. 30.
- Cloelius, Gracchus, a general of the Aequi, who was at first successful in war against the Romans, but was ultimately defeated and sent under the yoke, u. c. 296. III. 25-28.
- Coelius, Q., consul, u. c. 256. II. 21.
- Cluilius, an Aequan, who headed the Volscians in an attack on Ardea, and was conquered by the Romans under the consul M. Geganius. IV. 9, 10.
- Cluilius, C., the king of the Albans in the reign of Tullus Hostilius. He made an inroad on the Roman territories, and died in a camp which he formed five miles from Rome. I. 22, 23. The ditch with which he encompassed the camp was called *fossa Cluiliae* and *fossae Cluiliae*. I. 23; II. 39.
- Clusium, a town of Etruria to the north-west of Rome, on the Via Cassia. Attacked by the Gauls, the inhabitants sought assistance from the Romans, who sent ambassadors to mediate for them. The Gauls, enraged at the conduct of these ambassadors, who, being unsuccessful in their mission, fought in the ranks of the *Clusini*, contrary to the law of nations, raised the siege. The Clusini were afterwards engaged in war with Rome, and ultimately became subject to that city. V. 33, 35, 36.
- Cocles, Horatius, a Roman who, with two others, defended the wooden bridge over the Tiber against the Etrurian army under Porsena, u. c. 246, till it was broken down, when he swam across the Tiber. He was liberally rewarded. II. 10.
- Coelius, Mons, one of the seven hills on which Rome stood, according to Dionysius added by Romulus, according to Livy by Tullus Hostilius, inhabited by the Albans. I. 30, 33; II. 11.
- Collatia, a town anciently belonging to the Sabines, a little south of the Anio, taken by Tarquinius Priscus. I. 38.

Collina, Porta, a gate in the north of Rome, at the Collis Quirinalis. II. 11, 51; III. 51.

Colūmen, some part of *Mons Algidus*. III. 23.

Cominius, Pontius, a young Roman, who conveyed to the Capitol the message of the Romans at Veii, and carried back the answer of the senate, evading the vigilance of the Gauls. V. 46.

Cominius, Postūmus, consul, u. c. 253, the year of the first dictatorship according to some. Again consul, u. c. 261, he conquered the Volsci Antiates, and took Corioli. II. 18, 33.

Comitia, assemblies of the whole Roman people to give their vote about any thing. In them magistrates were elected, laws passed, and persons guilty of certain crimes tried. They were always summoned by some magistrate, who presided in them. The Comitia first used were the *Curiata*, where the people voted, divided into thirty curiae, or wards. V. 52. Servius Tullius instituted the *Centuriata*, when the people voted in centuries of classes, which had their number of votes determined according to their fortune. I. 42-44, 60; III. 34, 55; V. 18, 52. The time of the introduction of the Comitia *Tributa* is contested. In them the people voted, divided into tribes, the vote of each citizen being of equal force. II. 56, 57, 60; III. 55.

Considius, Q., a tribune of the people, u. c. 278. II. 52.

Consualia, games in honour of Neptunus Equestris, celebrated on the 18th of August. I. 9.

Consul, the supreme magistrate of Rome, with some interruption, from the expulsion of the kings, (I. 60,) to the perpetual dictatorship of Julius Caesar, when the office became merely nominal. These interruptions were caused by the necessity of appointing dictators in sudden emergencies, the election of decemvirs to enact laws, (III. 33,) and the occasional substitution of military tribunes with consular power, to evade the contests between the patricians and plebeians. (IV. 6.) The consuls were two in number, and elected at various times of the year, (III. 6; IV. 37,) their term of power being annual. Their power was at first as great as that of the kings, and their badges of office nearly the same. (II. 1.) P. Valerius Poplicola diminished their authority, (II. 8,) and the tribunes of the commons had a great effect in still farther weakening it. They were still, however, very powerful, and being at the head of the executive department of the state, much depended on their vigour. They assembled the people and senate, brought before them any measures they thought worthy of consideration, negotiated with foreign states, and gave name to the year. They were at first created only from the patricians, but, after many struggles, from either order.

Cora, a small Latin town which revolted to the Auruncos, but afterwards joined with Pometia in giving hostages to the Romans. II. 16, 22.

Corbio, a Latin town probably between Lavinium and Rome, taken by Coriolanus, dismantled by C. Horatius Pulvillus, near which a

battle was afterwards fought between the Romans and the combined forces of the Aequi and Volsci. II. 39; III. 30, 66, 69, 70.

Corinthius-a-um, belonging to Corinthus, the capital of Achaia, the north-east district of the Peloponnesus in Greece, situated on the north of the Isthmus between the Sinus Corinthiacus and the Saronicus Sinus. It was long one of the principal cities of Greece, and founded several powerful colonies, but was destroyed by the Consul Mummius, u. c. 609, in the war between the Romans and the Achaian league. Julius Caesar attempted in vain to restore it to splendour. I. 34.

Coriöli, a town of the Volscians, taken by the Romans, principally through the conduct of C. Marcius, hence called Coriolanus, and retaken by him when leading the Volscian troops. II. 33, 39.

Cornelius, A., a quaestor, u. c. 295. III. 24.

Cornelius, A., Pontifex Maximus, u. c. 324. IV. 27.

Cornelius Cossus, A., was a tribune of the soldiers in the war with Tolumnius, king of the Veientes, whom he slew and gained the *spolia opima*. He was afterwards consul, u. c. 327; military tribune with consular power, 329, and in the same year master of the horse under Mam. Aemilius, Dictator, in a successful war with the Fidenates and Veientes. IV. 19, 20, 30-34. Perhaps he is the same with

Cornelius Cossus, A., or (according to some) M., consul, u. c. 342. IV. 51.

Cornelius Cossus, Cn., military tribune, u. c. 341; consul, 346, and again military tribune, 349. IV. 49, 54, 58.

Cornelius Cossus, Cn., probably a plebeian adopted into the patrician family of the Corneli, military tribune, 351 and 354, when he ravaged the country round Capena. IV. 61; V. 10, 12.

Cornelius Maluginensis, L., was consul, u. c. 295, during a successful war with the Volsci and Aequi. III. 22-24, 40, 41.

Cornelius Maluginensis, M., was brother of Lucius, and twice decemvir, u. c. 304, 305, commanding in the latter year with great disgrace at Algidum. III. 35, 40-42.

Cornelius Maluginensis, M., consul, u. c. 319. IV. 21.

Cornelius, M., was substituted censor in room of C. Julius, who had died u. c. 363. As this happened in the *lustrum* which saw Rome taken by the Gauls, no censor thereafter was elected in similar circumstances. V. 31.

Cornelius Cossus, P., military tribune, u. c. 340 and 347, when, as dictator, he routed the Volsci. He was a third time military tribune, u. c. 349. IV. 49, 56-58.

Cornelius Cossus, P., military tribune, u. c. 360. V. 24.

Cornelius Maluginensis, P., military tribune, u. c. 351 and 358. IV. 61; V. 16, 17.

Cornelius Scipio, P., master of the horse in the dictatorship of M. Furius Camillus, u. c. 359, when Veii was taken; military tribune, u. c. 360, and interrex, u. c. 363. V. 19, 24, 31.

- Cornelius, Ser., consul, u. c. 269. II. 41.
- Cornelius, Ser., a priest of Romulus, who died of pestilence, u. c. 301. III. 32.
- Cornelius Maluginensis, Ser., a military tribune, u. c. 365, one of those who so unskilfully opposed the Gauls. V. 36. He seems afterwards to have been six times raised to the same dignity.
- Cornicūlum, a town belonging to the Latins, taken by Tarquinius Priscus, a prisoner taken in which (*Corniculāna captiva*, IV. 3,) was said to be the mother of Servius Tullius. I. 38, 39.
- Cremēra, a tributary of the Tiber, falling into its right bank north of Rome, crossing the Via Flaminia, near which the Fabii were cut off by the Veientes. II. 49, 50.
- Crēusa, the daughter of Priam and Hecuba, and wife of Aeneas. Her fate after the destruction of Troy is uncertain. I. 3.
- Croton, a town of the Brutii, on the east sea-coast, and Via Trajana, colonized by Greeks, the residence of the philosopher Pythagoras for twenty years; in later times colonized by the Romans. I. 18.
- Crustumērium, a town near Rome, taken and colonized by Romulus, afterwards retaken by Tarquinius Priscus. Inhabitants Crustumini. I. 9-11, 38.
- Crustumini Montes, the hills from which the river Allia flows, probably near Crustumērium.
- Cumae, a town on the sea-coast of Campania, colonized by settlers from the Grecian island Euboea, famous from its having been the abode of a Sibyl, who affected prophetic powers. The inhabitants, *Cumāni*, were ultimately much attached and faithful to the Romans. II. 9, 14, 21, 34; IV. 44.
- Curatius, P., a tribune of the people, u. c. 354, who assisted in successfully arraigning two military tribunes of the former year. V. 11.
- Cures, a town of the Sabines, north-east of Rome, on the Via Salaria, whence, according to some, Romulus was called *Quirinus*, and the Romans *Quirites*. I. 13.
- Curatii, three brothers, champions probably of the Albans, who fought with three Horatii, and were all killed, thus bringing Alba into subjection to Rome. I. 24-26.
- Curiatii, one of the Alban families, raised to the dignity of Roman patricians in the reign of Tullus Hostilius. I. 30.
- Curiatius, P., consul, u. c. 301, afterwards decemvir, 303. III. 32, 33.
- Curtius, C., consul, u. c. 310, a year in which the plebeians made successful inroads on the patrician power. IV. 1, 7.
- Curtius, Mettus, a leader of the Sabines, who had nearly routed the Romans, slaying their general Hostus Hostilius. I. 12, 13.
- Curtius, *lacus*, a place in Rome, so called, according to one account, because a marsh had formerly stood there, where the horse of Mettus Curtius had been entangled. I. 13.
- Cyprius, *vicus*, a street in Rome. I. 38.

D.

Damarātus, a native of Corinth who settled in Tarquinii, father of Lucumo, afterwards Tarquinius Priscus. I. 34.

Decemviri, Roman magistrates, ten in number, who were appointed for the purpose of drawing up a code of laws, holding office, unchecked by any other magistrate, from u. c. 303 to 306. Those elected the second year continued the last year illegally and self-elected. Their code of laws is known by the name of the Laws of the Twelve Tables. III. 32-58. This name is also applied to religious magistrates, whose principal duty was to consult the Sibylline books.

Delphi, a town of Phocis, a district of Graecia Propria, situated on Mount Parnassus, said by the ancients to be the centre of the world, sacred to Apollo, whose oracle there was the most celebrated of all the oracles of antiquity. Here the Amphictyonic Councils were held, and the Pythian Games celebrated. I. 56; V. 15, 16, 28.

Dialis Flamen, the priest of Jupiter, who had many privileges, but was exposed to numerous restrictions. I. 20; V. 52.

Diana, worshipped as the goddess of hunting and field sports, the daughter of Jupiter and Latona, and sister of Apollo. She was worshipped with especial splendour at Ephesus. I. 45; V. 13.

Dictator, a Roman magistrate, whose nomination was found necessary, when conjunctures arrived which rendered the existence of a divided executive power dangerous, (IV. 26.) He was always nominated by one of the consuls, had absolute power for six months, (II. 29; III. 20, 28,) and was unchecked by any controlling power during his continuance in office, as every other magistrate resigned except the tribunes of the commons. Who was first dictator is not a settled point, (II. 18,) and the office was altogether abolished after the death of Julius Caesar.

Duilius, Caius, a plebeian, who was military tribune, u. c. 356. V. 13.

Duilius, Kaeso, one of the decemviri, u. c. 304. III. 35.

Duilius, Marcus, a tribune of the commons, elected in the first Comitia Tributa, u. c. 283. He seems to have possessed great influence from his rigorous and upright disposition. He arraigned Ap. Claudius, was elected tribune of the commons after the expulsion of the decemviri, was the organ of the people in the bill for the re-establishment of the consular power on that occasion, and checked the usurping spirit of his colleagues, when it went beyond the bounds of democratic freedom. II. 58, 61; III. 52, 54, 59, 64.

Duumviri, different inferior magistrates, deriving their name from their number, with various powers; some passed sentence on criminals, I. 26; whilst others guarded the Sibylline books. III. 10; V. 13.

E.

Ecetra, a town of the Volscians, whose inhabitants, (*Ecetrandi*.) after submitting to the Romans, revolted to the Aequi. II. 25; III. 4; IV. 61.

Egeria, a goddess with whom Numa Pompilius alleged he had conversations. I. 19.

Egerius, grandson of Damaratus, and son of Aruns, the brother of Tarquinius Priscus, whom his grandfather unknowingly left in poverty; hence the name. He was afterwards intrusted with the government of Collatia by his uncle, and his family took the name Collatinus. I. 34, 38.

Elitovius, the leader of the Cenomani, who settled in the country of the Libni, in the north of Italy. V. 35.

Ephesus, a famous town on the sea-coast of Lydia, a district of Asia Minor, to the south of the river Caystrus. It was celebrated for its temple of Diana, built at the joint expense of the Asiatic Graecian states, and one of the seven wonders of the world. I. 45.

Equites, an order of the Roman state, which seems to have acquired its place in the civil polity gradually. As a military body, they had horses and a ring assigned them at the public expense, (I. 43,) a particular dress, and a place next the senators in the public spectacles. They formed the link between the plebeians and patricians, farmed the revenues, and the judges were generally in later times selected from among them. They required to be at least eighteen years of age, and to have a certain fortune. III. 27; V. 7.

Erētum, a town of the Sabines, north-east of Rome, on the Via Salaria, the scene of several engagements with the enemies of Rome. III. 26, 29, 38, 42.

Esquiliae, one of the seven hills on which Rome stood. I. 44; II. 28. *Esquilarius collis*. I. 48.

Esquilina, porta, a gate leading from Rome at the Esquiline hill. II. 11; III. 66, 68.

Etruria, a district of Italy, extending from the river Macra on the north to the Tiber on the south. Their origin and early history have occupied much discussion, but it is certain that they had made great advances in civilization before the foundation of Rome, whose inhabitants borrowed many of their practices from them, especially those connected with religious ceremonies and augury. The country was originally divided among twelve states, which were for a long time engaged in perpetual hostilities with the Roman people. The names of the states, derived from the principal towns, were the Veientes, Clusini, Perusini, Cortonenses, Arretini, Vetuloni, Volaterrani, Rusellani, Volscinii, Tarquinii, Falisci, and Caeretani. I. 23, 30, 56; IV. 23; V. 17. Inhabitants, *Etrusci*. II. 6-14, 44; V. 1, 15.

Evander, an Arcadian prince, said to be the son of Mercury and Car-

menta, who settled in Italy on the Palatine hill, giving name to it, according to some, from his native city Pallanteum. I. 5, 7.
 Euganei, a people in the north of Italy, amongst the Rhetian Alps. L 1.

F.

Fabius, the name of a Roman clan of great distinction. The *gens Fabia* were all cut off, except one, in a war which they voluntarily undertook with the Veientes, u. c. 276. II. 45, 48-50.

Fabius Pictor, a Roman annalist, who is generally believed to have flourished u. c. 530, contemporary with the second Punic war. I. 44, 55; II. 40.

Fabius Dorso, C., a Roman who performed certain rites peculiar to the Fabian clan, passing through the midst of the Gauls, who were then in possession of Rome. V. 46.

Fabius Kaeso, quaestor, u. c. 267, when he arraigned Sp. Cassius; consul, u. c. 270, 273 and 275. He was a man of great military skill; at first detested by the plebeians, but afterwards highly popular. He fell in the war with the Veientes. II. 41-43, 46-49.

Fabius Ambustus, Kaeso, the only patrician among the quaestors, u. c. 346; military tribune, 351, 354, (when he commanded in the camp at Veii along with M. Aemilius,) and 360. IV. 54, 61; V. 10, 12, 24.

Fabius, M., consul, u. c. 271 and 274. In his second consulship he inflamed the courage of the Roman soldiers, when seditiously inclined, in a war with the Veientes, and refused a triumph decreed him for his victory. II. 42-47.

Fabius, M., Pontifex Maximus, u. c. 365. IV. 41.

Fabius Vibulanus, M., consul, u. c. 313; lieutenant-general under L. Quinctius Cincinnatus in the war with Tolumnius, 318, when he repulsed an attack on the Roman camp; again under A. Postumius Tubertus, 324, when he behaved gallantly at the head of the horse against the Aequi and Volsci; and military tribune, 322. IV. 11, 17, 19, 25, 27-29.

Fabius Ambustus, N., military tribune, u. c. 349. He took Anxur. IV. 58, 59.

Fabius Vibulanus, N., consul, u. c. 334, when he defeated the Aequi; military tribune, u. c. 340 and 348. IV. 43, 49, 57.

Fabius, Q., consul, u. c. 269 and 272. He fell in battle with the Veientes, 274. II. 41, 43, 46.

Fabius, Q., the only member of the Fabian clan, who, being left at home on account of his youth, was not involved in the disaster at Cremera. He was consul, u. c. 287, 289, (when he defeated the Aequi); prefect of the city, 292; consul a third time, 295, (when he routed the Volsci with great slaughter); ambassador to the Aequi, 296; and decemvir, 304 and 305. This last office changed his na-

ture, and his conduct rendered him so odious to the soldiers, whom he commanded against the Sabines, that they were voluntarily defeated on several occasions. He went into exile, and his effects were confiscated on the destruction of the decemviral power. III. 1-3, 9, 22, 23, 25, 36, 41-43, 58.

Fabius, Q., one of three ambassadors, who were sent to the Gauls when besieging Clusium. Unsuccessful in their mission, they had the folly to take a part in the engagement which ensued, and were recognised. The Romans appointed them military tribunes to oppose the indignation of the Gauls, which still farther exasperated that fierce people. V. 35, 36. Quintus was arraigned for his conduct after the Gauls quitted Rome, but died before the day of trial.

Fabius Ambustus, Q., consul, u. c. 343. IV. 52.

Fabius Vibulanus, Q., consul, u. c. 332; probably military tribune, 339, as Livy mentions that he was a *second time* military tribune, 341; interrex, 342. IV. 37, note to 47, 49, 51.

Falerii, a town of Etruria, not far from Rome, engaged in repeated wars with Rome, and subdued by the upright conduct of Camillus, u. c. 361. They afterwards rebelled, and were heavily fined for their revolt. Inhabitants, *Falisci*. IV. 17; V. 8, 13, 19, 26, 27.

Faustulus, the herdsman of the usurper Amulius, who saved and educated Romulus and Remus. I. 4, 5.

Feciales, a body of men, supposed to be twenty in number, whose business was to conclude treaties, to demand restitution, and solemnly to denounce war. Their chief was called *Pater Patratus*. I. 24, 32; IV. 30.

Ferentina, probably a nymph worshipped by the Latins, to whom were sacred the *aqua Ferentina*, (a small tributary of the Tiber, whose source is called *Ferentinum caput*,) and *lucus Ferentinae*, a grove near Rome, where the Latin states were anciently in the habit of assembling. I. 50, 51, 52; II. 38.

Ferentinum, a Latin town, south-east of Rome, on the *Via Latina*, subdued by the Romans, but governed by their own laws. IV. 51, 61.

Feronia, a deity, to whom a grove, temple, and rivulet between Circeii and Tarracina were sacred. I. 30.

Ficāna, a town taken by Ancus Martius. I. 33.

Ficulea Vetus, a Latin town taken by Tarquinius Priscus. I. 38.

Fides, the goddess of Faith. I. 21.

Fidenæ, a town in the country of the Sabines, to the east of the Tiber, on the *Via Salaria*, the inhabitants of which were defeated by Romulus. They seem to have been colonized by Romans, but engaged in frequent hostilities with Rome, and were only ultimately subdued, u. c. 329. Inhabitants, *Fidēnātes*. I. 14, 27; II. 19; IV. 17, 21, 22, 33, 34.

Flaminius-a-um, belonging to the *Flaminja gens*, one of whom built the *Circus Flaminius*, III. 54, near which were meadows called *Prata Flaminia*. III. 54, 63.

Flavoleius, M., a centurion in the battle with the Veientes, *u. c.* 274. II. 45.

Fortuna, the goddess of Fortune. II. 40.

Fossius, M., a military tribune, *u. c.* 322. IV. 25.

Fucinus, a lake in the country of the Marsi, north-east of Rome, from which flows the river Liris. Perhaps Livy alludes to some other lake of that name, in the country of the Volsci. IV. 57.

Fuffetius, Mettus, dictator of the Albans after the death of their king, *Cluilius Albanus*, in the reign of *Tullus Hostilius*. On the termination of the combat between the *Curatii* and *Horatii*, which was proposed by the Albans, and terminated favourably for the Romans, Alba, according to agreement, became subject to Rome. He afterwards, in contravention of his agreement, behaved in a most treacherous manner, and was torn to pieces by two chariots driven opposite ways. I. 23, 27, 28.

Fulcinus, C., one of the ambassadors slain by the order or the carelessness of *Tolumnius*, king of the Veientes. IV. 17.

Furius, or, as some write, *Fusius*, the brother of the consul *Sp. Furius Fusus*, who fell in pursuit of the *Aequi*, *u. c.* 290. III. 5:

Furius, Agrippa, consul, *u. c.* 309, commanded the right wing in a successful battle with the *Volscians*. III. 66, 70.

Furius, Agrippa, military tribune, *u. c.* 364. V. 32.

Furius Pacilus, C., consul, *u. c.* 314; censor, 320; military tribune, *u. c.* 329, when he and his colleagues quarrelled amongst themselves. IV. 12, 22, 24, 31.

Furius Pacilus, C., consul, *u. c.* 343. IV. 53.

Furius, L., consul, *u. c.* 290. An action against him and his colleague was prevented by the sudden death of the prosecutor. II. 54.

Furius Medullinus, L., military tribune, *u. c.* 323, 348. IV. 25, 57.

Furius Medullinus, L., military tribune, *u. c.* 330, 335; consul, 342, when he took *Ferentinum*; again consul, 346; military tribune, 350, 357, 358, 360, 361, 364. IV. 35, 44, 51, 54, 61; V. 14, 16, 24, 26, 32.

Furius Medullinus, L., military tribune, *u. c.* 356. V. 12.

(The arrangement of these three names is altogether conjectural.)

Furius Camillus, M., military tribune, *u. c.* 352, in the third year of the celebrated war with *Veii*; (according to Livy;—the matter is disputed); again, 354, when he devastated the country of the *Falisci*; a third time, 357, when he plundered *Capennæ*; intervex on account of a vitiated election, 358; dictator, 359, when the Romans, wearied with the length of the siege of *Veii*, and encouraged by the Delphic oracle, resolved on vigorous measures, and were under his command successful, after he had completely defeated the *Falisci*. His triumph was most glorious, whilst he incurred the odium of the people, both by its splendour and by insisting on the performance of a vow made to *Apello*. He was a fourth time,

however, elected military tribune, u. c. 361, when he overcame the Falisci, by his magnanimous conduct. His influence averted a threatened transmigration from Rome to Veii; but after being interrex, u. c. 363, he was next year forced into banishment to Ardea, by a threatened prosecution, and heavily fined in his absence. Notwithstanding this ingratitude, when Rome was in the hands of the Gauls, 365, he roused the Ardeātes, successfully attacked the Gauls in his neighbourhood, and being appointed Roman dictator, succeeded in driving away, according to Livy, the barbarian ravagers of his country, again preventing a migration to Veii. V. 1, 10, 12, 14, 17, 19, 21, 23, 25-27, 29-32, 44-46, 49-55. He was afterwards interrex, thrice dictator, thrice military tribune, subdued the Volscians, the Etrurians, and the Gauls, reconciled the dissentient orders of the state, and died of pestilence, u. c. 390, after a glorious public life of thirty-eight years, justly called the second founder of Rome, and bright even among the brightest names of Roman history.

Furius, P., a triumvir for dividing the land belonging to Antium amongst Roman settlers. III. 1.

Furius, Q., Pontifex Maximus, u. c. 365, when he presided at the election of tribunes of the people. III. 54.

Furius, Sex., consul, u. c. 266, when Coriolanus marched against Rome. II. 39.

Furius, Sp., consul, u. c. 273. II. 43.

Furius Fusus, Sp., consul, u. c. 290, when he was besieged in his camp by the Aequi, and, after much anxiety and bloodshed, relieved by T. Quinctius, being himself wounded. III. 4, 5.

Fusius, Sp., pater patratus, (or appointed agent of the Feciales,) in forming the treaty with the Albans. I. 24.

G.

Gabii, a Latin town east of Rome, captured by an artifice of Tarquinius Superbus. I. 53, 54, 60. *Gabinus-a-um*, belonging to Gabii: thus *Gabinus ager*, III. 8; *Gabinus cinctus*, V. 46; *Gabina via*, II. 11; III. 6; V. 49.

Gallia, (Transalpina,) a country of Europe, bounded on the north by the Oceanus Britannicus, on the west by the Oceanus Atlanticus, on the south separated from Spain by the Pyrennaei montes, and bounded by the Mare Internum, on the east by the Alps and the Rhine, comprehending (nearly) modern France, Switzerland and the Netherlands. Gallia Cisalpina extended from the Alps to the Po, and on the east coast even further south. Inhabitants, *Galli*. V. 17, 33-49.

Geganii, an Alban family incorporated among the Roman patricians by Tullus Hostilius. I. 30.

Geganus Macerinus, M., consul, u. c. 308, when, with his colleague,

- he succeeded in quieting the state ; again, 312, when he blockaded and defeated the Volsci, besieging Ardea ; a third time, 318, and censor, 320. III. 65 ; IV. 8-10, 17, 22, 24.
- Geganus Macerinus, Proculus, consul, v. c. 315. IV. 12.
- Geganus, T., consul, v. c. 262. II. 34.
- Genucius, Cn., a tribune of the commons, v. c. 281, found dead at home, under suspicious circumstances, on the day appointed for the trial of Furius and Manlius. II. 54.
- Genucius, Cn., a plebeian, elected military tribune, v. c. 356 ; and again, 359, when he fell in battle with the Falisci and Capenates. V. 13, 18.
- Genucius, M., consul, v. c. 310. IV. 1.
- Genucius, T., a tribune of the commons, v. c. 278, who supported the agrarian law, and, along with his colleague Considius, successfully arraigned T. Menenius. II. 52.
- Genucius, T., one of the first decemviri. III. 33.
- Geryon, a Spanish prince, fabled to have had three heads, slain by Hercules, who drove away his cattle, celebrated for their beauty. I. 7.
- Graecia, a country of Europe, bounded on the west by the Mare Ionicum, on the south by the Mare Internum, and the east by the Aegæum Mare, on the north the boundary varied, as Macedonia was, or was not included in Greece, comprehending the modern Morea, Livadia, and part of Rumelia in Turkey. Inhabitants, *Graeci*, I. 7, 56.

H.

- Hadria, a town in the south of Venetia, a district in the north of Italy, colonised by Tuscans. V. 33. It gave name to,
- Hadriaticum Mare, the Gulf of Venice, called also Mare Superum, that portion of the Mediterranean which separates Italy from Illyricum and Greece. I. 1 ; V. 33.
- Helēna, twin sister of Pollux, daughter of Jupiter and Leda, and wife of Menelaus, king of Sparta, fled to Troy with Paris, the son of Priam, king of that country. She was in vain demanded back, and the refusal gave rise to the siege of Troy, which lasted ten years. After the death of Paris and destruction of Troy, it is said by some that she returned to Sparta with her husband, and on his death was ultimately strangled by the command of Polyxo, the widowed Queen of Rhodes. I. 1.
- Henēti, a people possessing, at the time of the Trojan war, that district of Italy afterwards called *Venetia*, at the top of the Hadriatic Gulf. I. 1.
- Heraclēa, a town of Lucania, on the south of Italy, and the Sinus Tarentinus, at the mouth of the river Aciris. I. 18. There were

other towns of this name. It was here the states of Magna Græcia assembled. I. 18.

Hercinii, saltus, immense forests, which covered Germany, extending from Helvetia, along the banks of the Danube, as far as Dacia, spreading on all sides. V. 34.

Hercules, the most celebrated hero of the ancient classical fables, said to be the son of Jupiter and Alcmena, engaged his whole life in freeing the world from monsters and oppressors, and at last enrolled amongst the inferior gods. I. 7; V. 13.

Herdonius, Ap., a Sabine, who seized the Capitol with the exiles and slaves, but was slain, v. c. 294. III. 15-18.

Herdonius, Turnus, an inhabitant of Aricia, slain in consequence of a false accusation brought against him by Tarquinius Superbus, who was afraid of his opposition in his own designs against the liberty of the Latins. I. 50, 51.

Herminius, Lar., consul, v. c. 307. III. 65.

Herminius, T., a distinguished Roman, who assisted Cocles in his defence of the wooden bridge over the Tiber against the troops of Porsena, and, after signal services, fell, v. c. 255, when lieutenant-general, in the battle at the lake Regillus. II. 10, 11, 20.

Hernici, a Latin tribe north of the Volsci, inhabiting a rugged country, and long opposed to the Romans, who ultimately subdued them, but allowed them to be governed by their own laws. II. 22, 40, 41; III. 6.

Hersilia, the wife of Romulus. I. 11.

Horatia, a sister of the surviving Horatius, who slew her in the excitement of victory, enraged at her lamentations for the death of his antagonist, her lover. I. 26.

Horatii, three brothers, the champions probably of the Romans, in the combat which was to decide the sovereignty of Rome or Alba, one of whom, after his brothers had both been slain, by an ingenious artifice separated the Curiatii, the Alban champions, and slew them. His murdering his sister drew upon him the vengeance of the law, from which he escaped by appealing to the people. I. 24-26.

Horatius, C., consul, v. c. 277. II. 51.

Horatius Pulvillus, C., consul, v. c. 297, when he was successful against the Aequi; died 301, of pestilence, when augur. III. 30, 32.

Horatius Barbatus, L., military tribune, v. c. 330. IV. 35.

Horatius Barbutus, M., a patrician strongly opposed to the usurpation of the decemviri. He protected Icilius from the fury of Appius Claudius, drove that tyrant from the forum, and was one of two deputies who mediated between the patricians and plebeians. These were both elected consuls, v. c. 306, and by his conduct he acquired such popularity, that, after a successful engagement with the Sabines, he obtained, contrary to the express will of the senate, a triumph, by order of the people. This popularity he did not abuse. III. 39, 40, 49, 50, 53, 55, 61-64; IV. 6.

Horatius Pulvillus, M., substituted consul in room of Sp. Lucretius, u. c. 245. He dedicated the temple on the Capitoline hill to Jupiter, notwithstanding an invidious attempt made to deter him from doing so. II. 8.

Horatius, P., the father of the Horatius who slew his sister. He supplicated for the life of his son, which he obtained on condition of offering an expiatory sacrifice. I. 26.

Hortensius, L., tribune of the commons, u. c. 333. IV. 42.

Hostilia, curia, a senate house, consecrated by Tullus Hostilius. I. 30.

Hostilius, Hostus, a Roman, who commanded bravely, and fell in a battle with the Sabines, which had nearly proved fatal to the Romans. I. 12, 22.

Hostilius, Tullus, the third King of Rome, u. c. 82, grandson of Hostus Hostilius, a prince of great enterprise, and warlike in his disposition. He conquered the Albans, (whom he removed to Rome, destroying their city,) the Veientes, the Fidenates, and the Sabines, and died, u. c. 114, after a bustling and successful reign of thirty-two years, devoting himself in his later years to religious observances. I. 22-31.

I.

Ilcii, a plebeian family, three of whom were tribunes of the commons, u. c. 346, by whose agency three plebeians were elected quaestors, to the great indignation of the patricians. IV. 54, 55.

Ilcius, L., a plebeian of tribunical dignity, to whom Virginia, the victim of Appius' base passion, had been betrothed. In the absence of Virginius, the girl's father, he in vain but vigorously resisted the proceedings of the decemvir, who, as the last exertion of power, ordered him to prison after Virginius had slain his daughter, but Ilcius was protected by the people. He stirred up the army encamped against the Sabines, and was elected tribune of the commons, u. c. 305. III. 44, 45, 49, 51, 54.

Ilcius, L., tribune of the commons, u. c. 343. IV. 52.

Ilcius, Sp., tribune of the commons, u. c. 283, the first year, according to Livy, of the Comitia Tributa. II. 58.

Indigètes, (said to be derived from *indigetare*, to invoke,) men worshipped as the tutelary gods of any country, which had been indebted to them for their services. I. 2.

Insubres, a people of Gaul, in Lugdunensis Prima, called by Livy a canton of the Aedui, between the rivers Ligeris and Arar, who gave name to a district in the north of Italy, on the banks of the Po, in which the Gauls founded the city Mediolanum, so called from their former chief town. Their fierce dispositions involved them in frequent wars with the Romans. V. 34.

Italia, a country on the south of Europe, surrounded on three sides by

the Mediterannean, separated on the north from the adjoining countries by the Alps. The part of it north of the rivers Macra and Rubicon was, in early times, called Gallia Cisalpina, and the southern part Magna Graecia. Its length, in the extended term, is upwards of 700 miles, its breadth varying. It was all subjected to the Roman arms, u. c. 486. I. 2; V. 33.

Iūlus, a name of Ascanius, whence the Julian family are said to have derived their name. I. 3.

J.

Janiculum, a hill not included in the seven on which Rome stood, on the south side of the Tiber, first added by Ancus Marcius, and joined to the rest of the city by a wooden bridge. Here Numa Pompilius was buried, and the poet Statius Caecilius. The heaviness of the atmosphere rendered it an unfavourable spot for building. I. 33; II. 10, 51.

Janus, worshipped as a deity, regarded by some as the most ancient of the gods, by others as a king of Italy, who gave Saturn a hospitable reception when he took refuge in Latium. He is said to have done much to civilise the early inhabitants of Italy, and hence to have been deified. I. 19; II. 49.

Julli, an Alban family incorporated among the Roman patricians by Tullus Hostilius. I. 30.

Julius, C., consul, u. c. 272; decemvir, u. c. 303, when he prosecuted P. Sestius before the people for murder, one of the deputies sent by senate to mediate with the people after the affair of Virginia. II. 43; III. 33, 50.

Julius, C., consul, u. c. 308; again 320; and perhaps a third time, u. c. 321. III. 65; IV. 21, 23.

Julius Iulus, C., military tribune, u. c. 347, when he contested with P. Cornelius Cossus for the command of the war against Antium; a second time, 350, and censor, 363, when he died. IV. 56, 61; V. 31.

Julius Mento, C., consul, u. c. 324, when his misconduct and that of his colleague led, after great opposition on their part, to the appointment of a dictator. He being left to protect the city, dedicated the temple of Apollo. IV. 26, 29.

Julius, L., military tribune, u. c. 317; master of the horse, 324, under the dictator A. Postumius Tubertus; consul, 325, when he passed with his colleague the law *de mulctarum aestimatione*. IV. 16, 26, 30.

Julius Iulus, L., military tribune, u. c. 352. V. 1.

Julius Iulus, L., military tribune, u. c. 354; again 356, when, along with A. Postumius, he crushed the Tarquinienses. V. 10, 16.

Julius, Proculus, a patrician. He affirmed that he had seen Romulus

after his death, who announced to him that he had been transferred to Heaven. I. 16.

Julius Iulus, Sex., military tribune, u. c. 331. IV. 35.

Junius-a-um, belonging to the patrician clan of the Junii. II. 5.

Junius Brutus, L., son of the sister or aunt of Tarquinius Superbus, is said, from fear of that monarch's blood-thirsty disposition, to have counterfeited such a degree of stupidity, as to render him no object of suspicion. When the conduct of young Tarquin to Lucretia presented a favourable opportunity for throwing off the tyrant's yoke, he concealed his great energy of character no longer, headed the revolt, and was elected first consul. After shewing the most determined opposition to the re-introduction of monarchy, by presiding at the execution of his own sons, who had plotted the return of the Tarquins, he fell in single combat with Aruns Tarquinius, whom at the same time he slew. I. 56, 58-60; II, 1-7.

Junius, Q., tribune of the commons, u. c. 316. IV. 16.

Juno, worshipped as the sister and wife of Jupiter, queen of the gods and men. I. 32; V. 21, 22, 31.

Jupiter, worshipped as the son of Saturn, and Rhea or Ops, king of gods and men, which rank he is said to have attained by dethroning his father. II. 8. He was worshipped with different epithets from his qualities, or according to the occasions on which he was supposed to be serviceable, or the place where his temple stood; thus, *Capitolinus*, I. 55; *Elicius*, I. 20, 31; *Feretrius*, I. 10, 33; IV. 20; *Optimus Maximus*, IV. 2; *Stator*, I. 12, 41.

Juventas, the goddess of youth. V. 54.

K.

Karthaginienses. See Carthago.

L.

Lacerius, C., a tribune of the commons, chosen by those previously elected, in contravention of the Trebenian law, u. c. 354. V. 10.

Laetorius, a tribune of the commons, u. c. 282, who, in support of the law for the establishment of the Comitia Tributa, was engaged in a violent contest with Appius Claudius. II. 56.

Laetorius, M., centurion *primi pili*, u. c. 259. II. 27.

Laevi, a tribe of the *Ligures*, who seem to have settled north of Liguria. V. 35.

Lanuvium, a Latin town south-east of Rome, celebrated for the worship of Juno. The inhabitants were presented with the freedom of the city, u. c. 417. III. 29.

Larentia, the wife of Faustulus, and nurse of Romulus and Remus. I. 4.

- Lartius, Sp.**, a distinguished Roman, who assisted Cocles in his defence of the wooden bridge over the Tiber. II. 10, 11.
- Lartius, T.**, consul, probably consul and first dictator, u. c. 253, and a second time consul, 256. He was friendly to the people. II. 18, 21, 29.
- Latinus**, king of Latium, when Aeneas landed in that country. I. 1, 2.
- Latinus Silvius**, the fourth king of Alba Longa. I. 3.
- Latini Prisci**, the inhabitants of Latin colonies settled by Latinus Silvius. I. 3, 32, 52.
- Latium**, a country of Italy, bounded on the west by the Tiber, on the south by the Tuscan sea, the east the Liris and Campania, and the north the Anio, the country of the Marsi and Samnium, originally extending southwards only to Circei, afterwards to Sinuessa, including the *Latīni*, (inhabitants of Latium,) Aequi, Hernici, Rutuli, and Volsci. Laurentum was the capital of the Latini in the time of King Latinus, Lavinium in the time of Aeneas, Alba Longa in that of Ascanius, and finally ROME. The surrounding Latins were for many ages occasionally engaged in war with this city, and, after a long struggle, were presented with the freedom of the city, under some restrictions, u. c. 663. I. 2, 3, 32, 33, 35, 38, 45, 49, 50-52; II. 19, 20, 22, 33, 48; III. 7. *Via Latina*, a road leading from Rome eastward as far as Venafrum, then south to Vulturnus, where it joined the Via Appia. II. 39.
- Latōna**, the mother of Apollo and Diana. V. 13.
- Lavici**, a Latin town immediately south of the lake Regillus, taken by Coriolanus, in his march against Rome, and again by the Romans under Q. Servilius Priscus, dictator, afterwards receiving a Roman colony. Inhabitants, *Lavicāni*. II. 39; III. 25; IV. 45-47, 49. *Lavicana Via*. IV. 41.
- Lavinia**, daughter of King Latinus, betrothed to Turnus, but married to Aeneas. I. 1, 3.
- Lavinium**, a Latin town on the sea-coast, said to have been founded by Aeneas, and named after his wife Lavinia, who reigned there on his death, by permission of Ascanius. I. 1, 3, 14, 23; II. 39.
- Laurentium**, a Latin town, on the sea-coast, a little to the north-west of Lavinium, the capital of the Latins under Latinus. Inhabitants, *Laurentes*, adjective *Laurens*. I. 1, 14.
- Libui**, a tribe of Gauls, originally settled in that part of Gallia Cisalpina where are the towns Brixia and Berona. They seem to have afterwards settled further west, next the Salassi. V. 35.
- Licinius Macer, C.**, a Roman annalist, supposed to be a contemporary with Cicero. IV. 7, 20, 23.
- Licinius, C.**, one of the first tribunes of the commons, u. c. 260. II. 33.
- Licinius Calvus, P.**, distinguished as the first plebeian who shared in the supreme authority at Rome, being military tribune, u. c. 355. He gave great satisfaction to both parties in the state, and was about

- to be re-elected a second time, u. c. 359, (V. 12, 18, 20,) when he procured the office for his son,
- Licinius Calvus**, P. V. 18, 20.
- Licinius**, Sp., a factious tribune of the commons, u. c. 273. II. 43.
- Lictōres**, attendants on all the greater magistrates except the censors, instituted by Romulus, whose office was to remove the crowd, to see proper respect paid to the magistrates, and to punish criminals. I. 8, 26; II. 55; III. 36.
- Ligūres**, the inhabitants of Liguria, a district of Gallia Cisalpina, bounded on the west by the river Varus, on part of the north by the Padus, on the east by the Macra, and on the south by the Sinus Ligusticus. They were long troublesome to the Romans. V. 35.
- Lingōnes**, a tribe of Gauls in Lugdunensis Quarta, at the sources of the rivers Sequana, Mosa and Matrona, who, along with the Boii, settled in Italy, at the south of the Po, near its mouth. V. 35.
- Longūla**, a town of the Volscians, taken by the Romans, and retaken by the Volscians under Coriolanus. II. 33, 39.
- Lucēres**, a tribe of the equites said by Livy to have been formed by Romulus, other writers applying the term to a tribe of the whole people. I. 13, 36.
- Lucretia**, daughter of Sp. Lucretius Tricipitinus, and wife of Tarquinius Collatinus, who having been beloved, and treacherously wronged by her husband's relation, Sextus Tarquinius, stabbed herself in presence of her father, her husband, of Brutus and Valerius, previously detailing the cause, and imploring them to avenge her fate. It was this incident which led to the abolition of the regal powers. I. 57-59.
- Lucretius Tricipitinus**, Hostus, consul, u. c. 326. IV. 30.
- Lucretius Flavius**, L., consul, u. c. 362, when he conquered the Aequi; military tribune, 364, when he conquered the Volscinienses. V. 29, 32.
- Lucretius Tricipitinus**, L., consul, u. c. 292, when he almost destroyed the Volscians, defeating them twice, the latter time when they were conjoined with the Aequi. III. 8, 10.
- Lucretius**, P., consul, u. c. 247. II. 15.
- Lucretius**, P., prefect of the city, u. c. 295, in the absence of the consuls, who were attacking the Volscians. III. 24.
- Lucretius Tricipitinus**, P., military tribune, u. c. 336; and again, 338. IV. 44, 47.
- Lucretius Tricipitinus**, Sp., a noble Roman, father of Lucretia, who had been left as prefect of the city by Tarquin, when that monarch was engaged in besieging Ardea. After the expulsion of the royal family, he was elected consul in room of Brutus, but died in a few days after his appointment. I. 58, 59; II. 8.
- Lucretius**, T., consul, u. c. 246, when he in some measure succeeded in checking the Etrurians; and again, 250. II. 8, 11, 16.
- Lucūmo**, the original name of L. Tarquinius Priscus, probably a

Tuscan term, indicative of belonging to the highest or priests' caste. I. 34.

Lupercal, a feast in honour of Pan, (generally the place of celebration,) celebrated on the 15th of February, when his priests, (*Luperci*,) with a girdle of goat's skin, ran about striking all whom they met with goat-skin thongs. Said to be derived a *lupo*, because Pan protected the sheep from the wolves. I. 5.

Lyceus-a-um, belonging to Lyceus, a mountain in Arcadia, sacred to Pan. I. 5.

M.

Macedonia, now part of Rumelia, a country in the south of Europe, bounded on the north by Maesia, on the east Thrace, on the south Thessaly and the Mare Aegaeum, on the west Illyricum, but, under the Romans, by the Gulf of Venice. I. 1.

Maecilius, P., tribune of the commons, v. c. 283. II. 58.

Maecilius, Sp., a factious tribune of the commons four times; the last time elected in his absence, v. c. 339. IV. 48.

Maelius, P., military tribune, v. c. 355; and again, 359. V. 12, 18.

Maelius, Sp., a knight, whose suspicious largesses to the plebeians, in a time of dearth, v. c. 315, aroused the attention of the senate to his obvious attempts at acquiring supreme power, and who, on refusing to appear before Cincinnatus, appointed dictator for the occasion, was slain by Ahala Servilius, master of the horse, and his house razed to the foundation. His followers are called Maeliani. IV. 13-16.

Maenius, M., a factious tribune of the commons, v. c. 345. IV. 53.

Maenius, P., military tribune, v. c. 355. V. 12.

Maesia, a wood probably between Rome and the sea. I. 33.

Magister equitum, an assistant to the dictator, and generally nominated by him, who, as that magistrate could not, without permission of the people, serve on horseback, commanded the cavalry under him. The first was probably Sp. Cassius. II. 18.

Malitiosa silva, a wood somewhere in the country of the Sabines. I. 30.

Mamilius, L., the dictator of Tusculum, who brought assistance to the Romans when involved in foreign and domestic war, and was presented with the freedom of the city. III. 18, 29.

Mamilius, Octavius, a nobleman of Tusculum possessed of great influence among the Latin states, to whom Tarquinius Superbus gave his daughter in marriage. He afterwards gave shelter to the banished tyrant, and headed a combination of thirty states to restore him, but was defeated and wounded in the battle fought at the lake Regillus. I. 49; II. 15, 18, 19.

Manilius, Sex., a plebeian who, along with M. Oppius, commanded

the Roman armies when they revolted from the decemvirs. III. 51.

Manlius, a Roman clan; hence *Manliana imperia*, tyrannical orders in the fashion of L. Manlius, who enforced a levy with hated severity. IV. 29.

Manlius, A., one of the ambassadors sent to Greece to collect laws, and afterwards appointed one of the first decemviri, u. c. 303. III. 31, 33.

Manlius, A., military tribune, u. c. 350; again, 353; a third time, 358; and, 361, one of three ambassadors sent with a present to Delphi for Apollo. They were captured by pirates, but afterwards released, and conveyed safe to Delphi. IV. 61; V. 8, 16, 28.

Manlius, C., consul, u. c. 280; arraigned next year with his colleague by Genucius, but freed from the prosecution by the suspicious death of the accuser. II. 54.

Manlius, Cn., consul, u. c. 274, when he commanded the right wing, and fell in a battle with the Etrurians. II. 43-47.

Manlius Capitolinus, L., military tribune, u. c. 333. IV. 42.

Manlius, M., military tribune, u. c. 335. IV. 44.

Manlius (afterwards) **Capitolinus**, M., consul, u. c. 363, when his colleague and he defeated the Aequi. He saved the Capitol, when on the point of being stormed by a party of Gauls during the night. V. 31, 47. Jealous of the influence of Camillus, he formed a popular party, which gave great uneasiness to the patricians, and forced them to free him after he had been imprisoned. He afterwards seems to have proceeded to actions either criminal, or easily rendered seemingly so by the arts of his enemies, as both parties at last combined against him, and he was thrown from the Tarpeian rock, the scene of his most memorable achievement.

Marcus Coriolanus, C., a patrician of great impetuosity, bravery and haughtiness, who was mainly instrumental in taking Corioli, u. c. 261. He incurred the hatred of the commons by his aristocratic spirit, and was forced into banishment, 263. He took refuge among the Volscians, incited them to war, led them on victoriously to within five miles of Rome, 266, and retired at last, on the intercession of his mother, after rejecting several supplicatory messages delivered by ambassadors and priests. His after-fate is uncertain. Some allege he was stoned to death, others that he killed himself, and one ancient author asserts that he lived till old age. II. 33-35, 37, 39, 40.

Marcus, **Marcus**, probably a Sabine, who came with Numa Pompilius to Rome, and was enrolled among the Roman patricians by that king. He was the father of

Marcus, **Numa**, who married the daughter of Numa Pompilius, and was the father of Ancus **Marcus**. He was appointed high priest by Tullus Hostilius. I. 20.

Mars, worshipped as the son of Juno, and god of wars. He was held in especial veneration in Rome, from his supposed relationship to

- the founder of the city, sometimes called *Gradivus*, (a *gradiendo*). I. 4, 20; II. 45. *Campus Martius*, a plain between the city and the Tiber, sacred to Mars, where the *Comitia Centuriata* were held, the bodies of distinguished Romans burned, and particularly the youth were exercised in manly sports. I. 44; II. 5. *Flamen Martis*, the priest of Mars. I. 20.
- Massilia*, a distinguished commercial city on the south sea-coast of Gaul, in the district of *Gallia Narbonensis* called *Viennensis*, said to have been founded by a colony from *Phocæa*, in the reign of *Tarquinius Priscus*. It retained the manners, the laws, and the language of the original settlers, was distinguished in the midst of barbarians for its politeness and literature, and was a favourite place of resort for the education of young Romans, with whose state it was always on friendly terms. The modern name is *Marseilles*. Inhabitants, *Massilienses*. V. 34.
- Matuta Mater*, or *Ino*, or *Leucothoe*, the daughter of *Cadmus*, founder of *Thebes*, worshipped as a deity. V. 19, 23.
- Mediolanum*, a town of *Gallia Cisalpina*, capital of the *Insubres*, near the river *Lambrus*, a northern tributary of the *Padus*, founded by the Gauls in the reign of *Tarquinius Priscus*. The modern name is *Milan*. V. 34.
- Medullia*, a Latin town taken by *Ancus Marcius*, and afterwards by *Tarquinius Priscus*. I. 33, 38.
- Menenius Agrippa*, consul, u. c. 251. He was beloved by the patri- cians, and at the same time highly popular, and succeeded in bring- ing back the people to Rome, after the famous secession to *Mons Sacer*. On his death next year, 261, he was buried at the public expense. II. 16, 32, 33.
- Menenius Agrippa*, one of the *triumviri* appointed to settle a colony in *Ardea*. IV. 11.
- Menenius Lanatus*, *Agrippa*, consul, u. c. 316; military tribune, 336; and again, 338. IV. 13, 44, 47.
- Menenius C.*, consul, u. c. 302. III. 32.
- Menenius Lanatus*, *L.*, consul, u. c. 315. IV. 12.
- Menenius T.*, consul, u. c. 277, when he was defeated by the *Etru- rians*, elated with their conquest over the *Fabii*. He was fined next year for not having protected that family with sufficient vigour, when stationed near the *Cremera*, and died of chagrin. II. 51, 52.
- Mercurius*, worshipped as the god of merchandise, oratory, patron of poets and men of genius, inventor of the lyre, the messenger of the gods, and the conductor of the dead to the mansions of *Pluto*, the son of *Jupiter* and *Maia*, daughter of *Atlas*. II. 21, 27; V. 13.
- Messius Vectius*, a *Volscian* who distinguished himself in battle with the Romans, u. c. 324. IV. 28, 29.
- Metapontum*, a sea-port town of *Lucania*, at the mouth of the *Casuen- tus* river, where *Pythagoras* is supposed to have died. I. 18.
- Metilius M.*, a tribune of the commons, u. c. 354, who, along with

- two colleagues, successfully arraigned Sergius and Virginus for their conduct as military tribunes in the previous year. V. 11.
- Metilius, Sp., a factious tribune of the commons, thrice elected, the last time in his absence, u. c. 339. IV. 48.
- Mezentius, a king of the Etrurians, when Aeneas landed in Latium. I. 2.
- Minucius, L., consul, u. c. 296, when he was unsuccessful against the Aequi, and being shut up in his camp, was relieved by Cincinnatus, who inclosed the Aequi between his own camp and that of Minucius, and after the victory ordered Minucius to abdicate his consulship. III. 25, 26, 29.
- Minucius, L., decemvir, u. c. 304 and 305. He went with his colleagues, except Claudius and Oppius, into exile. III. 35, 58.
- Minucius, L., an active Roman, who being appointed *praefectus annonae* in a time of dearth, detected the traitorous designs of Sp. Maelius, and became highly popular. IV. 12, 13, 16.
- Minucius, M., consul, u. c. 256; and again, u. c. 263. II. 21, 34.
- Minucius, M., a tribune of the commons, u. c. 354, who, along with two colleagues, successfully arraigned Sergius and Virginus for their conduct as military tribunes in the previous year. V. 11.
- Minucius, P., consul, u. c. 262. II. 34.
- Minucius, Q., consul, u. c. 297. III. 30.
- Monēta, a name given to Juno, according to Cicero, *a monendo*, in whose temple, with this name, records of the magistrates were kept, and coins stamped with her image. Hence *money*. IV. 7, 20.
- Mucius, (afterwards Scaevola), C., a young nobleman, who, when Rome was besieged by Porsena, penetrated into the enemies' camp, for the purpose of slaying the king. Having stabbed the secretary by mistake, he was seized, and his intrepid conduct and threats so astounded Porsena, according to Livy, that he made peace with Rome. *Mucia prata*, lands given to Mucius as a reward for his gallantry. II. 12, 13.
- Murcia, a name of Venus, (who had a temple with this name at the foot of the Aventine,) said to be a corruption for *Myrtea*, the myrtle being sacred to Venus. I. 33.

N.

- Naevia, porta, a gate at the foot of the Caelian hill. II. 11.
- Navius, Attus, a celebrated augur, in the time of Tarquinius Priscus. I. 36.
- Nautius, C., consul, u. c. 279; again, 296, when he routed the Sabines. II. 52; III. 25, 26-29.
- Nautius Rutillus, C., consul, u. c. 344. IV. 52.
- Nautius, Sp., consul, u. c. 266, when Rome was threatened by Coriolanus. II. 39.

- Nautius Rutilus, Sp., military tribune, u. c. 331 ; and again, 339. IV. 35-47.
- Nautius Rutilus, Sp., military tribune, u. c. 336 ; and again, 350. IV. 44, 61. (This distribution is conjectural.)
- Nepesinus-a-um, belonging to Nepête, an Etrurian town. Hence *Nepesinus ager*. V. 19.
- Neptūnus, worshipped as god of the sea, the sun of Saturn and Rhea or Ops, and brother of Jupiter. V. 13. *Neptunus equestris*. I. 9.
- Nomentum, a town in the country of the Sabines, between the river Anio and the Tiber, taken from the Latins by Tarquinius Priscus. I. 38 ; IV. 22, 32. *Via Nomentana*, originally Ficulensis. III. 52.
- Norba, a small town in Latium, on the heights above the Pomptinus ager, colonised as a protection to the surrounding country, u. c. 263. II. 34. This colony was distinguished for its unshaken fidelity to the Romans.
- Numicius, a small river in Latium, south of Lavinium. I. 2.
- Numicius Priscus, T., consul, u. c. 285, when he routed the Volscians, taking Ceno. II. 63.
- Numitor, the elder son of Procas, the 13th king of Alba Longa, grandfather of Romulus and Remus, and restored by them to the throne, which his younger brother Amulius had usurped. I. 3, 5.
- Numitorius, L., a tribune of the commons, u. c. 283, elected at the first Comitia Tributa. II. 58.
- Numitorius, P., uncle of Virginia, who resisted Appius Claudius in his designs upon that girl, and was immediately afterwards elected a tribune of the commons, u. c. 305. IV. 46, 46, 51, 54.

O.

- Oppia, a vestal virgin who was punished for the breach of her vows, probably by being buried alive, u. c. 271. II. 42.
- Oppius, C., a tribune of the commons, u. c. 306. III. 54.
- Oppius, M., a plebeian, who commanded along with Sex. Manilius, in the Roman armies, when they revolted from the decemvirs. III. 54.
- Oppius Cornicen, Sp. a decemvir, u. c. 304 and 305. He united with Ap. Claudius in his oppressive measures, remained with him when the rest of the decemvirs were engaged in wars without the city, and being imprisoned on the fall of the decemvirs, killed himself. III. 35, 41, 49, 50, 58.
- Ortōna, a Latin town besieged by the Aequi, u. c. 273, and taken by C. Horatius Pulvillus, u. c. 297. II. 43 ; III. 30.
- Ostia, a town at the mouth of the Tiber, fifteen miles from Rome, and its sea-port, founded by Ancus Marcius, celebrated for its salt-pits. I. 33.

P.

Padus, called by the Greeks and the Roman poets, *Eridānus*, the largest river in Italy, rising in Mons Vesulus, one of the Cottian Alps, running eastward in a basin formed by the Alps and the Apennines for above 300 miles, and discharging its waters, after receiving about thirty tributary streams descending from the Alps on the north, and the Apennines on the south, into the Adriatic, near the town *Adria*, by seven mouths, two of which, *Volana* and *Padusa*, were natural. V. 33, 35.

Palatīnus, Mons, or simply *Palatium*, one of the seven hills on which Rome stood, having on the east the *Subura* and the *Celian*, on the west the *Forum* and the *Capitol*, on the south the *Circus Maximus* and the *Aventine*, on the north the *Via Sacra* and the temple of *Peace*. It was built upon first by *Romulus*; there too dwelt *Tullus Hostilius*, and all the Roman emperors. From the number of splendid houses built upon it, it gives rise to the word *palace*. I. 5, 7, 33; II. 10.

Pallantēum, a town in the south of *Arcadia*, at the foot of *Mons Maenalus*, said to have been the native city of *Evander*. I. 5.

Pallor, the god of paleness. I. 27.

Pan, worshipped as the god of shepherds, the inventor of the flute, worshipped principally in *Arcadia*. I. 5.

Paphlagonia, a country of *Asia Minor*, on the shores of the *Pontus Euxinus*, separated on the west from *Bithynia* by the river *Parthenius*, on the south from *Galatia* by the river *Halys* and *Magaba Mons*, on the east from the *Pontus* by the *Halys*. I. 1.

Papirius Crassus, L., consul, u. c. 319; and again, 325. IV. 21, 30.

Papirius Mugillanus, L., probably consul, u. c. 310; one of the first censors, 311; again consul, 325; military tribune, 333; and interrex, 334. IV. 7, 8, 30, 42, 43.

Papirius, M., a patrician, who, indignant at a Gaul's familiarity, when Rome was in possession of the Gauls, struck him with his ivory staff, and was in consequence slain, this being the signal for a general sack of the city. V. 41.

Papirius Atratinus, M., consul, u. c. 344. IV. 52.

Papirius Crassus, M., consul, u. c. 314. IV. 12.

Papirius Mugillanus, M., military tribune, u. c. 337; and again, 339. IV. 45, 47.

Patres, a name given to the Roman senators, from their age, or their paternal care of the state, (I. 8.) According to *Livy*, *Romulus* instituted 100, (I. 8); *Tullus Hostilius* added 100, (I. 30); *Tarquinius Priscus* added 100 more, (I. 35); *Brutus* filled up the number thinned by *Tarquinius Superbus*, (I. 49; II. 1.) to 300; 300 were added by *Sulla*; there were 900 in the dictatorship of *Julius Caesar*, and *Augustus* reduced them to 600. Their pri-

vileges were numerous, and their principal duties were, in the commonwealth, (for under the emperors their powers were nominal,) to guard the public religion, to manage the treasury, to settle the provinces, to nominate ambassadors, to bestow public honours, to inquire into public crimes, to interpret, absolve from, and abrogate the laws, and to postpone the assemblies of the people. In addition to the passages already quoted, allusions will be found to changes in the constitution of the *Patres*, I. 30, 35; II. 9, 16, 33; III. 14, 65, 67; V. 12. According to Niebuhr, whose invaluable researches into the early constitution of Rome have shed a new light on all connected with its institutions, Livy and the other writers on this subject have completely mistaken the genius of the infant state. In his opinion, (and by following it the scholar will be relieved from great perplexity, see for instance the three first sentences of II. 64,) the *Patres*, a term applied latterly only to the senators, but originally to all the patricians, were the original free-born citizens possessing property in land, and personally independent, exclusively the *populus*, divided into three *tribes*, with each tribe subdivided into ten *curiae*, and each *curiae* subdivided into ten *gentes*, there being thus 300 *gentes*, meeting in the *Comitia Curiata*, which was consequently entirely patrician, whilst the senate was made up of the heads or representatives of the *gentes*;—the clients were the original remaining population of Rome, bound to their patrons by the same ties as the feudal retainers in the Highlands were to their chiefs, and generally supported by land received from their patrons, on the tenure of obedience and service;—the plebeians, *plebs*, were totally distinct from and independent of both, immigrating landholders, clients independent by the extinction of their patrons' families, but principally inhabitants of conquered districts admitted to the rights of free citizens, gradually acquiring influence, and assembled exclusively in the *Comitia Tributa*, whose enactments at first related only to the appointment of plebeian magistrates, afterwards to other matters, and became binding on the states;—the whole orders were by Servius Tullus first blended in the *Comitia Centuriata*, in which there were six centuries of patrician knights, including all the patricians, and twelve of plebeian knights, forming a plebeian nobility, and hence the hatred of the aristocracy at Servius Tullus, regarding him as destroying the old aristocratical *Comitia Curiata*, which, however, for a long time had a *veto* on the proceedings of the other *Comitia*. According to him the term *Patricii* is an adjective, belonging to the *Patres*; according to Livy, the *Patricii* were the descendants of the *Patres*. I. 8; III. 65; IV. 1-6, 25.

Pavor, the god of fear. I. 27.

Pedum, a Latin town, taken by Coriolanus, v. c. 265. II. 39.

Presented with the freedom of the city, 417.

Peloponnesus, now the *Morea*, the southern division of Greece, bounded on three sides by the Mediterranean, and on the north separated

from *Graecia Propria* by the Isthmus of Corinth, containing Achaia, Elis, Messenia, Laconia, Argolis and Arcadia.

Peninum, *Jugum*, a ridge of the Alps immediately south of the *Lacus Lemanus*, now great St Bernard and St Gothard. The origin of the name is contested. V. 35.

Phocaea, a town on the sea-coast of Ionia, in Asia Minor, near the *Hydra Promontorium*. V. 34.

Pinarii, one of the noblest families of *Latium* in the time of *Hercules*. I. 7.

Pinarius, L., consul, u. c. 282. II. 56.

Pinarius Mamercinus, L., a military tribune, u. c. 323. IV. 25.

Piso Calpurnius Frugi, L., consul, u. c. 620, referred to as an annalist, I. 55; II. 58.

Plebs. See *Patres*. Their condition is referred to, I. 56; II. 9, 21, 33, 56, 64; III. 55; IV. 49, 54; V. 12.

Poetelius, Q., one of the decemvirs, u. c. 304, 305. He went into exile on the abolition of the decemviral power. III. 35, 58.

Politorium, a city of the Sabines taken by *Ancus Marcius*, and its inhabitants transferred to Rome, occupying the *Aventine*. I. 33.

Polusca, a town of the Volscians taken by the Romans, u. c. 261, and retaken by *Coriolanus*. II. 33, 39.

Pometia, a town of *Latium*, between the sea-coast and the river *Ufens*, at one time the capital of the Volsci; called also *Suessa*, and *Suessa Pometia*. Adjective, *Pomptinus-a-um*. I. 41, 53; II. 16, 17, 22, 34; IV. 25.

Pomoerium, an open space without and within the walls of a city, sacred, and therefore not built upon or tilled. I. 44.

Pompilius, *Numa*, an inhabitant of *Cures*, who, after a year's interregnum, was elected second king of Rome, u. c. 39, where he reigned for forty-three years, distinguished for his attention to the arts of peace, to the institution of religious rites, and the civilization of his warlike subjects. I. 18-21, 32.

Pompilius, *Sex.*, a tribune of the commons, u. c. 335. IV. 42, 44.

Pomponius, *M.*, a tribune of the commons, u. c. 305. III. 54.

Pomponius, *M.*, a plebeian, elected military tribune, u. c. 356. V. 13.

Pomponius, *Q.*, a tribune of the commons, u. c. 360; arraigned and fined, to the great indignation of the patricians, two years afterwards. V. 29.

Pontifices, priests varying in number, whose corporation was called *collegium*, and who judged in all matters pertaining to sacred things. I. 20; II. 2; IV. 3. Their chief was called *Pontifex Maximus*. III. 54; IV. 44.

Pontificius, *Ti.*, a factious tribune of the commons, u. c. 274. II. 44.

Porsëna, *Lar*, king of the *Clusini*, with whom *Tarquin* took refuge, and who, after besieging Rome, at last retired, according to *Livy*,

intimidated by the obstinacy of the resistance, but more probably in consequence of submission on the part of the Romans. II. 9-15.

Porsena, Aruna, son of king Porsena, who fell in the siege of Aricia. II. 14.

Postumia, a vestal virgin, accused of having violated her vows, and acquitted, v. c. 335. IV. 44.

Postumianus-a-um, belonging to the clan Postumius. Hence *Postumiana imperia*. IV. 29.

Postumius, A., dictator, v. c. 255, when he defeated the Latins, in a celebrated battle at the lake Regillus; consul, 258. II. 19-21.

Postumius Albus, A., consul, v. c. 290, when the Aequi were defeated with immense slaughter; ambassador to the Aequi, 296. III. 4, 5, 25.

Postumius Regillensis, A., military tribune, v. c. 358, when, with L. Julius, he slaughtered the Tarquinienses. V. 16. He was afterwards a second time military tribune.

Postumius Tubertus, A., master of the horse in the second dictatorship of Mam. Aemilius, v. c. 321; dictator, 324, when he totally defeated the Aequi and Volsci. IV. 23, 26-29.

Postumius, M., military tribune, v. c. 329, when he and his colleagues quarrelled amongst themselves. He was fined for his misconduct, 332. IV. 31, 41.

Postumius Albinus, M., military tribune, (according to Livy, but as others maintain, censor,) v. c. 352. V. 1.

Postumius Regillensis, M., military tribune, v. c. 341; a skilful but brutal general, who offended his soldiers so much by his tyrannical conduct, that they stoned him to death. IV. 49, 50.

Postumius, P., consul, v. c. 251, when he defeated the Aurunci. II. 16.

Postumius, Sp., consul, v. c. 288; ambassador to Greece for the purpose of collecting laws, 300; decemvir, 303; lieutenant-general in command of the centre in the battle with the Aequi and Volsci, 309. III. 2, 31, 33, 70.

Postumius Albus, Sp., military tribune, v. c. 323; lieutenant-general, 324. IV. 25, 27.

Postumius, Sp., military tribune, v. c. 361, when he was defeated by the Aequi, but afterwards was in his turn successful. V. 26, 28.

Potitii, a distinguished family in Latium, during the reign of Evander. I. 7.

Praeneste, a Latin town about twenty-four miles east from Rome, celebrated for its worship of Fortune, which revolted to the Romans, v. c. 255, (II. 19); and, after several unsuccessful struggles for independence, remained faithful to that people. *Praenestini montes*, and *Praenestinus ager*. III. 8.

Prætores, Roman magistrates, whose office it was to administer justice. The term seems to have been applied at first to all possessed of supreme military command, (III. 55). They were next in dig-

nity to the consuls, varied in their numbers, and were not introduced into the city as judges till u. c. 389, when it was found that the consuls, from being engaged in the command of the armies, were forced to neglect the administration of justice.

Prisci Latini. See *Latini*.

Proca, 13th king of Alba Longa. I. 3.

Publius Volscus, L., military tribune, u. c. 355. V. 12.

Publius Volero, a plebeian, who successfully resisted an attempt to enrol him in a consular levy, u. c. 281. He was tribune of the commons for the next two years, and was the first who attempted (according to Livy) to introduce the *Comitia Tributa*. II. 55, 56.

Publius Volero, military tribune, u. c. 356. V. 13.

Punicus-a-um, belonging to the Carthaginians, an adjective connected with their descent from the Phœnicians. *Punicum bellum*, a war betwixt the Romans and Carthaginians. Of these there were three, the first beginning u. c. 489, and lasting twenty-three years, to the ultimate disadvantage of the Carthaginians; the second beginning u. c. 535, and ending 552, again to the disadvantage of the Carthaginians; the last, u. c. 604, and ending with the destruction of Carthage, 606. I. 19.

Pupius, P., one of the first quaestors chosen from the plebeians, u. c. 346. IV. 54.

Pylaemenes, king of the Heneti, a Paphlagonian tribe, who was killed in the Trojan war by Menelaus. They were afterwards commanded by *Antenor*, a Trojan prince, brother-in-law of Queen Hecuba, who with them and the Trojans drove out the Euganei, and is said to have founded Patavium, in the north of Italy. I. 1.

Pythagoras, a distinguished philosopher, a native of Samos, who, having received an excellent education, and travelled in the eastern countries, then the seat of learning, especially of astronomical science, was discontented with the constitution of his own state, and settled in Croto, where he established schools for philosophy. He taught amongst other things the transmigration of souls, the motion of the planets round the sun, and extreme temperance of life. He is said to have died at Metapontum, u. c. 256. I. 18.

Pythia, a term for the priestess of Apollo at Delphi. I. 56.

Pythicus-a-um, belonging to Apollo. *Pythicus Apollo*. V. 21.

Pythicum oraculum. V. 15. *Pythicae sortes*. I. 56; V. 23.

Q.

Quaestores, Roman magistrates, whose principal office was the care of the treasury, and every thing connected with the public expenditure. They were at first two in number, but their number was doubled, u. c. 334; raised to eight, 498; under Sulla, 20; and

- Julius Caesar, 40 ; their number under the emperors varying. II. 41 ; III. 24, 25 ; IV. 43, 54.
- Quies, the goddess of quiet. IV. 41.
- Quintilius Varus, M., military tribune, u. c. 352. V. 1.
- Quintilius, Sextus, consul, u. c. 301, when he died of pestilence. III. 32.
- Quinctius-a-um, belonging to the clan *Quinctii*. *Quinctia gens*. III. 12. *Quinctia prata*. III. 26.
- Quinctius Cincinnatus, Q., military tribune, u. c. 340. IV. 49.
- Quinctius, Kaeso, a young patrician of great distinction, who, from his violent resistance to the *lex Terentilla*, was arraigned by A. Virginius, a tribune of the commons ; and in consequence of a false accusation that he had murdered a plebeian, driven into exile, u. c. 293. The accusation was afterwards disproved, but his ultimate fate is doubted. III. 11, 13, 24, 25.
- Quinctius Cincinnatus, L., father of Kaeso, consul, u. c. 294 ; refused the consulship, 295 ; was called from the plough to the dictatorship, 296, when he inclosed the Aequi, who were blockading the Roman camp under the consul Minucius, and sent them under the yoke ; was disappointed in his application for the office of decemvir, 304 ; again dictator, 316, to oppose the designs of Sp. Maelius. III. 12, 19, 21, 26-29, 35 ; IV. 6, 13, 15.
- Quinctius, L., another son of L. Quinctius Cincinnatus, military tribune, u. c. 317 ; master of the horse under the dictator Mam. Aemilius, 318 ; a second time military tribune, u. c. 330 ; and a third time, 335. IV. 16, 17, 35, 44.
- Quinctius Cincinnatus, Q., military tribune, u. c. 350. IV. 61.
- Quinctius Barbatus Capitolinus, T., consul, u. c. 283 ; calmed the people when excited in behalf of the law for Comitia Tributa, endearing himself to the soldiers by his successes against the Aequi, and the mildness of his command ; again consul, 286, when he defeated the Volscians with great slaughter ; triumph next year for dividing land amongst the people ; consul, u. c. 289, when he drove back the Aequi from the Roman walls ; proconsul, 290, when he relieved the consul Furius, who was blockaded in his camp by the Aequi ; quaestor, 296, when he arraigned Volscius for the false accusation of Kaeso Cincinnatus ; was disappointed in his application for the office of decemvir, 304 ; a fourth time consul, 309, when he conquered the Aequi and Volsci ; interrex, 311 ; a fifth time consul, 312, when his impartiality made him highly venerated by men of all ranks ; a sixth time consul, 316, during the designs of Sp. Maelius, to oppose whom he appointed L. Quinctius Cincinnatus dictator, ever retaining his influence during a long and brilliant life. II. 56, 57, 60, 64 ; III. 1, 2, 4, 5, 12, 13, 25, 35, 66-70 ; IV. 7, 8, 10, 13, 41.
- Quinctius Cincinnatus Pennus, T., son of L. Quinctius Cincinnatus, consul, u. c. 324, when he quarrelled with his colleague, C. Julius Mento, and a dictator was in consequence appointed to oppose the

- Aequi and Volsci.** He commanded in this successful campaign as lieutenant-general, and his conduct then, as well as previously, when lieutenant-general under the dictator Mam. Aemilius, 318, induced the people to acquit him when arraigned, 332, for his conduct as military tribune, 329. He had, besides, been consul a second time, 327. IV. 17, 26, 27-33, 41.
- Quinctius, T.,** son of T. Quinctius Barbatus Capitolinus, consul, v. c. 334; military tribune, 350. IV. 43, 61.
- Quintii, or Quinctii,** an Alban family incorporated among the Roman patricians by Tullus Hostilius. I. 30.
- Quirinalis Flamen,** the priest of Romulus. I. 20.
- Quirinalis, Collis,** one of the seven hills on which Rome was built, added to the city, according to Livy, by Servius Tullus, having on the north the Porta Viminalis, on the west the Campus Martius, on the south the Capitol, and on the east the Esquiline and Viminal hills. I. 44.
- Quirinus,** the name given to Romulus as a deity, according to some from Cures, to others from Quirium, a Sabine settlement on Mount Aventine. I. 20; IV. 21; V. 52.
- Quirites,** a name given to the Romans, whose origin seems to be the same as that of *Quirinus*. I. 13.

R.

- Rabuleius, M.,** decemvir, v. c. 304, 305. III. 35.
- Racilia,** wife of L. Quinctius Cincinnatus. III. 26.
- Raeti,** descendants of the Etrurians who settled in the north of Italy, occupying the Alps from the confines of the Helvetii to Venetia, bounded on the north by Vindelicia. V. 33.
- Ramnenses,** a tribe of the people according to some, according to others a century of knights merely, derived by some from Romulus, others maintaining it to be a Tuscan word signifying warriors. I. 13, 36.
- Regillum,** a Sabine town, the original residence of Appius Claudius. II. 16.
- Regillus, Lacus,** a lake in Latium, south-east of Rome. II. 19, 20; III. 20.
- Remus,** twin-brother of Romulus, said to have been the son of Mars and Rhea Silvia, preserved from death, to which they had been doomed by the usurper Amulius, and educated as a shepherd; engaged in conflicts with robbers, and ultimately successful in driving Amulius from the throne, but thereafter slain by his brother for contemptuously leaping over the walls of the city founded by him, or when contesting the right to found the city. I. 4-7.
- Roma,** a city on the south bank of the Tiber, about twelve miles from its mouth, latitude $41^{\circ} 53'$ north, longitude $12^{\circ} 27'$ east, founded, according to the tradition most generally followed, on the 21st of

April, 753 years before Christ, by Romulus, with a colony from Alba Longa; the capital of Latium in the reign of Tarquinius Superbus, then of Italy, and at one time of the world. People, *Romāni*.

Romilius, T. consul, u. c. 299; successfully arraigned next year by C. Claudius Cicero; decemvir, 303. III. 31, 33.

Romularis, ficus, the supposed origin of the *Ruminalis ficus*, a tree standing near the spot where Romulus and Remus were saved. I. 4.

Romulus, twin-brother of Remus, and generally received as the founder of the city Rome, where he reigned for 37 years. I. 4-21, 40; IV. 15; V. 49, 53.

Romulus Silvius, eleventh king of Alba Longa, son of Agrippa, the tenth king. I. 3.

Rocius, L., a Roman ambassador, slain by the orders or through the carelessness of Lar Tolumnius, king of the Veientes. IV. 17.

Ruminalis. See *Romularis*.

Rutilius Crassus, Sp., military tribune, u. c. 338. IV. 47.

Rutūli, a Latin tribe on the sea-coast, whose capital was Ardea. I. 2.

S.

Sabini, the inhabitants of a country of Italy, divided from Umbria by the Nar, from Etruria by the Tiber, from Latium by the Anio, from Picenum and the Vestini by the Apennines. They were rigid in their morals, and from their vicinity to Rome engaged at first in constant struggles with that city. I. 9-13, 30, 31, 33, 36, 37; II. 16, 18, 26, 31, 45, 53, 63, 64; III. 26, 30, 62, 63.

Sacer, Mons, a hill about three miles from Rome, north of the river Anio. II. 32, 33.

Sacra, Via, a street in Rome. II. 13.

Salii, the priests of Mars, twelve in number, who used to go through the street dancing and singing sacred songs, with a peculiar dress, especially on the 1st of March, in commemoration of the shield which was said to have fallen from heaven on that day, in the reign of Numa. I. 20, 27.

Salluvii, called also *Salyes*, a tribe of Gauls in *Narbonnensis Secunda*, on the banks of the rivers *Druentia* and *Rhodanus*. They were conquered, and a Roman colony settled there, in a town called *Aquae Sextiae*, now Aix, u. c. 633. V. 35.

Salpinum, a town of Etruria, between the *Lacus Vulsiniensis* and the river Tiber. Inhabitants, *Salpinātes*. V. 31.

Salyes. See *Salluvii*.

Samius-a-um, belonging to Samos, an island, with a town of the same name, opposite to Ephesus, in Ionia, the birth-place of Pythagoras. I. 18.

Satricum, a Latin town not far from the sea-coast, taken by **Coriolanus**, and the scene of repeated engagements between the Romans and their enemies. II. 39.

Saturnus, worshipped as the god of time, the son of **Coelus** and **Terra**, dethroned by his son **Jupiter**, and sheltered by **Janus**, king of **Latium**, whose people he instructed in agriculture and legislature. II. 21.

Saturnalia, feasts in honour of **Saturn**, the most celebrated in the whole calendar, held on the 17th of December, at first for one day, then for three and five days, when masters and slaves were on an equal footing, presents were exchanged, and mirth of all kinds abounded. II. 21.

Scaptius, T., an old plebeian, who instigated the Romans to seize ground claimed by the **Aricini** and **Ardeates**, u. c. 309. III. 71.

Sellius, A., a tribune of the commons, elected in his absence, u. c. 333. IV. 42.

Sempronius, A., consul, u. c. 257; and again, 263. II. 21, 34.

Sempronius Atratinus, A., one of the first military tribunes, u. c. 311. IV. 7.

Sempronius Atratinus, A., military tribune, u. c. 330; again 335; and a third time, 339. IV. 35, 44, 47.

Sempronius Atratinus, C., consul, u. c. 332, when he rashly encountered the **Volsci**, being fined three years afterwards on account of the disgraceful check sustained by the Roman arms on this occasion. IV. 37-42, 44.

Sempronius Atratinus, L., consul, u. c. 311, and one of the first censors next year. IV. 7, 8.

Senātus. See **Patres**.

Senōnes, a tribe of Gauls in **Lugdunensis Quarta**, on the banks of the rivers **Ligeris** and the **Sequana**, a party of whom settled in the north of **Umbria**, afterwards besieging and sacking **Rome**. V. 35.

Sergius, L., one of three ambassadors sent to convey a present to **Apollo** to **Delphi**, seized by **Liparensian** pirates, but afterwards conveyed in safety to **Greece**, and thence to **Rome**. V. 28.

Sergius Fidēnas, L., consul, u. c. 318, when he defeated the **Veientes** in a battle disastrous to both sides; military tribune, 322; again consul, 326; again military tribune, 331; and a third time, 337, when the Roman troops under his command were shamefully routed by the **Aequi**, and the appointment of a dictator was required. IV. 17, 25, 30, 35, 45, 46.

Sergius Fidenas, L., military tribune, u. c. 358. V. 16.

Sergius, M., decemvir, u. c. 304 and 305. III. 35.

Sergius Fidenas, M., military tribune, u. c. 351, and a second time 353, when he was driven from **Veii** to **Rome**, being attacked furiously in his camp, on two sides, and obstinately bent on seeking no aid from his colleague **Virginus**, with whom he was at variance. For this he was next year tried and fined. IV. 61; V. 8, 11, 12.

- Servilii**, an Alban family incorporated among the patricians by Tullus Hostilius. I. 30.
- Servilius Priscus**, or **Structus**, A., dictator, u. c. 320, against the Fidenates and Veientes, whom he defeated, taking the town Fidenas. IV. 21, 22.
- Servilius**, C., consul, u. c. 276. II. 49.
- Servilius**, C., military tribune, u. c. 337. After a contention as to who should head the force against the Aequi, he obeyed his father, and remained at Rome, being afterwards master of the horse, according to some, under his father as dictator. IV. 45, 46.
- Servilius Ahala**, C., master of the horse, u. c. 316, under Cincinnatus, when he slew Spurius Maelius, who refused to appear before the dictator; consul, u. c. 328; and perhaps master of the horse, 337. IV. 13-15, 30, 46.
- Servilius Ahala**, C., military tribune, u. c. 347; master of the horse the same year, under P. Cornelius, dictator against the Volscians; a second time military tribune, 348; a third time, 353, when he forced his colleagues to quit office before the regular time, in compliance with the wish of all ranks. IV. 56, 57; V. 8, 9.
- Servilius Structus**, L., military tribune, u. c. 338. IV. 47.
- Servilius**, P., consul, u. c. 259. By his mild disposition he conciliated the affections of the people when most seditiously inclined. He subdued the Volscians and the Sabines, but unable to act resolutely in behalf of the plebeians, he retired from office, disliked by both parties. II. 21-27.
- Servilius**, P., consul, u. c. 291, when Rome was attacked by the Aequi and Volsci, and at the same time devastated by a pestilence, of which both consuls died. III. 6, 7.
- Servilius**, Q., consul, u. c. 286; and again, 288; quaestor, 295, when he arraigned Volscius for having falsely accused Kaeso Cincinnatus. II. 64; III. 2, 24.
- Servilius Priscus**, Q., dictator, u. c. 337, when he conquered the Aequi. IV. 26, 30, 45-47.
- Servilius Fidenas**, Q., military tribune, u. c. 353; again, 357; interrex, 358; a third time military tribune, 360; a fourth time, at the era of the siege by the Gauls, 365. V. 8, 14, 17, 24, 36. He was afterwards twice military tribune.
- Servilius**, Sp., consul, u. c. 278; successful against the Veientes, but afterwards rescued by his colleague from the consequences of a rash attack, for which he was unsuccessfully arraigned. II. 51, 52.
- Servius Capitolinus**, P., consul, u. c. 302, and decemvir next year. III. 32, 33.
- Sestius**, P., a patrician accused of murder, and probably condemned by the people, under the decemviri, who passed from their rights, as solely in possession of all public functions on this occasion. III. 33.
- Sestius**, P., quaestor, u. c. 341. IV. 50.

Sextius, L., a tribune of the commons, u. c. 341. IV. 49.
Sibylla, a name, (probably derived from *σιως*, divine, and *βουλη*, will,) which seems to have been given generally to women professing, and believed to have prophetic powers, of whom different numbers are given. The one principally referred to by Latin writers was the Cumæan Sibyl, Amalthæa, or Demophile, who sold Tarquinius Priscus three volumes at the same price which she had demanded for nine, an offer which the augurs severely blamed Tarquin for having refused. These volumes were supposed to contain the fates of Rome, were consulted in all emergencies, and kept with great care in a stone vault below ground, in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, under the guardianship of men of high rank appointed for that purpose, at first two, then ten, and ultimately fifteen. On the destruction of the original books by fire, ambassadors were sent to collect all the stray predictions of the Sibyl they could find. I. 7.
Sibyllinus a-um, belonging to the Sibyl. *Sibyllini libri*. III. 10; V. 13.

Siccus, L., a veteran of great distinction, treacherously murdered by the orders of the decemviri, u. c. 305. III. 33.

Sicilia, a triangular island to the south of Italy, in the Mediterranean, celebrated for the volcanic mountain Aetna, for its honey, its fertility, and the luxurious habits of its inhabitants. I. 1; II. 34; IV. 29. *Siculus a-um*, belonging to Sicily; *Siculum fretum*, the straits of Messina, separating Sicily from Italy. I. 2.

Sicinius, C., a plebeian who recommended the secession to Mons Sacer, u. c. 260, and was one of the first tribunes of the commons. II. 32, 33; III. 54.

Sicinius, C., a tribune of the commons, u. c. 283, who next year arraigned Appius Claudius. II. 58, 61.

Sicinius, C., a tribune of the commons, u. c. 305, after the abrogation of the decemviral power. III. 54.

Sicinius, T., consul, u. c. 267. II. 40.

Sicinius, T., a factious tribune of the commons, u. c. 360. V. 24.

Signia, a town of Latium, colonised by Tarquinius Superbus, and faithful to the Romans. I. 56; II. 21.

Sigovæsus, nephew of Ambigatus, king of the Bituriges, who emigrated to Germany. V. 34.

Silius, Q., one of the plebeians who were the first chosen quaestors, u. c. 346. IV. 54.

Silvius, son of Ascanius, second king of Alba Longa. I. 3.

Solon, a celebrated Athenian, one of the seven wise men of Greece, a native of Salamis, a citizen of Athens, to which city he gave a constitution, and laws so celebrated, that the Romans directed their particular attention to them, when drawing up their own famous code. He is said to have lived between u. c. 115 and 195. III. 31.

Spes, the goddess of hope. II. 51.

Statius, T., a tribune of the commons, u. c. 279, who, along with his

colleague L. Caedicius, unsuccessfully arraigned Sp. Servilius. II. 52.

Subŭra, a populous district of Rome, between the Esquiline and Caelian hills. III. 13.

Suessa. See *Pometia*.

Sulpicius, Q., lieutenant-general in command of the Roman camp, under the dictator A. Postumius Tubertus, u. c. 324. IV. 27.

Sulpicius Camerinus, Q., military tribune, u. c. 353; and again, 357. V. 8. 14.

Sulpicius Longus, Q., military tribune at the era of the siege of Rome by the Gauls, u. c. 365, who entered into an agreement with Brennus, (when the city was in his hands,) which was broken off in consequence of the Gaul's brutality, and the arrival of Camillus. V. 36, 47, 48.

Sulpicius, Ser., consul, u. c. 254. II. 19.

Sulpicius, Ser., *curio maximus*, u. c. 291, when he died of pestilence. III. 7.

Sulpicius, Ser., consul, u. c. 293; one of the ambassadors sent to Greece for the purpose of collecting laws, 300; decemvir, 303; a deputy from the senate to the people, 305; and lieutenant-general in command of the horse, 309, against the Aequi and Volsci. III. 10, 31, 33, 50, 70.

Sulpicius Camerinus, Ser., consul, u. c. 362; military tribune, 364, when he ravaged the country of the Salpinates. V. 29, 32.

T.

Talassius, one of the most distinguished amongst the followers of Romulus. I. 9.

Tanăquil, a high-born and ambitious lady of Tarquinii, who emigrated with her husband Lucumo, afterwards Tarquinius Priscus, to Rome, and by her spirit and wisdom incited successfully both her husband and her son-in-law, Servius Tullus, to aspire to the throne. I. 34, 39, 41, 47.

Tarpeius, Mons. See *Capitolium*.

Tarpeius, Sp., governor of the Roman citadel on the Tarpeian rock, when attacked by the Sabines, in the reign of Romulus. His daughter betrayed it to the Sabines, and was slain by them. I. 11.

Tarquinii, one of the twelve principal cities of Etruria, on the river Marta, the stronghold of the Tarquins after their expulsion from Rome, and long troublesome to that people. Inhabitants, *Tarquiniienses*. I. 34; II. 6. 7; V. 16.

Tarquinius Priscus, L., said to have been sprung from a Corinthian family which settled in Tarquinii, and to have emigrated to Rome, where he artfully obtained the throne, u. c. 138, being its fifth possessor. He added 100 senators to the former 200, increased the number of knights, conquered the Sabines and the Latins, sur-

rounded the city with a stone-wall, formed *cloacas*, and founded the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. He was slain, u. c. 176, by assassins whom the sons of Ancus Marcius had instigated. I. 34-40.

Tarquinius, Aruns, son or grandson of Tarquinius Priscus, married by Servius Tullus to Tullia Minor, his younger daughter, a mild husband to a furious wife, and slain by her, that she might be united with his more spirited brother, in expectation of the throne. I. 42, 46.

Tarquinius, Aruns, son of Tarquinius Superbus, was sent to Delphi for the purpose of consulting the oracle as to the import of some portents, and afterwards met Brutus at the head of the horse, in the first battle for the restoration of monarchy, when each slew the other. I. 56; II. 6.

Tarquinius Collatinus, L., son of Egerius, and cousin of Tarquinius Superbus, was the husband of Lucretia, whose fate was the occasion of the downfall of the Roman monarchy. He was elected one of the first consuls along with Brutus, but was compelled to leave Rome, in consequence of the jealousy entertained of all bearing the name of Tarquin. I. 57, 58-60; II. 2.

Tarquinius Superbus, L., son or grandson of Tarquinius Priscus, first married one daughter of Servius Tullus, then murdered her, and married the other, caused his father-in-law to be slain, and mounted the Roman throne, its seventh and last possessor, u. c. 220. He continued to act in the same manner whilst king, thinned the senate, neglected to assemble it, surrounded his person with armed guards, treacherously procured the death of his principal opponent in his design to make Rome the capital of Latium, subdued the Volscians, drove the Aequi and Tuscans to sue for peace, built the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, formed most magnificent works, but, whilst engaged in the siege of Ardea, was driven from his throne, equally detested by all ranks. Several vain attempts were made to re-instate him, in which the Romans suffered much; and he ultimately retired to Cumae, where he died, u. c. 259, fourteen years after his banishment, having previously reigned twenty-four years. I. 42, 46-60; II. 6, 9, 15, 19, 21.

Tarquinius, Sextus, the youngest son of Tarquinius Superbus, by a most treacherous device enabled his father to take Gabii, by the inhabitants of which he was slain, when he took refuge amongst them, after his base conduct to Lucretia had impelled the discontented Romans to drive out his family. I. 53, 54, 58-60.

Tarquinius-a-um, belonging to the family of the Tarquinii. *Tarquinia gens*, *Tarquinia factio*. They were sentenced to perpetual banishment, their goods plundered, or devoted to sacred purposes. Their last struggle for the restoration of monarchy was in the memorable battle fought at the lake Regillus, where A. Postumius, the dictator, at the head of the Romans, completely defeated the Latin forces, u. c. 255. II. 2, 4, 5, 18-20.

Tarquitius, L., a patrician, so poor that he could not serve on horse-back ; master of the horse under the great Cincinnatus, v. c. 296, against the Aequi. III. 27.

Tarracina. See *Ansur*.

Tatius, Titus, king of the Sabines, in the reign of Romulus, who headed his countrymen in their attempt to avenge the seizure of their women, and after gaining the Tarpeian rock, and repeated engagements, became sharer of the throne with Romulus, conjoining the Sabine people with his, but was slain in a few years by the Laurentes. II. 10-14.

Taurinus, saltus, a pass through the Alps, leading from Gaul to the country of the Taurini, in Italy, at the foot of the Alpes Cottiae. V. 34.

Tellēnae, a Latin town taken by Ancus Marcius, the inhabitants of which he settled on Mount Aventine. I. 33.

Tellus, the goddess of the Earth. II. 41.

Tempanius, Sex., a Roman captain of horse, whose bravery and skill, in a moment of great danger, prevented the Romans from sustaining a disgraceful defeat from the Volscians, and who defended his general's conduct, contrary to expectation. He was next year, v. c. 333, in his absence made tribune of the commons. IV. 38, 42.

Terentillus Arsa, C., a tribune of the commons, v. c. 292, who first moved a bill for fixed laws to regulate the consular power. III. 9.

Terminus, the deity that presided over boundaries and land-marks. I. 55 ; V. 54.

Tiberinus generally the god of the Tiber. II. 10.

Tiberinus-a-um, belonging to the Tiber. *Tiberina insula*. II. 5. *Tiberinus amnis*. V. 37.

Tiberinus Silvius, 10th king of Alba Longa, giving name to the Tiber. I. 3.

Tiberis, a celebrated river of Italy, rising in the Apennines, flowing south-east to Cures, then south-west, receiving about forty-two tributary streams in its course, and falling into the sea, passing Rome, about twelve miles below it, after running about 160 miles. I. 3, 4, 7, 14, 15, 27, 33, 37, 38, 46 ; II. 5, 10-12 ; V. 13.

Ticinus, a northern tributary of the Po, rising in the Alps, and flowing through the Lacus Verbanus. V. 34.

Timasitheus, chief magistrate of the Liparæ islands, lying between Sicily and Italy, whose inhabitants were addicted to piracy. His generous conduct to the Roman ambassadors, seized by his people on their road to Delphi, gained the gratitude of the Roman people to him and his posterity. V. 28.

Titenses, either a century of knights, or a tribe of the whole people, or both, a term, according to Livy, derived from Titus Tatius, king

of the Sabines; according to others, from a Tuscan word signifying *the third*. I. 13, 36.

Titinius, L., military tribune, u. c. 355; and again, 359, when a check sustained by him from the Falisci and Capenates rendered the appointment of a dictator necessary. V. 12, 18.

Titinius, M., tribune of the commons, after the abolition of the decemviral power, u. c. 305. III. 54.

Titinius, Sex., a factious tribune of the commons, u. c. 316. IV. 16.

Tolumnius, Lar., king of the Veientes, to whom the Fidenates revolted, and who, after causing, either by mistake or design, the Roman ambassadors to be slain, was killed in battle, by A. Cornelius Cossus, and his troops defeated, u. c. 318. His armour, of which he was stripped by Cossus, formed the second *spolia opima*. IV. 17-19.

Trebia, a Latin town taken from the Romans by Coriolanus. II. 39.

Trebonius, C., a tribune of the commons, u. c. 354. V. 11.

Trebonius Asper, L., a tribune of the commons, u. c. 307, most hostile to the patricians, who brought in a bill calculated to lessen their influence in the election of tribunes. III. 65.

Tribuni militum, *consulari potestate*, the supreme magistrates of the Roman state, on occasions when the efforts of the plebeians to share in the consular power induced the patricians to consent to the election of men who might be chosen indifferently from either order of the state, with the same power as the consuls, and yet should not have the name, or possess the religious powers of consuls. The first were elected, u. c. 310, being three in number, and all patricians, (IV. 6, 7.) Their numbers vary, being sometimes four, (IV. 31,) sometimes six, (IV. 61,) and sometimes eight, (V. 1. the accuracy of the reading is doubted,) but for forty-four years they were all patricians. This form of government continued checked with the consulship, till 387, when the admission of plebeians to the consular power rendered the expedient unnecessary. They are not to be confounded with the ordinary term *Tribuni militum*, simply military officers, six to each legion, who commanded under the consul, and chose the centurions. III. 51; IV. 19.

Tribuni plebis, magistrates who seem to have taken their origin from the plebeians having been in the habit of electing from among themselves individuals, to regulate their common concerns, without any reference to the commonwealth. When, however, the plebeians grew strong enough, they appointed, under this name, as their representatives, to regulate their interests, as concerned in the common laws of the state, (II. 33,) men who were generally, though not always, (III. 64, 65; V. 10,) plebeians. There is a dispute as to the Comitia in which they were elected, but it seems impossible that they can have ever been elected in the *Comitia Curiata*, as Dionysius asserts; and Livy seems to state that they were elected

in the *Comitia Centuriata*, till 283, when they were elected in the *Comitia Tributa*, (II. 56, 60.) They were at first either two or five in number, (II. 33, 58); afterwards ten, 297, (III. 30); and possessed of powers varying as the order which they represented was influential or not, consisting at first in the negative power of preventing laws by the uttering of the word *veto*. (II. 56; IV. 1, 26; V. 9, 12.) Their persons were inviolable, and the only check on their authority was, that one might interrupt the proceedings of all the rest. Their power continued till the time of Sylla's usurpation, and thereafter to that of the Caesars, who first rendered it unavailing, and afterwards assumed it to themselves.

Troja, a celebrated city of Troas, in Asia Minor, near the Hellespont, at the foot of Mount Ida, besieged, taken and destroyed by the Greeks, in the reign of Priam, after a siege of ten years. I. 1; V. 4. From it Antenor gave name to the place where he first landed, and called the country *Pagus Trojanus*, and Aeneas called a place amongst the *Laurentes*, *Troja*. I. 1. Inhabitants, *Trojāni*. I. 1-3.

Tullia, a daughter of Servius Tullus. Of these there were two, the elder married to Lucius Tarquinius, and murdered by him, that he might marry the younger, who slew his brother Aruns. She instigated her new husband to dethrone her own father, triumphed over the old man's downfall, drove over his dead body, and was driven out with universal execration. I. 42, 46-48, 59.

Tullius, M', consul, v. c. 254. II. 19.

Tullius, Servius, the sixth king of Rome, whose origin is uncertain, was the son-in-law of Tarquinius Priscus, mounted the throne, on the assassination of that prince, by the prudence of Tanaquil, his mother-in-law, v. c. 176, and reigned for forty-four years, when, after conquering the Veientes, remodelling the constitution, by admitting to a share in legislating all the inhabitants of Rome, in a ratio proportioned to their ability to bear the burdens of the state, he incurred the hatred of the aristocracy, whose power was thus impaired, and at last, 220, fell a victim to the ambition of his son-in-law, Tarquinius Superbus. There seems to be little doubt, that the eminence to which Rome afterwards rose resulted in a great measure from the measures adopted by this distinguished prince. I. 18, 39-48, 60; IV. 3.

Tullus, Attius, the most distinguished prince of the Volscians, in the time of Coriolanus, who took shelter with him, and induced him by an artifice to kindle war between his people and the Romans, to whom the Volscian was inveterately hostile. II. 35, 37-39.

Turnus, king of the Rutuli, when Aeneas landed in Italy, was deprived of Lavinia, who had been betrothed to him, by Aeneas, and having made war on that prince, was twice defeated, and, as some say, killed by him. I. 2.

Tusci. See *Etruria*.

Tuscūlum, a Latin town south-east of Rome, on the *Via Latina*,

friendly and submissive to Rome. II. 15, 16. Inhabitants, *Tusculāni*. III. 18. *Tusculana arx*. III. 23, 42. *Tusculani colles*, (the hills above Tusculum.) III. 7, 8.

Tyrrhēnus-a-um, belonging to Tuscany. (See *Etruria*.)

Tyrrhenum mare, that part of the Mediterranean which washes the west shores of Italy. V. 33.

U.

Ulixes, or *Ulysses*, a Grecian prince, son of *Laertes*, and husband of *Penelope*, of great wisdom and eloquence, king of *Ithaca*, and distinguished in the Trojan war, whose wanderings after its termination are celebrated in *Homer's Odyssey*. I. 49.

Umbri, the inhabitants of *Umbria*, a division of Italy, bounded on the north by the river *Rubicon*, on the west by the *Apennines* and the *Tiber*, on the south by the *Sabines*, on the east by *Picēnum* and the *Hadriatic*. V. 35.

Utens, a river of *Gallia Cisalpina*, rising in the *Apennines*, and falling into the *Hadriatic*, north of *Raveuna*. V. 35.

V.

Valerius, Antias, a Roman annalist, who flourished u. c. 673, being contemporary with *Cicero*. III. 5.

Valerius Potitus, C., military tribune, u. c. 340; consul, 345, when he took *Carventum*; again military tribune, 348; and a third time, 351. IV. 49, 53, 57, 61.

Valerius, L., quaestor, u. c. 269, and probably one of the accusers of *Sp. Cassius*; consul, 271; a second time, 284. II. 41, 42, 61, 62.

Valerius, L., interrex, u. c. 358. V. 17.

Valerius, L., one of three ambassadors, sent u. c. 361, with a gift to *Apollo*, and first captured, then kindly used by *Timasitheus*, prince of the *Liparae* islands. V. 28.

Valerius, L., master of the horse, u. c. 365, under the dictatorship of *Camillus*. V. 48.

Valerius Publicola, L., military tribune, u. c. 361. V. 26. He was four times afterwards military tribune.

Valerius Potitus, L., in consequence of the support he gave to the popular party against the *decemvirs*, was, u. c. 306, elected consul, when he and his colleague passed highly popular laws, and in consequence of their distinguished success in war obtained a triumph, in spite of patrician opposition, by order of the people. III. 39-41, 49, 50-53, 55, 60, 61, 63, 64; IV. 6.

Valerius Potitus, L., military tribune, u. c. 340; again, 349; a

- third time, 352; a fourth time, 354; a fifth time, 357, when he plundered the Falisci. IV. 49, 58; V. 1, 10, 14.
- Valerius Potitus, L., consul, u. c. 363, when he defeated the Aequi. V. 31.
- Valerius Potitus, L., interrex, u. c. 363. V. 31.
- Valerius, M., *fecialis*, in the reign of Tullus Hostilius. I. 24.
- Valerius, M., by some supposed to have been the first dictator, u. c. 253. II. 18.
- Valerius, M., dictator, u. c. 260, when he defeated the Sabines, being favourable to the popular party. II. 30, 31.
- Valerius, M., consul, u. c. 253, when he triumphed over the Sabines. He was killed 255, in the celebrated battle at the lake Regillus. II. 16, 20.
- Valerius, M., augur, u. c. 291, when he died of pestilence. III. 7.
- Valerius, M., quaestor, u. c. 296; consul, 298. III. 25, 31.
- Valerius Maximus, M., military tribune, u. c. 357; and again, 360. V. 14, 24.
- Valerius, (afterwards Publicola,) P., was present at the death of Lucretia, and exerted himself to expel the Tarquins. He was elected consul in room of Collatinus, u. c. 245, when he drove back the party of the Tarquins, removed some suspicions which had been entertained of his views by several highly popular laws, (hence his surname), was re-elected consul next year, when he opposed the Etrurian forces with great skill and bravery; a third time consul, 247; and a fourth time, 250, when he triumphed over the Sabines. He died next year, highly honoured by all parties, yet so poor that he was buried at the public expense. I. 58, 59; II. 2, 6-8, 11, 15, 16.
- Valerius, P., consul, u. c. 279. II. 52, 53.
- Valerius Publicola, P., interrex, u. c. 292; consul, 294, at a season of intestine and foreign commotion, when he fell in an attack on the Capitol, which had been seized upon by the slaves. III. 8, 15, 17, 18.
- Vecilius, a hill in Latium. III. 50.
- Veii, (inhabitants *Veienses*), an Etrurian town, twelve miles to the north-west of Rome, on the Via Cassia, engaged in frequent hostilities with Rome, and memorable for the length of the siege which resulted in its capture, beginning u. c. 350, and ending 359. It was twice proposed to remove from Rome to Veii, but unsuccessfully, through the patriotic efforts of Camillus. I. 15, 27, 30, 42; II. 6, 13, 15, 43, 45-51, 53, 54; IV. 1, 17-19, 30, 31, 33, 35, 58, 60, 61; V. 1, 2, 7-25, 28-30, 37, 46, 48-50, 55.
- Velia, high ground in Rome overlooking the Forum. II. 7.
- Velitrae, a Latin town, south-east of Rome, colonised by the Romans. II. 30, 31, 34. *Veternus ager*. II. 31. Afterwards rebellious, and severely punished by the Romans.
- Venēti, the inhabitants of Venetia, a district of Italy, stretching along the north shores of the Hadriatic, bounded on the south by the Po,

- on the west by Gallia Cisalpina, on the north by the Alps, and on the east by the river Arsia. The Veneti are said by Livy to have been a settlement of the Heneti, a Paphlagonian tribe, and the Trojans, combined under Antenor. I. 1; V. 33.
- Venus, worshipped as the goddess of love and beauty. *Venus Cloacina*. III. 48.
- Verōna, a town of Gallia Transpadana, on the river Athesis, and Via Aemilia, the birth-place of Catullus and the elder Pliny. V. 35.
- Verrūgo, a Volscian town. IV. 1, 55, 58; V. 28.
- Vesta, worshipped as the goddess of fire, in whose sanctuary the Palladium of Troy was supposed to be preserved, and a fire kept continually burning, (I. 20, 52,) by her priestesses,
- Vestāles virgines, ladies, six in number, who were bound to perpetual celibacy, under the penalty of being buried alive, continued in office thirty years, were always of high rank, and in possession of great privileges. I. 3, 4, 20; IV. 44; V. 40.
- Veturia, the mother of Coriolanus. II. 40.
- Veturius, C., consul, u. c. 299, when he defeated the Aequi, but was successfully arraigned next year for selling the booty; substituted augur, 301. III. 31, 32.
- Veturius, L., one of the first decemvirs, u. c. 303. III. 33.
- Veturius, M., the only patrician who was military tribune, u. c. 356. V. 13.
- Veturius Gēmīnus, T., consul, u. c. 292, when he conquered the Volscians. III. 8, 10.
- Vetusius, C., consul, u. c. 254. II. 19.
- Vetusius, T., consul, u. c. 260, at a season of great intestine commotion, when he quelled the Aequi. II. 28-30.
- Vicapōta, worshipped as the goddess of victory. II. 7.
- Villius, P., a tribune of the commons, elected after the expulsion of the decemvirs, u. c. 305. III. 54.
- Viminālis, Collis, one of the hills on which Rome stood, built upon by Romulus, having on the east and south the Esquiline, and on the west the Quirinal. I. 44.
- Vindicius, a slave, who was liberally rewarded for his having detected and revealed a plot for the restoration of the Tarquins. II. 4, 5.
- Virbius, a rising ground near or in Rome. I. 48.
- Virginia, daughter of a brave Roman, betrothed to Icilius, a man of tribunicial rank, seen and beloved by Appius Claudius, the decemvir, claimed by his creature Claudius as a slave, assigned to him by the decemvir, and slain by her father, u. c. 305, to prevent her from falling into his hands. III. 44-48, 58.
- Virginius, A., consul, u. c. 260, a time of great commotion, when he routed the Volscians. II. 28-30.
- Virginus, A., consul, u. c. 278. II. 51.
- Virginus, A., consul, u. c. 285. II. 63.
- Virginus, A., triumvir for colonising Antium, u. c. 287. III. 1.

- Virginius, A.**, tribune of the commons, u. c. 293, when he accused **Kaeso Quinctius**. III. 11-13.
Virginius, A., tribune of the commons, u. c. 360, fined two years afterwards to the great indignation of the patricians. V. 29.
Virginius, L., a Roman centurion, who having in vain opposed the absurd claim of **Claudius** to his daughter **Virginia**, slew her, roused the indignation of the plebeians, was mainly instrumental in the overthrow of the decemviral power, and was elected tribune of the commons, u. c. 305. III. 44, 47-51, 54, 56-58.
Virginius, L., consul, u. c. 320; and again (perhaps) next year. IV. 21. 23.
Virginius, L., military tribune, u. c. 353, when, along with **Sergius**, he commanded unsuccessfully, in consequence of a private quarrel, against the **Capenates** and **Falisci**, for which they were forced to resign their office, and were fined next year. V. 8-12.
Virginius, Opiter, consul, u. c. 252, when he took **Pometia**. II. 17.
Virginius, Opiter, consul, (perhaps,) u. c. 281. II. 54.
Virginius, Proculus, consul, u. c. 268. II. 41.
Virginius, Sp., consul, u. c. 298. III. 31.
Virginius, T., consul, u. c. 258. II. 21.
Virginius, T., consul, u. c. 275. II. 48.
Virginius Rutilus, T. augur, u. c. 291, when he died of pestilence. III. 7.
Virginius Caelimontanus, T., consul, u. c. 307. III. 65.
Vitellia, a town of the **Aequi**. II. 39; V. 29.
Volsci, a people of **Latium**, engaged in long and inveterate wars with **Rome**, whose last struggle was made, u. c. 414. I. 53; II. 9, 22, 24, 25, 30, 31, 33, 37-40, 42, 53, 54, 58, 59, 64, 65; III. 6-8, 10, 22, 60; IV. 9, 10, 26, 27, 29, 37, 55-59, 61; V. 16, 23.
Volsci Antiates. II. 23. ***Volsci Ecetrani***. II. 25.
Volscius Fictor, M., a plebeian of tribunician rank, who was banished for having given false evidence against **Kaeso Quinctius**, u. c. 296. III. 13, 24, 29.
Volsinienses, the inhabitants of **Volsinii**, a town of **Etruria** on the north of the **Lacus Volsiniensis**, and **Via Cassia**. V. 31, 32.
Voltumna, a goddess worshipped by the **Etrurians**, who had a temple at the foot of **Mons Ciminus**, where the **Etrurian** states were in the habit of assembling. IV. 23, 25, 61; V. 17.
Volumnia, the wife of **Coriolanus**. II. 40.
Volumnius, P., consul, u. c. 293, a year distinguished for popular commotions; ambassador to the **Aequi**, 296. III. 10, 25.
Vulcānus, worshipped as one of the **Dii Majores**, the son of **Jupiter** and **Juno**, and god of fire and smiths. I. 37.
Vulturnus, a town in **Campania**, founded by the **Etrurians**, afterwards taken by the **Samnites**, u. c. 332, and called *Capua*. IV. 37.

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